VOLUMEN XXXII MCMLXVI

ORIENTALIA CHRISTIANA PERIODICA

COMMENTARII DE RE ORIENTALI AETATIS CHRISTIANAE SACRA ET PROFANA EDITI CURA ET OPERE PONTIFICII INSTITUTI ORIENTALIUM STUDIORUM



PONT. INSTITUTUM ORIENTALIUM STUDIORUM
PIAZZA SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE, 7
ROMA
1966

The Greek College in the Years of Unrest

(1604 - 1630)

The period of transition.

The Greek College underwent in these twenty six years many internal and external changes, which determined its shape for the next 150 years.

This period of transition and experimentation was marked by two trends: there was a tendency to determine the life of the College in all details. New decrees were passed by the Holy See, by Propaganda, by the Protectors and the authorities of the College itself. Such multiplicity of regulations is usually a sign that the right solution is difficult to find or to apply.

The mere multiplication of rules often creates an atmosphere hostile to the spirit. At the same time a clericalization of the College took place — it became an institution strictly for training of priests. It was a departure from the idea of Gregory XIII, but a similar development affected other Roman colleges too.

Other changes were conditioned by the heavy economic depression, which imposed a substantial decrease in the number of students. The psychological impact of this economizing policy is hard to exaggerate. The want of funds was accompanied by the waning of interest for Greece and the Eastern question. Only the violent changes in the patriarchal See of Constantinople, mirroring the duel between Catholic France and Calvinistic England and Holland, enkindled a new interest for the Greek cause and the Greek College, but this interest was limited to a narrow circle of the initiated few.

The tendencies just described were more important than the change of the administrative personal in the College. After the withdrawal of the Jesuits in 1604, the Somaschi were introduced

to take care of discipline and the Dominican fathers to take care of the intellectual training of the students. But after four years both tasks were committed to the Dominicans alone. As a matter of fact, from 1604 until 1621 the main Protector of the College, Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani ran it according to his own wish and whim.

After his death, a short interval (April 7, 1621 till October 30, 1622) a secular priest, Fabrizio Flattri was in charge of the College. The Jesuits took it over again on October 30, 1622 and remained its administrators until the pontificate of Clement XIV (1769-1774).

The terminus ad quem is 1630. In that year the third Jesuit Rector Tarquinio Galluzzi retired, though temporarily. About the same time the College assumed the form that it was to retain substantially for a century and half.

This period of the history of the Greek College has never been studied thoroughly before. A good general survey was given by Fr. Placid de Meester O.S.B. (1) and another, much earlier, by Pietro P. Rodotà (2). Extremely rich material was collected and published concerning the students of the Greek College by E. Legrand (3). The biographical material on the pupils has not been included in the present study. This must be left to somebody who complete can systematically and enlarge the work of E. Legrand. One important circumstance should be stressed on this occasion: it is amazing how many outstanding men issued from the Greek College in spite of the fact that their training was often inadequate.

The sources for this period of the Greek College are very scattered. I had to consult the Vatican Library, the Vallicelliana Library, the Archives of Propaganda (APF), and in particular the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (ARSJ) and the Archives of the Greek College (ACGr) (4).

(1) *Le Collège Pontifical Grec de Rome*, Rome 1910.

(2) *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente del rito Greco in Italia*, libro III, Roma 1763, pg. 146 ff.

(3) E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie Hellénique du 17e siècle*, III, Paris 1895; IV, Paris 1896.

(4) My thanks are due to Father Olivier Raquez O.S.B. who put at my disposal the Archives of the Greek College with great readiness. I have received valuable help from Fr. Joseph Féjer S. J., Archivist of

We owe much information to writings which explained the usefulness of the Greek College and defended it against accusation that it did not bear fruit.

The voices hostile to the College came from Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Among the non-Catholics the attacks of Melletios Pigas and of Severos, archbishop of Philadelphia, residing in Venice, were rather bitter (1).

From time to time the Church authorities themselves became sceptical as to the usefulness of the Greek College. Their distrust provoked Apologies which described briefly the history of the College, delineated the lofty plans of Gregory XIII and their later transformations. Their authors composed lists of prelates, monks and scholars who were former pupils of the College (2).

THE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION SEPTEMBER 20, 1604.

About the arrival of the Somaschi fathers Sept. 20, 1604 we possess but one detailed account, that of the last Jesuit rector Lucio Bencio (3).

On that day the protector of the College, Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, sent to the College four members of his "family"

---

the Curia Generalizia S.J. I am also much obliged to Fr. J. V. Koudelka O.P. of the Dominican Historical Institute in Rome.

(1) Non è poco impedimento et il disfavore che danno al Collegio Greco Meletio già Patriarca di Alessandria e l'Arcivescovo di Philadelphia, qual sta in Venezia, perché ciascuno di loro con scritti et un ogni male officio vanno disseminando, che questa opera non fa né farà mai profitto alcuno. Et però essendo già venute queste parole in Roma et intese da molti, si vede che sono quasi accettate e pongono in dubbio il vero profitto che li alunni di questo Collegio incominciano gagliardamente a fare ... Taken from a statement: Avertimento per il governo del Collegio Greco 1601. Vallicelliana Libr., K. 17, fol. 150.

(2) Three Apologies, especially, deserve our consideration:

a) *Relazione dello stato del Collegio Greco dell'anno* 1628 *con una breve informatione sul fine che mostra essere questo Collegio fruttuoso e non inutile come molti dicono*. ACGr, I, fol. 130 ff.

b) An Apology of the year 1652: *ibid.* foll. 177-182.

c) *Ristretto delle utilità che apporta il Collegio Greco* ... Vallicelliana Libr., *Carte Allacci*, vol. 52, foll. 2-106.

(3) ARSJ, *Ital.* 162, fol. 181r-181v.

early in the morning with an injunction, that nobody was allowed to leave the house that day. At a fixed hour the Cardinal appeared accompanied by four Somaschi priests and the small group was met by Lucio Bencio at the entrance. The protector declared repeatedly that the Society wanted to leave the College and that His Holiness could not do anything but meet its wishes. And this he repeated to the students, to the masters and to the newcomers.

Then he addressed the pupils in an informal speech. From now on, he said, they should not bother him with trifles, but they should talk to the rector first or put their problems in writing and send a sealed letter to him, but, he added not without a threat, the rebellious and discontented would be immediately expelled.

Then the Jesuits bade farewell to the studens, masters and the rest of the staff who had gathered at the entrance of the house. The persistent Father Bencio had another talk the same evening with Giustiniani in the Cardinal's country house. He tried to make it clear once more that it was not the Society and still less he, Father Bencio, who was responsible for the outcome of the College affairs ([1]). But this conversation between the Protector and the rector concluded in reconciliatory way. In fact, Benedetto Giustiniani remained on good terms with the Jesuits, though during his lifetime definitely opposed to the return of the Society into the College.

Somaschi and Dominicans.

The Somaschi were in no way strangers to the Greek College. As a matter of fact, one of them, a cleric from Piacenza, was to have taken it over in January 1581; but the plan miscarried. They had experience in College work and enjoyed a good name as educators of youth. In Rome they were in charge of the Clementine College ([2]), that was lodged after 1600 in the Pepoli palace, in Piazza Nicosia, hence it was not too distant from the Greek

([1]) ... dove stetti da un'hora et mezzo, dentro al qual tempo seriamente gli ribattei quel chiodo, che la Compagnia et io in particolare ero la causa di questa risolutione. *Ibid.* fol., 181ᵛ.

([2]) cf. L. Montalto, *Il Clementino*, Roma 1938.

College. Greek students could thus attend many classes in the Clementinum. This is espressly affirmed by Leone Allacci [1]. In addition, the home of the Somaschi was Venice and about a third part of the pupils of the Greek College came from the territories controlled by the *Serenissima*.

The Clementinum, however, did not offer courses in theology. Hence, we have to assume that the Dominican fathers took care of theological and possibly of some philosophical courses as early as 1604. From 1604 to 1607-1608 some friars living at S. Maria supra Minervam used to go over to the Greek College to give regular lectures.

Harmonious collaboration between the two different religious families did not work out. To attune the method of the friars to those of the clerics was difficult [2]. In addition, some Dominicans pointed out that the Somaschi did not properly economize. To such an accusation Giustiniani was always very sensitive, though at that time the finances of the College did not rouse serious preoccupations. It was evident that some of the Dominicans wanted to run the College by themselves. Dissension ammong the superiors created factions and divisions among the pupils. At the end the Dominicans remained victorious.

The author of Allacci's Memoirs ascribes to his hero a substantial and decisive part in the expulsion of the Somaschi. He asserts that Allacci got hold of a book diffamatory to the Greeks that was for a long time kept hidden from the pupils. It was supposed to be the biography of the founder of the Somaschi Congregation and in it the Greeks of the College were described as an untractable and obstinate race, submissive to nobody but the Somaschi. Allacci enkindled the national pride of his com-

[1] Fu dato il Governo in mano de' Somaschi, e così Leone proseguì la sua retorica latina nel Collegio Clementino sotto un Padre dottissimo per un anno; de di poi incominciò la logica, e quella essi chiamano Summule sotto il P. Vulpino, ACGr, vol. 43 (*Miscellanea*), fol. 6v. Fr. Giulio Cesare Vulpino was confessor of Clement VIII and the first rector of the Clementinum in 1595. For a concise biography see: *Breviario Storico di religiosi illustri della Congregazione di Somasca*. P. Giacomo CEVASCO, Genova 1898, pg. 133.

[2] Giustiniani ... non prevedendo quanto disgregavano insieme cherici e frati ... *Relazione del ritorno* ... ACGr, I, fol. 178.

panions, the case was referred to higher authorities and consequently the Somaschi were removed (1).

About 1608 the Dominicans functioned as administrators and teachers, though under the supervision of Cardinal Giustiniani. Yet it cannot be affirmed that the Dominican order was in charge of the Greek College. Benedetto Giustiniani arbitrarily picked out his collaborators and the minister-general thought it advisable not to be reluctant and to give his approval. The authorities of the order were not enthusiastic about the whole arrangement, but they deemed it necessary to comply with the wishes of the powerful Cardinal at a time when the order had no Protector. Among the friars the memory of the highly esteemed master general, later Cardinal Vincenzo Giustiniani (died 1582) lived on, and Benedetto Giustiniani was his nephew.

No revolutionary changes took place regarding the internal life of the College either under the Somaschi or under the Dominicans. Lectures, academies, division of the day, meetings of the sodalities were practised as before. There were but slight modifications of the rules and regime established by Santa Severina and the Jesuits.

Hence no importance should be given to the statement of Arcudius that at the instance of the Dominicans many customs were introduced peculiar to the friars — *molte cose fratesche* (2). The deterioration in food which took place at that time was due to the economizing policy of the Cardinal himself (3).

In the Roman Dominican Archives there is a draft of the rules for the Greek College (4). I am unable to say how far these rules were adopted in practice, but even these Dominican regulations do not present a radical departure from the former policy. It

(1) The author of the Allacci's Memoirs exaggerates. Of all the biographies of S. Girolamo Emiliani composed at this period only the work of P. Andrea STELLA C.R.S. can be considered: *Vita del Venerabile servo d'Iddio il Padre Girolamo Miami nobile Venetiano* ... Vicenza 1605. The only reference to the Greeks is pg. 50: E ultimamente s'è compiaciuto il Beatissimo Pastore di aggravarsi con l'importante carico del numeroso Collegio de' Greci. That is all.

(2) *Relazione dei primi successi,* Vallicelliana Libr., K. 17, fol. 172.

(2) *Ibid.*: Diede ordine il Cardinale, che si comprassero pessimi vini, che diventavano neri come inchiostro, come se governasse villani, zappatori, non huomini che studiavano. Levò gli antipasti et postpasti.

(4) Arch. Gen. O.P., XIII, vol. 371. The folios are not numbered.

was natural that the recitation of the Rosary of the *Salve Regina* was given a prominent place, that the feast of the Rosary was celebrated with particular solemnity and that the visits to St. Maria supra Minervam were frequent. The chapters on the *Messa Latina et Graeca* do not contain any radical changes. They are petty and contain many details. The influence of the Cardinal is more tangible in these rules. To obey the Protector was the very first duty of a pupil (1). The rector was considered only as a representative of the Protector. Every month a Mass had to be said for the Most Illustrous Protector. There were, however, also other prescribed intentions, e.g. for the progress of the College and for the prosperity of the whole of Greece. Promotion from one class to another — an apple of discord between Lucio Bencio and Giustiniani — was this time reserved to the Protector alone.

Fr. Alberto Zucchi O. P. composed a list of the Dominican rectors of the Greek College (2). The list is incomplete but I cannot add anything substantial to it beyond a few references.

The first Dominican rector was P. Andrea Giustiniani. He was born in Sardinia on December 22, 1570 and he took the habit of the Order of Preachers on November 30, 1591. He became rector of the Greek College in 1607 or 1608 (3). In 1614 he was named bishop of Isola in southern Italy and died on November 25, 1617 (4). In the archives of the Greek College there is no trace of his activity. Only the author of the Memoirs of Allaccio speaks of him as of a professor of theology in the College.

We have much less information about Fr. David Negri da Casoli from the territory of Lucca. His staying in Rome is men-

(1) Premieramente sono obligati ad obedire al Ill.mo Cardinale Protettore e poi al Padre Rettore che rappresenta la sua persona et a portare la debita riverenza et rispetto che richiede . . . cap. 4. *Ibid.*

(2) *Roma Domenicana* IV, Firenze 1943, pp. 169-173.

(3) P. Raimondo Amadeo VIGNA, *Vescovi Domenicani Liguri*, Genova 1887; For Andrea Giustiniani-Barca, later bishop of Isola see pp. 312-313. Pg. 313: Occupava il posto di maestro del studio nel convento della Minerva in Roma l'anno 1600 e 7 anni dopo, l'onorifica carica di superiore del Collegio Greco. Giustiniani's activity in the Greek College mentions also FONTANA Vinc. M.: *Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum*, Romae 1666, pg. 545.

(4) For a concise biography see: J. QUÉTIF-J. ECHARD, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, II, Paris 1721, 405. I. TAURISANO, *Hierarchia Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Romae 1916, 73.

tioned in 1605 and again 1608 (1). He was approved as rector of the Greek College by the minister-general Agostino Galamini on February 11, 1612 (2).

After five months he was relieved by the rigorist Fr. Tommaso Margottini from Orvieto. He joined the friars in 1568 and became rector of the Greek College on July 10, 1612 (3). He died in Perugia on July 22, 1623 (4).

He was followed by a very prominent friar, Fr. Francesco Maddaleni Capodiferro (5). He was a Roman, from the family of St. Frances of Rome. In 1612 he received the privileges of magister in the Roman province and in 1628 he was elected its provincial. He died in Perugia August 13, 1632. The Jesuit priest Fr. Luigi Confalonieri in a funeral sermon duly praised the virtues of this excellent friar (6).

Fr. Masetti (7) not having found any notice on Fr. Francesco Maddaleni Capodiferro before 1612, thought that the taught outside the Roman province. As a matter of fact, the friar taught in Rome, in the Greek College. He was Allacci's teacher in logic (8).

(1) B. M. Reichert, *Monumenta Ordinis Fr. Praedicatorum historica*, XI, Romae 1902, 75, 83. See also P. T. Masetti, *Monumenta et Antiquitates* vol. II, Romae 1864, 126-127.

(2) Arch. Gen. O. P., IV, 56, fol. 112: A dì 11 di febraro [1612] fu fatto Rettor del Collegio de' Greci in Roma il Padre fra David de Casoli, Predicatore Generale, a petitione del signore Cardinal Giustiniani.

(3) Arch. Gen. O. P., IV, 58, pg. 11: Die 10 Julii [1612] ad instantiam Cardinalis Justiniani datus fuit in Rectorem Graecorum Reverendus Pater Magister Fr. Thomas Margotinus, et factus fuit Vicarius super Patres qui in eodem Collegio commorantur.

(4) For a concise biography of Fr. Margottini see P. T. Masetti, *op. cit.*, 130-132. Also Reichert, *op. cit.* XI, 83, 104: Margottini received the privileges of the magister in the Roman province in 1615. Pg. 238: he was definitor at the chapter in Bologna in 1615.

(5) Arch. Gen. O. P., IV, 60, fol. 41: Die 5 Maji 1615 ad petitionem Ill.mi Cardinalis Justiniani protectoris Collegii Graecorum Romae datus fuit in Rectorem dicti Collegii Pater Magister Fr. Franciscus Madalenus Capiferreus, et in Confessarium dicti Collegii Pater Fr. Ludovicus Maraffius, Praedicator Generalis, cum solita acceptatione.

(6) For a short biography cf. Quétif-Échard, *op. cit.* II, 473a; Masetti, *op. cit.* 136-138; Reichert, *op. cit.*, X, 259; XII, 352. (a short elogium). Other sources: I. Taurisano, *op. cit.* 115-116.

(7) Masetti, *op. cit.*, 137.

(8) Memoirs of Allacci, ACGr, 43, fol. 6v.

Fr. Zucchi makes his successor in rectorship the brother of the former rector Capodiferro. Since he does not give any reference, the question must remain undecided.

In 1620 P. Fr. Domenico Paolacci of Montefiascone is mentioned as vice-rector of the Greek College (1). He was an excellent preacher and later a brilliant professor of Scripture in Padua (2).

About other officials and teachers only scattered notices are preserved. In 1622 there were six friars in the College, but it is doubtful if the staff was ever so complete.

On February 15, 1611, Fr. Domenico Francucci is mentioned as Prefect of Studies (3). He was certainly in the College as a teacher before 1610, since he is mentioned in this role in the Memoirs of Allacci. The earliest mention of any Dominican teacher in the Greek College is dated October 4, 1608, when the Cardinal Giustiniani solicited approbation for Fr. Antonio Necchi from Arezzo (4).

Next year, 1609, at the instance of Giustiniani another professor was approved for the Greek College, Fr. Pietro Maria Silvano de Balneo (Bagnorea?) (5).

Because the abbey of the Most Holy Trinity in Mileto was the main source of income for the College, Giustiniani sent somebody from time to time to supervise the work and collect the money,

(1) 1620, 10 Novembris. Romae institutus et datus est in Prorectorem collegii Graecorum in Urbe et ad legendum primum cursum artium ibidem P. Lector Fr. Dominicus Paolaccius ad petitionem Ill.mi et Rev.mi D. D. Card. Justiniani Protectoris dicti Collegii Graeci. Cf. ZUCCHI, *op. cit.*, pg. 172.

(2) Cf. QUÉTIF-ECHARD, *op. cit.* 548-549.

(3) Arch. Gen. O. P., IV, 54, fol. 46v: Pater Lector Domenicus Francuccius Aretinus factus fuit Regens Collegii Graecorum Almae Urbis et interim assignatus est in suo Conventu originali quoad suffragia.

(4) Arch. Gen. O. P., IV, 52, fol. 61v: Die quarta Octobris [1608] Reverendus Pater Antoninus Naetius de Aretio destinatus fuit lector in Collegio Graecorum de Urbe, ad instantiam Illustrissimi Cardinalis Justiniani, usque ad dicti Illustrissimi beneplacitum, et quoad correctionem morum subest Priori Minervae, quoad vero suffragia et alia ad Conventum suum originalem in quo et assignatus est.

(5) Arch. Gen. O. P., IV, 54, fol. 45v: Sept. 21, 1609. Ad petitionem Ill.mi et Reverendissimi Cardinalis Justiniani concessus est in obsequium praefati Domini pro Collegio Graeco Pater Fr. Petrus Maria Silvanus de Balneo.

for example Fr. Giacomo of Messina who was sent to Calabria December 8, 1617, (1).

This brief survey of the friars engaged in the Greek College shows us that they were, in the majority, excellent men. Some remarks from non-Dominican sources suggest that one or two friars asked the Cardinal to be sent to the Greek College to escape the rigor of monastic discipline.

MAKING READY FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

The situation of the Greek College was far from being satisfactory. The students got restless. Cardinal Giustiniani was responsible for many mistakes, but the discontent was general and affected all Roman Colleges. It mirrored the transition period in the life of the Church. The magnificent Gregorian plans and their sympathetic approach to Greece vanished. Some Greek prelates who lived in Rome and were former pupils of the Greek College remembered well the springlike atmosphere in which they grew up. They did not hide their displeasure with the regime existing in the later College. There were five of them, but only the following displayed an active interest, Matthew Cariophyllis, archbishop of Iconium, theologian of Cardinal Ludovisi, Peter Arkudios from Corfu who became theologian of the Cardinal Borghese and lastly Gregory Porzio from Rethymnos, secretary of Latin letters of the same Cardinal. These 'conspirators' thought that a panacea for all the ailments was to replace the Dominicans by the Jesuits. The future was prove that they were wrong.

The way for the coup d'état opened when Cardinal Giustiniani died on March 27, 1621. The rumors that the Society would take over the Greek College were persistent and the Venetian Ambassador got scent of them. The *Serenissima* after having expelled the Jesuits from her territory in 1606 was obstructing their activity wherever it was possible. The Ambassador went

(1) Arch. Gen. O. P., IV, 57, fol. 26v: Die 8 Dec. 1617 fuit concessa licentia concionandi Patri Fr. Jacobo de Messania et morandi tres menses in Abbatia Collegii Graecorum quae sita est in dioecesi Melitana, pro servitio Ill.mi Justiniani.

to the College and summoned the pupils hailing from the islands controlled by Venice — about a third of all the students. He rebuked them severely, saying that they were plotting against the Republic by their propaganda in favor of the Jesuits. However the boys, having learned from their parents the wisdom of dealing with the *Signori Veneziani*, assured the Ambassador of their loyalty. They proclaimed they wanted to get rid of the superiors under whom they made no progress, but they were in no way keen on a Jesuit regime (1).

The Dominicans were well aware of the unrest among the pupils. They wanted to calm down the agitation. One element in the series of appeasing actions was a papal audience. The whole College went to the Vatican; at the audience itself, however, some outspoken troublemakers were left in the *anticamera* together with their *Memoriales*. This proved to be fatal. The *monsignori* present read anger and disappointment in their faces, and the prelates learned a lot from the Greeks, which was not in favor of the friars. Confused accusations reached Cardinal Ludovisi, who was a former pupil of the Germanicum and under the influence of Cariophyllis. Ludovico Ludovisi, who exerted a decisive ascendancy over his uncle Gregory XV, sent an intimation to the minister general which relieved the friars of the administration of the Greek College.

The General agreed heartily (2), but the religious of the College, six in number, were reluctant to change their residence and retorted that they were not appointed by the General, but by the Protector and that they could yield only to a higher authority. Ludovisi became impatient and sent Cyriophyllis to the College with an express order of the Pope that the friars should leave the College within a few hours. This was done.

It was within the power of Ludovico Ludovisi to expel the Dominicans but he hesitated to face the rage of the *Serenissima* by putting in the Jesuits. A temporary expedient was devised. Fabrizio Flattri, a secular priest, about 62 years old, was named

(1) The remarks on these events are scattered in several documents, but the most coherent and detailed account is in *Ristretto delle utilità* ... *loc. cit.*, fol. 5 ff.

(2) Cf. Julius CORDARA, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, pars sexta I, Romae 1750, 347.

rector. He came from a family of Venetian adventurers that had settled in Cyprus and his ancestors played an important role in the history of the island. He was rector, for about 19 months from April 7 1621 till October 30, 1622 Of the life of Fabrizio Flattri little is known. Later, in 1638 he sent a letter to the Pope in which he asked for assistance from the resources of the Greek College. He explained his precarious financial situation, attributing it to the fact that the pension of 450 scudi that he was receive from the Venetians each year was refused to him (1).

Flattri's interregnum could not last very long. The reasons the Curia had for putting the Jesuits into the Greek College again, are explained in the statement of November 5, 1622:

a) The Jesuits will put new life into the College and give the students a proper training (2).

b) The Jesuits have residences in Pera and in Chios and thus they can organise a better selection of pupils and help them when they leave the College.

The Nunzio and papal authorities dealing with the Venetians avoided any mention of the Jesuit residences in the Levant and limited their argumentation to the first point (3).

Finally the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi was told by Cardinal Matteo Barberini, Protector of the College to appoint a new rector. The General appointed Fr. Andrea Eudaimoioannes. This esteemed scholar accompanied by a new prefect of discipline Fr. Francesco Farinella was on his way towards the Greek College on October 30, 1622 when, near the Mausoleum Augusti he met the Protector Matteo Barberini. The Cardinal asked them to wait for a while in the near-by church of St. Giacomo in Augusta (*St. Giacomo degl'Incurabili*). He hurried to the College, summoned the students and instructed them about the change of

(1) The Memoriale of Fabrizio Flattri was addressed to the Pope. It was handed to the rector, Tarquinio Galluzzi, who added to it his own *postscriptum*: Questo memoriale fu dall'Em.mo Protettore rimesso a me infrascritto con farmi intendere che non pareva a S. Eminenza che si dovesse concedere quello che si dimanda à titolo di parte stabile e perpetua, ma solo per carità e beneplacito et ad tempus. L'oratore di questo si contentò e si gli cominciò à dare pane 2 e due fogliette di vino il dì di 4 di febraio 1638. ACGr, VI, fol. 28.

(2) Vat. Archives, *Fondo Borghese*, ser. II, 479, foll. 271-274v.

(3) *Ibid.*, fol. 275.

administration. " I know ", he said, " that the Fathers of the Society love you and your nation; behave accordingly and do not frustrate their efforts ". Then he descended with masters and pupils to the main entrance and welcomed the Fathers, introducing them into the College, as had done Santa Severina thirty two years before.

The previous rector Fabrizio Flattri handed over the archives and the seals to Fr. Eudaimoioannes in the presence of the Cardinal. The same evening a group of older students went to see the General Muzio Vitelleschi to thank him and they were received with the utmost courtesy.

But the atmosphere was far from being serene. The Venetian Ambassador informed the Republic about the great outrage the Roman Curia had inflicted on the *Serenissima*. The Venetian government took to the reprisals. It withheld the revenues of the bishopric of Kissamo in Crete which were reserved by Gregory XIII for the upkeep the Greek College, (1) declaring that these funds would be applied to a Greek house of studies in Padova. The Nunzio protested but in vain. On November 29, 1622 he was called to the meeting of the *Collegio* (2). He was told that the Republic was much displeased that the Greek College had passed into the hands of the Jesuits, " because the Republic can in no way approve that their subjects should be educated and trained by them ". The Nunzio should inform His Holiness and the Cardinal Secretary that the *Serenissima* had always a great benevolence to the Greeks and their College. Then the Doge expressed his amazement that in the order of St. Dominic there were not suitable persons for this office and, if not among the Preachers, certainly there were in other orders.

The Nunzio answered evasively. His Holiness could do nothing but approve the decision of the Cardinal Protectors. The solution taken by them was the only way to preserve the College from ruin. In addition, the return of the Jesuits to the College was not an innovation, they had been there before. Their withdrawal in the time of Benedetto Giustiniani was only temporary.

(1) It was Matthew Cariophyllis who wrote to Rome from Venice about the Venetian reprisals. The relevant passage was quoted by Tarquinio Galluzzi in his letter of November 24, 1622. *Barb. Lat.* 4588, fol. 44.

(2) Nunzio's report in *Barb. Lat.* 4588, foll. 115-116.

They were accused of not having economized enough, but their ability for education could not be questioned. Has not every order a proper field of activity? Well, the Jesuits rendered excellent services in educating youth. In this field they remained unsurpassed.

" UNIVERSALIS ECCLESIAE REGIMINIS " OF NOVEMBER 23, 1624.

Matteo Barberini had his plan for the Greek College ready when he ascended Peter's throne as Urban VIII. His Constitution of November 23, 1624, was written on his own initiative — motu proprio, non ad alicuius Nobis super hoc oblatae petitionis instantiam — though in composing it he respected the wishes of the Jesuits and availed himself of their help. As a matter of fact, the document mirrors in many points the rules of the Society and the regulations of other Jesuit colleges (1).

The competence of the General and of the Protector were clearly circumscribed to forestall, for the future, disputes similar to that which forced the Jesuits to withdraw from the College in 1604.

The authority of the rector was accentuated. The rector alone was to appoint and remove the non-Jesuit officials. He, in turn, was to be named exclusively by the General.

Some practical applications of the Constitution are contained in two printed documents: the first is a list or requirements for the candidates of the College, the second is a list of transgressions which entail automatic expulsion from the College.

« Requirements necessary for admission to the Greek College " (2) were drawn from the Urban's Constitution and from a complementary " Instructio pro executione Constitutionis Colle-

(1) The text of the Urbanian Constitution in *Bull. Rom.*, XIII, 245-255 and in other Bullaria.

(2) *Conditioni necessarie a chi vorrà essere ricevuto per Alunno del Collegio Greco di Roma secondo la Constitutione Apostolica di Papa Urbano VIII.* In Roma, apresso Stefano Paolini, 1626. The text is bilingual. Copies are not scarce. ARSJ, *Rom.* 160, fol. 39, 40, 41, 42. (Four copies). Also *Vat. Lat.* 11912, fol. 16.

gii Graecorum de Urbe" (1). The last was signed by Scipione Cabeluzzi, Cardinal of St. Susanna, Protector of the College after Matteo Barberini.

The requirements are summed up in six points: The boys should come from honorable and not vagabond families, have a sufficient knowledge of the Greek tongue, both their parents must be Greeks and of the Greek rite but not neophytes. Concerning the baptism, the *Instructio* has a curious statement: Quocirca Graecorum filii casu aliquo a Latino presbytero baptizati, quod non suppeteret copia Graeci presbyteri admittendi non sunt, i. e. should be considered Latins. The age limit was fixed for between 12 and 16. The last point contains a demand which was rarely applied: anybody entering the College should deposit with the superior such an amount of money sufficient for his return journey.

The other paper is a list of twelve transgressions, drawn exclusively from the Constitution (*Casi di Bolla*) (2); any of these transgressions would result in a immediate expulsion from the College. With some "cases" we may agree: the pupils who are not suitable for their ecclesiastical vocation or who show inability for studies should be sent away. Some other cases are marked with extreme rigorism. A student who left his companion in the street alone and went his own way, or who took food or drink in a tavern, was to be expelled. We have abundant examples from other colleges that drinking in a tavern and similar transgressions were usually expiated with house prison.

Gregory had established the College for Greeks from Venetian and Turkish territories. The Urbanian Constitution approved some modifications which had already been adopted. Clement VIII gave permission to accept some candidates from the Ruthenian lands, before they erected a seminary of their own. Paul V by

(1) *Instructio pro executione Constitutionum Collegii Graecorum de Urbe*. It has never been printed but is found very often in the Codices: ARSJ, *Fondo Gesuitico, Informationes* 85, foll. 422-425. Also Vat. Libr., *Vat. Lat.* 6427, foll. 73-77; *Vat. Lat.* 11912, foll. 13-15v. Below the signature of the Cardinal is usually a short note: SS. D.N. mandavit mihi vivae vocis oraculo servari.

(2) *Casi di Bolla, per i quali gl'Alunni del Collegio Greco devono essere licentiati dal Collegio*. It is found very often in the Codices. ARSJ, *Fondo Gesuitico, Inf.* 85, foll. 425-427, Vallicelliana Libr. *Fondo Allacci*, 52, foll. 133v-134v.

a Brief of Dec. 2, 1615 fixed the number of the Ruthenian students at four (1). These four students were often Basilian monks (2).

The Metropolitan Rutski tried to have more places for his candidates but in vain (3). Urban VIII approved that two monks of the "Congregation of St. Nilus" might have two free places in the College, but the *Instructio* made it clear that this should be considered a kind of temporary dispensation. Finally, ten free places were reserved for Italo-Greeks and Italo-Albanians.

As to the observation of the Greek rite the Urbanian Constitution follows the usual pattern of similar documents of those times. It is just and generous in general principles, inconsequent and bad in detail and application. The general statement is promising: Ritum Graecum per omnia diligenter servent, dum sunt in collegio. There is immediately subjoined: Latinum vero, quantum scandali et eorum, cum quibus conversantur, ratio postulabit. And truly, the Latins were extremely susceptible to scandal in those times. The Constitution prescribed attendance at a Latin Mass every day, it enumerated te feasts on which two Masses, first the Latin, then the Greek, were to be celebrated. The bull remained the point of departure for detailed prescriptions contained in the Rules of 1636 (4). Communion *sub utraque* was prescribed three times a year but the *Instructio* impaired even this modest concession by saying that this should be considered a mere permission, not an obligation.

The Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

On April 21, 1622 the Propaganda ordered the formation of a special session of Cardinals to investigate if the Colleges of the City bore the desired fruit, if they corresponded to their original purpose and what changes were to be made (5).

(1) *Bull. Rom.*, XII, 340.

(2) *Instructio*: Deinde instante Metropolita ius hoc translatum est ad monacos eius nationis, quos educari Romae opere praetium est, ut futuri episcopi doctrinam, et affectum in Romanam Ecclesiam imbibant.

(3) Cf. his letter of February 16, 1923: ... sed habeo tres qui philosophiam hoc anno finiunt bonae expectationis ... *Barb. Lat.* 2607, fol. 87.

(4) ACGr, XI, 85-144.

(5) Cf. the original though undated letter, signed by Francesco Ingoli Secretary of Propaganda, addressed to the Scots' and Greek Colleges. *Barb. Lat.* 2607, fol. 35.

The visitation of the Greek College was carried out probably by Cardinal Antonio Barberini Senior in 1626. The *Memoriale* pertaining to the visitation states (1):

a) The original purpose of the College was not to train only priests, but to create a centre of Greek studies to help the Greeks.

b) It is to be regretted that a serious attempt has not been made to select pupils, but they are received without discrimination. Many, especially those from the Venetian territories, after having finished the humanities in the Greek College, go to Padova for higher studies. They declare that the Venetian authorities do not allow them to preach the Catholic faith in their home country. This is not a mere excuse — subjoins the Cardinal. None of the pupils of the Greek College, became, however, hostile to the Catholic faith; many of them became monks, several were consecrated bishops and some have received episcopal dignity and consecration from the hands of the schismatics themselves. The writer does not utter any word of blame about it (2).

c) Some reasons which have prevented many pupils from making better progress are of an intrinsic nature: frequent change of superiors, lack of skilled masters of Greek, insufficient training in controversies and, last but not least, the goal itself at which the College aims is too gigantic — the pupils enter the College as little boys and as time goes by they become discouraged at the enormity of the task they have to face.

d) Finally there are extrinsic handicaps, deserving serious attention: when the students return to Greece, everything turns against them. They have no means of subsistence. They have to live in the midst of a hostile people — how different is their position from the students of other colleges. Their own countrymen view them as traitors of their nation. After this brilliant analysis of the situation the Cardinal suggests some remedies. The candidates from Turkish territories should have preference. The staff of the Greek College should be selected with more care. Those who leave the College for the Levant sould receive some subsidy for their living.

(1) *Ibid.* fol. 37.

(2) Aliqui etiam episcopi dignitate a scismaticis ornati sunt. De Episcopis Orientalibus sunt, qui bene sentiunt; nam, quantum fieri potest, Graecos illuminant et schisma extinguunt. *Ibid.*

The last suggestion met with the approval of Propaganda which in the session of December 28, 1626 decided that the number of students should be diminished and the funds, thus saved, be distributed among the priests who were leaving the College to start, their work in the East [1]. They were to be under the control of Latin prelates who also saw to the distribution of the money. This was an unhappy idea, lacking psychological insight into the problem. The Levantine prelates, often adventurers more than churchmen, were, so to speak, natural enemies of everything Greek. They were imbued with Latin prejudices and they were rarely well regarded by former students of the Greek College [2].

Taking the oath.

There existed in the Greek College from the early days a pledge, by which the pupils obliged themselves to return to Greece after their studies and to keep the Byzantine rite. The Jesuits, however, did not enforce it. But Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani compelled all pupils to make this promise. All obeyed. Only Leone Allacci refused to take this promise, and he could be compelled to do so neither by threats nor by promises.

The Urbanian Constitution determined in detail the oath. It was to be taken at the age of 16 and obliged them to receive major orders, including the priesthood, to remain faithful to the Greek rite and to observe the Constitution of Urban VIII.

A year later Propaganda decreed a new though similar oath for the students, to be taken at the age of 14. At the same time Propaganda declared that by this oath the students were not freed from their previous obligations unless they were incompatible with it. Likewise it was prohibited to enter any religious

(1) APF, Ad Congreg. die 28 Dec. 1626, N° 18, *Acta* vol. 4, fol. 162v. Two days later Dec. 30 the pope approved the decision of Propaganda.

(2) Cf. APF, *Acta*, vol. 8, fol. 291v. Ad Congreg. 29 Aug. 1633, N° 17. Referente eodem Em.mo D. Cardinali S. Sixti literae episcopi Chiensis in quibus primo instabat ut in Collegio Graeco Graeci ritus Latini collocarentur, cum alumni Graeci ritus in eo instructi infensissimi evadant S.R.E. ... sacra Congregatio respondit, censuitque melius esse Italograecos in dicto collegio collocari, quam Graecos ritus latini, cum collegium ipsum non sit pro illis fundatum.

order or congregation, though an exception had already made for the "order" of St. Basil on October 29, 1625 (1).

This oath imposed on the pupils a burden, for which they were not mature enough, and in the circumstances it was not fair. When a similar clericalization took place in the Scots College as early as 1616, the students were given three months to decide whether they would promise to become priests eventually or leave the College. No such choice was given to the Greeks. They rarely had a chance to consult their parents. If they refused to take the oath, they were practically barred from continuing their studies, at least if they were still in humanities. Only in exceptional cases were their parents consulted. Andreas Staurino for example, asked and received permission to postpone his oath for nine months, until he could receive the approval of his father. However, the very way in which this dispensation was granted makes it clear that this had been an exceptional case (2).

In addition, there was another oath regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit. This was taken regularly on the day of Pentecost (3).

ANDREA EUDAIMOIOANNES (1622-1625).

Andrea Eudaimoioannes was born at Candia in Crete on March 1566 (4). He went to Italy while still a child. He joined the Society of Jesus on Sept. 8, 1582 and spent his novitiate at

(1) APF, Ad Congreg. diei 24 Nov. 1625, N° 19, *Acta*, vol. III, fol. 105. A printed copy of this oath in ACGr, IX, 267-268.

(2) Decretum Sacrae Congregationis de Prop. Fide habitae coram Sanctissimo die 24 febr. 1628. It is signed by Cardinal Bandino and Secretary Ingoli. ACGr IX, fol. 232.

Giovanni Andrea Staurino entered the College on August 2, 1626.

(3) Ego N. N. credo et profiteor Spiritum Sanctum a Patre simul et Filio procedere et hunc articulum sic usque ad extremum vitae meae spiritum semper firmissime profiteor atque omnia quaecumque in contrarium tamquam haereses ex toto corde damno ac detestor. Ita coram Deo omnipotente qui me iudicaturus est, spondeo voveo ac iuro. Sic me Deus ipse adiuvet et eiusdem Spiritus Sancti gratia. Amen. ACGr. II, fol. 252.

(4) *Rom.* 53, II, fol. 535v.

St. Andrew's in Rome (1). His health was poor even in the first years of his studies. Probably in the summer of 1587 he was sent to Naples to recover (2). Even sunny Naples did not restore his strength and his Superiors sent him farther to the South, to Messina, where he taught Greek for about two years (3).

If not earlier, certainly in summer 1590, he returned to Rome to resume his theological studies. Before Christmas 1590 we find him in the Roman College in the second year of theology. There he had for a companion Luigi Gonzaga, though they were in different classes (4). Three years later we find Andrea Eudaimoioannes in the English College in the office of prefect of studies. He retained his interest in English Catholicism throughout his whole life, or better he embraced with equal interest the whole complex of the religious-cultural problems of his time.

From 1597 till 1599 he taught philosophy in the Roman College (5) where he spent the most productive years of his life. Probably in the summer of 1600 he was transferred to Padua in the Venetian province, where he was engaged in teaching philosophy (6). He took his last vows as *professus quattuor votorum* in Padua February 2, 1601 (7). During these critical years, before

(1) *Rom.* 171A, fol. 83 (Ingressus novitiorum ab anno 1569 usque ad 1594). Also: *Rom.* 162, I, fol. 56. and *Rom.* 169, fol. 16v. The date indicated in these catalogues is decisive.

In my article *The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time* (1591-1604) in *Or. Chr. Periodica*, 31 (1965), pg. 91 I assigned his joining the Society to the year 1583. I followed at that time *Rom.* 53, II, fol. 186, 523v and 293. The year 1582 should, however, be preferred.

(2) Cf. the letter of Father General sent to Andrea Eudaimoioannes on November 7, 1587. *Neap.* 3, fol. 273v.

(3) Cf. the letter of Father General to Andrea Eudaimoioannes of May 20, 1589. *Sic.* 2, fol. 215. See also *Rom.* 53, II, fol. 335v.

(4) Cf. *Rom.* 53, I, fol. 142, Collegium Romanum exeunte 1590: Andreas Eudaimoioannes, Cretensis, [aetas] 25, [vires] infirmae, [tempus Societatis] 8, [tempus studiorum] Reth. et Philos., nunc Theol. anno secundo, docuit humaniores litteras et linguam Graecam per annum Neapoli.

There follows immediately: Aloysius Gonzaga, Mantuanus, 23, [vires] infirmas, [tempus Societatis], 5, humanitates et Philos. in Societate, theol. anno 4.

(5) *Rom.* 53, II, fol. 223, 293, 359v.

(6) *Ven.* 37, fol. 267. On January 15, 1602: P. Andreas Eudaemonianus, scholasticae professor, Consultor, Monitor.

(7) *Ital.* 5, fol. 27, 28.

the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Venetian territory, he sent a long letter to Claudio Aquaviva, in which he analysed the difficulties of the Jesuit schools in Padua (1).

From the North he travelled again to the province of Naples, where he was to stay for several years, at least until 1606 (2).

He liked Rome and the Roman College where he could devote himself entirely to scholarship (3). His sojourns in Tivoli and Frascati were only temporary (4). The *Catalogus Collegii Romani* anno 1617 determines his scholarly activity with the remark: consultor et scribit contra hereticos (5). Two years later, at the end of 1619 he is named together with Christophorus Grienberger and Famianus Strada with a remark concerning all three: scribunt imprimenda (6).

His appointment as rector of the Greek College he most probably felt as an inconvenience. His preference was always for books and teaching. He was never, as far as we know, either superior, or minister and probably he lacked the qualities of an efficient administrator. His choice for the office of rector was dictated by other circumstances; he was a Greek, a cultured man, enjoying a great prestige in Roman theological circles. He hailed from Candia and was probably more sympathetic to the Republic of St. Mark than some other Jesuits. He was but 57 years old, though sickly.

Even before his famous trip to France, in 1625, he was freed from the charge of the Greek College and was allowed to return to his books, retaining the title of rector (7). Less than a month after Andrea Eudaimoioannes took over the College, Fr. Tarquinio

(1) *Ital.* 162, foll. 136-137v.

(2) Cf. the letter of the General, dated Dec. 13, 1603: *Neap.* 7, fol. 215. Another letter of Father General, dated Dec. 15, 1607: *Neap.* 8, fol. 292.

See also *Neap.* 81, fol. 62.

(3) *Rom.* 79, fol. 241. *Rom.* 80, fol. 3.

(4) *Rom.* 16, fol. 435, 445v. *Rom.* 17, fol. 164, 316v.

(5) *Rom.* 78, I, fol. 40.

(6) *Rom.* 80, fol. 15v.

(7) *Rom.* 80, fol. 71v: A catalogue for the year 1625. Andrea Eudaimoioannes is placed with Famianus Strada and Cornelius a Lapide with the remark: scribunt imprimenda.

Galluzzi was already acting with the authority, dare we say, of a vice-rector (1).

Andrea Eidaimoioannes was highly esteemed by the Barberini family. When Urban VIII decided to send his nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini to France to negotiate with Louis XIII and Richelieu about the Valteliana and other questions of international politics to bring about a decision in the papal interest, Andrea Eudaimoioannes accompanied the Legate in the quality of a theologian (2). The Cardinal left Rome with his suite on March 18, 1625 and returned after not very fruitful negotiations to Rome on December 17, 1625. Fr. Andrea during the return, not far from Rome, was taken seriously ill. He was hastily trasferred to the Roman Professed house. There he breathed his last on December 24, 1625 (3).

C. Sommervogel and E. Legrand composed the lists of Fr. Andrea's works. These books do not concern our argument. From the last years of his life we possess three manuscripts-treatises which were not destined for general circulation. All three deal with Greek Christianity and the Greek College (4). The author did not escape completely the prevalent fashion of accumulating long quotations and the tendency to disputatiousness. He inserted, however, in this theoretical material some practical and sober remarks of interest.

The first treatise: Quaeritur an ad lucrandas fratrum animas dispensare possit Sedes Apostolica, ut Alumni Collegii Graeci sacros ordines a schismaticis in Oriente sumant, aut etiam episcopi consecrentur (5).

This was a long-standing problem. Antonio Possevino discussed it at the date when the Jesuits entered the Greek College for the first time. Fr. Eudaimoioannes wrote in an atmosphere which was more loaded with prejudices against the Greeks than it had been some thirty years earlier. The author answered the question positively. He explained that an ordination by a bishop who was

(1) Cf. his letter of November 24, 1622: *Barb. Lat.* 4588, fol. 44.

(2) L. v. PASTOR, *Storia dei Papi*, vol. XIII, Roma 1931, pp. 287.

(3) A brief Eulogium in *Rom.* 185, fol. 153.

(4) They are preserved in *Vat. Lat.* 6427 with the addition by another hand: Opuscula P. Andreae Eudemoniani jesuitae pro Graecis. See also *Barb. Lat.* 2607.

(5) *Vat. Lat.* 6427, foll. 79-90v. Also: *Barb. Lat.* 2607, foll. 27-32.

not in communion with Peter's See was against neither the natural nor the divine positive law; hence a dispensation could be granted without hesitation. Among the authors who in his own time upheld the same opinion, he included Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, the Jesuit Cardinal Toleto, Peter Barra, the teacher of Giustiniani, John Azor, Michael Vasquez, Muzio de Angelis — and to these he subjoined: quorum subscriptiones apud me habeo [1]. From the last remark we conclude that this particular problem occupied his mind for several years. He pointed out that the solution of some practical cases, dealt with during the pontificate of Clement VIII and Gregory XV, was in harmony with his thesis [2].

The second problem is closely connected with the first. Given that a priest from the Greek College should be consecrated with a dispensation from the Holy See when consecrated by a bishop who is not in communion with the Holy See, what is to be said about the ceremonies which take place at the consecration and which, to the mind of some are incompatible with the Catholic faith? [3]

Some contemporaries were hostile to any dispensation, because at the consecration the candidates recited the Nicene Creed without the *Filioque*; they made a profession of faith in which they mentioned only seven oecumenical councils, and finally they promised to follow in everything " Nicholas, the most Holy and Universal Patriarch " [4]. But, opposed Eudaimoioannes, none of these points runs counter to the Catholic faith and the unity

[1] Fr. John Azor (d. 1603) and Michael Vasquez (d. 1624) were Jesuits and friends of Fr. Andrea. Another contemporary, Muzio de Angelis wrote Commentaries on Aristotle and St. Thomas. All three together with Robert Bellarmin and Benedetto Giustiniani S. J. were members of the Commission for Greek rites. Cf. APF, *Miscell. Diverse*, vol. 21, fol. 269.

[2] Fr. Andrea concluded:

1° Omnino falsum esse in communione etiam sacramentorum cum heretico vel schismatico semper implicite contineri protestationem schismatis vel erroris...

2° Iure divino non esse prohibitam participationem in divinis cum heretico vel schismatico...

[3] *Vat. Lat.* 6427, foll. 93-107v. Also ACGr, IV, 103-115.

[4] Spondeo me in omnibus obsequuturum et consensurum Nicolao Sanctissimo et Universali Patriarchae.

of Church. If one commemorates the seven ecumenical synods, he does not make any statement against other legitimate councils; if the Greeks recite the Creed without the *Filioque*, they do what their ancestors for generations observed with the approval of councils and of popes. The author explains in the same conciliatory way the promise to Nicholas, which some contemporaries identified with Nicholas, Pope of Rome.

The third treatise concerned the minor orders (1). Some zealots tried to persuade the Holy Office that the Greeks should be given all minor orders as observed by the Latins. Hence the problem: Quaeritur an cogendi sint exorcistatum addere et modo conferre alios tres ordines, quo confert Ecclesia Latina. This seemed to follow from the famous letter of Innocent IV sent to the Legate of Cyprus. The answer of Fr. Eudaimoioannes, drawn up in twenty points, is summarized in " nihil innovandum ". He stressed also the undesirable consequences which such an enactment would entail for pupils of the Greek College in their apostolate (2). What justifiable irritation would this produce among the Greeks and Ruthenians?

Those who were destined for Greece should be ordained only by a Greek bishop according to the traditional Greek ceremonies. The candidates for the priesthood from Greek and Albanian colonies in Italy, could be ordained in the Latin rite by their ordinaries to spare these from a long journey and the expenses of staying in Rome (3). Or, they could be ordained in accordance with the Roman Pontifical but in the Greek tongue ... Cum hanc facultatem ad hunc ipsum finem Sua Sanctitas iam concesserit Rev.mo Domino Archiepiscopo Iconiensi. This is, I believe, the

(1) *Vat. Lat.* 6427, foll. 109-116. Also: *Barb. Lat.* 2607 foll. 53-58.

(2) Nam alumni quidem Collegii Graeci si vel ab episcopo qui ipse latino ritu consecratus sit, vel immutatis Graeci ritus ceremoniis ordinantur, eadem, aut maiori etiam difficultate recipientur quam qui pure latino ritu sint ordinati. Neque res haec celari facile poterit quae fit in oculis Urbis, et in re adeo notabili, cum contra experti sumus eos presbyteros qui secundum ritum Graecum a bonae memoriae Domino Acacio Graeco, et ritu Graeco consecrato episcopo in Urbe fuerant ordinati, fuisse sine difficultate receptos. *Vat. Lat.* 6427, fol. 115v.

(3) *Barb. Lat.* 4588, fol. 90 contains a Memoriale of Tommaso Cucia and Francesco Sciulara from the diocese of Palermo. They were to be ordained priests in Rome by the *episcopus ordinans Graecus*. They ask to be dispensed from the long interstices on account of their poverty.

first mention of such a faculty being granted to Cariophyllis or to anybody else. The question itself had been ventilated already in the times of Cardinal Santoro (1) and again later when a new edition of the Greek Euchologion was being planned (2).

The problems just mentioned were not merely theoretical discussions but had practical consequences and were the object of bitter dissensions. On one side was the rigoristic archbishop of Iconium, Cariophyllis with his wrath and zeal, on the other side those pupils of the Greek College who were in favor of the venerable Greek tradition and had better contacts with Greek reality. Eudaimoioannes wrote to Matteo Barberini complaining of Cariophyllis, and asked the Cardinal Protector to bring the archbishop of Iconium through the mediation of Cardinal Ludovisi to more moderate views (3). How can we gain for the Church of Christ the Greeks, the Muscovites, the Cossacks if we embitter them with our theories and push them thus into the arms of Protestants?

On these and related problems Fr. Eudaimoioannes after consultation with some Greek friends composed two Memorials. They were anonymous and destined for the Pope and to Cardinal Ludovisi (4). Certainly the latter badly needed enlightening on the legitimacy of the Greek rite and the Greek tradition (5).

(1) APF, *Miscell. Diverse* vol. 21, foll. 373-379: A Greek version of the text for minor orders taken from the Pontificale Romanum. The translation was made by Cartesio Branas and handed to Santa Severina at Genazzano November 9, 1597.

(2) APF, *Acta*, vol. 13, fol. 200. Die 5 Decembris 1638: Fuit Congregatio 31 de emendatione Euchologii Graecorum in palatio Emi D. Card. Spada ... In ea propositis formulis trium Ordinum minorum qui a Graecis omittuntur, videlicet Ostiariatus, Exorcistae, et Acolythatus sive Ceroferariatus ex Pontificali Romano desumtis, et a praedicto Patre Richardo accommodatis, ut sequitur .....

(3) See his letter of February 10, 1623, written from the Greek College. *Barb. Lat.* 4588, fol. 53-53v.

(4) *Ibid.*, fol. 54-54v. Dated February 11, 1623.

(5) From a letter of Cardinal Ludovisi, dated May, 1622: E cosa degna di dolore che in cotesto Dominio [Veneziano] si permetta che da Greci preti scismatici ci venga non solo celebrato secondo il loro dannato rito, ma si dispensi anche a cattolici il pane, che V. S. scrive, et s'ingegnino introdure altre superstizioni. Nostro Signore non ha senza particolare dispiacere potuto sentire quanto Ella ci significa in questa materia ... Vat. Archives, *Fondo Borghese*, ser. II, vol. 479, fol. 247.

Andrea Eudaimoioannes spent the first years of his religious life in an atmosphere of great hopes for the future of the Church. In opinion of his generation the Greek College was to have reserved for an important role. Fr. Andrea kept the Gregorian ideal always in view. Being a man of wide plans, he did not consider the Greek College in isolation, but saw it integrated into the politico-religious world of his time, as did Gregory XIII. Shortly before Eudaimoioannes became rector of the Greek College, he wrote on these problems a letter which begins: " Greece through the English King's interference is reduced to such a condition that it will soon become Calvinist, if no remedy is applied " (1). By English influence Cyril Lukaris with his Calvinist tendencies was elevated to the See of Constantinople and Greek monks attend the English universities. Fr. Andrea outlined a plan for saving the Greece, he sincerely loved from this danger, with help of the students of the Greek College. He explains: it would not be difficult to find among the former students of the Greek College a prelate, suitable for the highest ecclesiastical dignity in Greece, who would prudently favor union with Rome and peace among the Churches. It is common knowlegde how difficult it is for our former pupils to make themselves known and influential in Greece. A radical change can be wrought through the most Christian King of France. His ambassador exerts a great influence on the Turks. This would have a result of great importance for the Church and for the Most Christian King too (2), Fr. Andrea had in mind two such candidates for the patriarchal See: Both were pupils of the Greek College (2). The first was the archbishop of

(1) *Barb. Lat.* 4588, fol. 1. The letter is a copy; another hand has added in *tergo*: P. Eudemon.

The same letter in ACGr, V, fol. 27-28 with the following remark in *tergo*: Instrutione per la Grecia contro i Calvinisti. Scripsi P. Arnulpho ea de re 23 Oct. 1621 et misi copiam ut cum legato tractaret. Non egit cum legato, quia ipse Pater Arnulphus a Curia remotus est mense Novembris eiusdem anni.

(2) Che così solamente in termine di alcuni anni avremmo la Grecia fatte insensibilmente catolica, ma Sua Maestà ancora avrebbe tutti li Prelati particolarmente dipendenti da Roma, che in qualche occorrenza sarebbe di somma importanza per essere li Greci straordinariamente affettionati a loro Prelati. *Barb. Lat.* 4588, fol. 2v.

(2) Cf. his letter to the Cardinal-Protector. *Ibid.* fol. 4. The letter is undated.

Christianopoli in Peloponesos, about 48 years old, of exemplary life and Catholic doctrine. — This person was Nicholas Gorgorici (1).

The second was the archbishop of Trebizond, less gifted than the former. He was from Chios, and was then in Constantinople. His name was Ignatius Sgutta. — This candidate was more commonly known as Ignatius Mendonis (2).

Filippo Nappi (1625-1626).

Father Filippo Nappi was born in Ancona October 2, 1576 and joined the Roman novitiate February 14, 1595 (3). During his studies of theology he was engaged in the English College as repetitor of metaphysics (4).

Having finished the third probation at Sezze (1605) (5), he started the usual "pilgrimage" in different houses of the province. He stayed in his native city Ancona as rector for about

(1) *Catalogus de Scolari et altri del Collegio Greco*, AVGr, XXII, fol. 102: Nicolà Gorgogini, di Arcadia, di anni 19 in 20, monaco novitio di S. Basilio, Grammatico Latino e Greco, è sano ma di debole complessione, sono circa due anni e mezzo che è in collegio. These words were written in autumn, 1591.

Cronica di tutti i scolari, ACGr, I, fol. 16v-17, notes: Nicodemo Gorgogricio, d'Arcadia nella Morea, fu d'indole ottima, doppo haver studiato la filosofia et teologia, partì dal Collegio; essendo andato alla patria, ove con la continua predicatione ha fatto grandissimo frutto; poi ordinato sacerdote, non ha mancato maggiormente d'attendere all'acquisto dell'anime, si con le confessioni, come con le predicationi, et fermandosi molto tempo appresso l'Arcivescovo di Patrasso nella Morea, al quale insegna le lettere humane et divine. E stato in Collegio dieci anni. Due volte fu accusato a'i Turchi qualmente era papista, et che predicava l'autorità del Papa, et che era sua spia, et corse pericolo d'essere impalato, ma con l'aiuto del Signore et d'alcuni cattolici greci per ira di danari fù liberato. E finalmente fatto Metropolita di Cristianopoli nella Morea, fece grandissimo frutto con le sue prediche et santo zelo.

See also: L. Allatii. *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1748, col. 986-987 and Vallicelliana Libr., *Carte Allacci*, vol. 52, fol. 44.

(2) For Ignatius Mendonis see my article *The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time*, *OrChrPer*, XXXI (1965), pp. 102.

(3) *Rom.* 54, fol. 82v.

(4) *Rom.* 54, fol. 140, 161.

(5) *Rom.* 79, fol. 232.

three years. He took last vows as *professus quattuor votorum* at Fermo December 28, 1614 (1). Then he was socius of the provincial and rector of the Loretto College in 1622 and 1623 (2).

When did he become rector of the Greek College? We may presume that he took this charge from the beginning of 1625, certainly before Fr. Eudaimoioannes' trip to France. Nappi is designated as rector in the *Catalogus Triennalis* in April 1625 (3). He acts as rector on September 29, 1625 when Giacomo Medices Spartanus underwent his examinations to get his doctor's diploma (4). Nappi remained rector of the Greek College until summer 1626 (5). Then be became rector of the Roman seminary (1626-1629), rector of St. Andrew's novitiate, (6) finally rector of the Germanicum (7). He died in Rome October 19, 1640 (8).

We are fairly well informed on the life of this outstanding member of the Roman province but we do not know what special policy developed under him the Greek College, if any.

In March 1626 he received from the Propaganda an intimation to economize and to reduce step by step the number of pupils to thirty. He had no time to put it in practice but he carefully noted it for his successor, Tarquinio Galluzzi (9).

Tarquinio Galluzzi (1626-1630).

of Montebone in central Italy was born in 1574 and joined the Society on November 11, 1590 (10). After his training, he

(1) *Ital.* 6, fol. 143, 144.

(2) *Rom.* 80, fol. 39, 61.

(3) *Rom.* 56, fol. 36.

(4) Cf. ACGr, III, foll. 174-179 (the text of the diploma).

(5) Cf. the letter of Muzio Vitelleschi to the Cardinal-Protector of the Roman Seminary. The General says that after deliberating with his assistents he was ready to send to the Roman Seminary Filippo Nappi, « persona di rara bontà di molta prudenza e di lunga esperienza in simili governi: è di più bonissimo et hora governa con sodisfattione il Collegio de' Greci. *Ital.* 163, fol. 306.

(6) *Rom.* 80, fol. 122v, 100v, 143v, 163, 219, 246.

(7) *Rom.* 80, fol. 275v; *Rom.* 57, fol. 36.

(8) *Hist. Soc.* 47, fol. 55.

(8) Cf. ACGr, IX, fol. 224.

(10) *Rom.* 56, fol. 171v, 290v.

taught moral theology and was at the Roman College as prefect of inferior studies for many years (1). His stay at Siena and Florence was short (2). He took charge of the Greek College in the fall of 1626 and remained rector until the summer of 1630, when he was relieved by Agostino Garzadoro, the former rector of the Illyricum (2).

Two years later, 1632, Galluzzi was again given the charge of the Greek College and remained rector without interruption until 1645 (4). He died in Rome on July 28, 1649 (5).

What a worry the Greek College was! Fr. Galluzzi had no money and he had to keep the seminary without incurring debts. He was told to diminish substantially the number of students and the staff. But was it possible with a small number to preserve the framework of a real College?

On January 11 1627, Fr. Galluzzi received a letter from Cardinal Lelio Biscia, Protector of the College, telling him of the decision of Propaganda: the number of students should be substantially decreased and the money thus gained should be reserved as *viaticum* for those who leave the College for Greece (6).

Some months after, the rector received another letter, this time from all three Protectors. It was a further insistence on reducing the number of students.

Fr. Galluzzi responded with a long explanation, which may be summarized in this way: Urban VIII spoke of 50 students, today there are 35, the Propaganda fixed the number at 30. To get the necessary funds for the *viaticum*, the number of students was to be diminished again. — But this would affect seriously the training of the students. How are you going to apply the further decrease to the different groups? To the Italo-Greeks, to the Ruthenians? Or do you want to commit an injustice by applying the decrease only to the Greeks from the Levant? Even now the economizing policy has done great harm to a sound edu-

(1) *Rom.* 80, fol. 15, 29v, 51v, 74.
(2) *Rom.* 19, fol. 289v.
(2) *Rom.* 80, fol. 101v, 123, 144.
(4) *Rom.* 80, fol. 223v, 250v, 276, 302v, 326v.
(5) *Hist. Soc.* 47, fol. 74.
See also C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, III, Bruxelles 1892, col. 1141-1144.
(6) ACGr, IX, foll. 226-235.

cation. Two duties are often carried out by one person; such is the case of the master of the house and the purveyor. The studies suffer because the number of repetitors has been diminished.

The College owns some houses, but these badly need repair. The main source of income is the abbey of Mileto, but this is neglected, for many fields remain uncultivated and capital is needed to produce a profit. The College cannot take over a new burden to support its former pupils in the Levant. You say, the College should lend this money. This is an illusion, we shall never recover these funds. Other colleges are better provided: it is the *Elemosiniere* who takes care of the viatica.

Finally, this College is laden with other burdens. There is a Greek bishop living with us; also there is Peter Arcudius, a man deserving this treatement. The College has to support a Greek lady, who was sent to us by Cardinal Giustiniani and it entertains visitors from the East. In addition it is time to provide for another teacher of Greek, because the present one has finished his studies and is leaving the College.

Nevertheless, Fr. Galluzzi had to cede to economic pressure. In July 1628 there were only 31 pupils in the College, though the staff remained seemingly unchanged (1). However, the *Catalogus Triennalis* of the year 1629 included only three priests in the College, Fr. Tarquinio Galluzzi as rector, Fr. Francesco de Leoni as spiritual father and Fr. Geronimo Savignani as minister; for other duties there were two laybrothers (2).

Not only Propaganda and the Protectors, but even his own brethren of the Society caused the rector many troubles, including this time the upkeeep and economy of the College. The main source of income was the abbey of the Most Holy Trinity in Mileto in the territory of the province of Naples. Fr Galluzzi had nobody to sent there as vicar, hence he had to rely on the good will of the rector of Monte Leone. About the troubles Galluzzi experienced with his brethren of the Neapolitan province we have several letters he wrote to the General and to the provincials of Rome and Naples (3).

(1) ACGr, I, fol. 131.

(2) *Rom.* 56, fol. 171v.

(3) The first letter concerning this argument was written Dec. 2, 1626 and the last one of Febr. 22, 1629. Cf. *Ital.* 163, fol. 311; *Ital.* 164, fol. 14, 24, 31, 25, 33, 34, 35.

Galluzzi asked the General to write to Theodoro Massimano, rector of Monteleone, bidding him send somebody to the abbey as vicar. When this has been granted, he insisted that this vicar, Fr. Agostino Caputi, should have the complete disposal of the mule he needed for his work. Fr. Agostino Caputi fell sick and had to be replaced. Theodoro Massimano refused to have anything to do with the abbey because he had received from his Provincial a strict prohibition not to get involved in these problems. In addition, though some money had been collected, it was kept in Naples by the Provincial for several months, though Fr. Galluzzi was in a desperate situation. In one of the last letters concerning this question he begs the Roman Provincial to act " with resolution " (1). This time he was probably successful. The rector's worries, however, were not limited to the economic situation, for the College life also produced ist own difficulties.

A Cato-minded informer told Muzio Vitelleschi that two vulgar and offensive comedies had been produced in the Greek College (2). The rector had to defend both himself and the College against the accusation. He made it clear to His Paternity that the tale of the informer was grossly exaggerated. The actors used some less desirable slang expressions but no immodest words. The second accusation was more delicate. As part of the play Salem, the Turkish Sultan, was changed, it was said, into the French King. The rector admitted that there had been a change of the characters, but Salem was turned, not into the *Rex Christianissimus*, but merely into a Frenchman. This accident gives some hint how the pupils of the College viewed the interference of the French government in the affaires of Greece.

Two unsolved problems.

When the economic situation deteriorated gravely in the first decades of 17th century, there were serious repercussions upon the

(1) A letter of Febr. 22, 1629: *Ital.* 164, fol. 35: .... perchè sono più mesi che qui si mangia e si vive sul debito: e giungono con marzo due pagamenti di conto, alli quali non trovo via. Mi vergogno parlarne a Nostro Padre, e per haverne minor vergogna, vengo a pregar lei quanto più strettamente posso, che voglia prendere autorità di scrivere questa volta con ogni risolutione e con termini perentori.

(2) The letter of Fr. Galluzzi of Febr. 19, 1630: *Ital.* 164, fol. 45.

Colleges of the City. No expedient could save them from decline. The Roman Seminary reintroduced a special tax to feed its clerics(1). Some Colleges approached the Holy See for help. Even the more wealthy Clementinum had to petition the Pope in 1622 for money to pay the butcher's bill (2). Other Colleges, such as the Greek, were forced to decrease the number of their pupils.

This lack of funds created both dangerous lack of vigor and restlesness among the students. In such circumstances the Jesuits who took over the Greek College in 1622, could not match the vigorous activity that the Jesuit administration installed in 1591, during the time of Fr. Nannini. In 1623 the only thing built was a small archway, above the *Via dei Greci*, connecting St. Athanasius Church with the College (3).

Even before the arrival of the Jesuits, the authorities had sought for remedies. They had planned to increase the productivity of Mileto abbey and the Protector had sent an expert there in the person of Mario Galiota (4).

In April 1621 the income of the Greek College was 5732 scudi (5). With the arrival of Jesuits the revenues of Kissamo, valued at about 1000 scudi a year, were stopped. At the end of 1622 the income was 4132.21 scudi (6).

In 1628 the College received 4825.74 scudi (7).

(1) Cf. *Taxa redituum exigendorum pro clericis alendis in Seminario Romano denuo praescripta ab Urbano VIII*; Romae, ex Typ. Apostolicae Reverendae Camerae, 1629. A print in ARSJ, *Rom.* 131, II, fol. 404.

(2) L. MONTALTO, *Il Clementino*, Roma 1938, pg. 8.

(3) ACGr IX, fol. 26. This is an original letter of Card. Gozzadino on Febr. 20, 1623, granting permission to start this addition.

(4) A detailed account of June 20, 1621 that was presented to the Cardinal Protector, *Barb. Lat.*, 4588 foll. 120-124.

(5) *Barb. Lat.* 4588, fol. 137; fol. 137v notes in detail the expenses.

(6) ACGr, I, fol. 36.

The income for the year 1622 was distributed in this way:

Income from the abbey of Mileto	2265.51 sc.
Pensione from the Germanicum	1312
From the Hospital St. Giacomo degli Incurabili	65
From the 16 places of public credit (luoghi di monti)	87
From the rent of houses	380
Annual payment from the ground rent (da canoni)	22.70
Sum total	4132.21 sc.

(7) ACGr, I, fol. 131.

Its finances suffered another heavy blow in 1662. For a long time the Greek College had been receiving a pension from the Germanicum as the owner of the abbey of Avellana. In this year, however, it was discovered that the pension bestowed upon the Greek College by Gregory XIII had been cancelled by the same Pope when the Greeks received the abbey of Mileto. A long and weary law-suit followed which was costly and has left behind an abundance of material in the Archives. When the case was lost, the number of pupils was reduced to eighteen.

By 1676 the revenues of the Greek College had fallen to 3153 scudi (1).

The other problem causing restlesness was of a spiritual nature. The Greek College, training Greek priests, was run by superiors of Latin rite who were imbued with a Latin mentality. This problem has been solved only in recent times.

The members of the Jesuit staff were not hostile to the eastern rite and eastern traditions; they simply did not care. But their non-interest resulted in an offensive attitude. Many of them should be excused, because they remained only a short time in the College and had no chance of learning about these problems despite their good will.

This question can be illustrated by the *Memoriale* that was presented to the Jesuit General by the students of the College on April 20, 1646 (2). Some points are exaggerated, but the complaints of the pupils are on the whole justified: our superiors and teachers do nothing for our rite and for the honor of our nation: our feasts and our joys are not their feasts and their joys (3): they do not give due honor to our Archbishop; the doctor prescribed a better wine for him, but the minister refuses to buy it: the Greek culture is neglected and the teachers of the Greek language are overburdened.

The misunderstandings between the Archbishop and the rector were well known and did not contribute to the prestige of the Greek rite. The rector asked Alexander VII (1655-1667) to

(1) Vallicelliana Libr., *Fondo Allacci*, vol. 52, No 6.

(2) ARSJ, *Rom.* 160, I, fol. 64.

(3) Intorno alle cose appartenenti o all honor della natione o del decoro del nostro rito, non si muovono, anzi poco si curano: Imperciò che nelle feste nostre si mostrano tanto freddi. *Ibid.*

remove the Archbishop from the premises of the College and to assign him a residence elswhere [1]. For his part Onofrio Constantini handed a petition to the Propaganda asking for full authority over the ceremonies in St. Athanasius Church [2]. Although he was the only permanent representative of the Greek rite, he did not enjoy the respect due to his dignity. An example of this is seen by glancing at the list of persons who received a large adorned candle on Candlemass [3]. There were fixed differences in weight according to the importance of the individuals. The Greek bishop received the same size candle — one pound — as did the master of the house and the doctor.

There always existed, however, in the Greek College some Jesuits, who saw the importance of the problem; they appreciated the Greek rite and the Greek culture, even though they remained captives of their own time. Such was the author of the *Restretto delle utilità.....* In his opinion the Greek College was bearing fruit, because it was a centre of Byzantine liturgy. In the Church of St. Athanasius there were being revered the venerable traditions of James the Apostle, of Basil the Great and of John Chrysostomus. All the world could see that the Catholic Church was making no difference between leavened and unleavened bread. The difference in rite in no way indicated or caused a discrepancy in faith [4].

J. Krajcar S. J.

(1) ACGr, IX, fol. 84.
(2) *Ibid.*, fol. 286.
(3) ACGr, II, fol. 151.
(4) Anzi era convenevole, che si istituisse un coro, ove tutti questi sanctissimi riti si praticassero continuamente ripuliti da tutti gli abusi e perfezionati con tutte le loro piissime cerimonie. Oltre ciò può manifestar che la diversità de' riti non influisce veruna discordanza nella fede, né minima dissensione fra gli Azimi potea desiderarsi che la Chiesa latina accogliesse nel suo lato la Grecia. Vallicelliana Libr., *Fondo Allacci*, vol. 52, foll. 10v-11.

Gabriel Qaṭraya

et son commentaire sur la liturgie chaldéenne

Le manuscrit du British Museum *Oriental 3336* signalé par A. Baumstark (1), malgré sa grande importance pour la connaissance et l'histoire de la liturgie chaldéenne a été jusqu'ici négligé par tous ceux qui se sont intéressés à cette liturgie. Nous espérons le tirer de cet oubli immérité sur les conseils du P. Juan Mateos S.J. (2).

Le but de cet article n'est autre que de faire connaître aux savants l'existence de ce manuscrit et sa future publication, en donnant une présentation d'ensemble sur son contenu, posant le problème de son auteur, et prévenant le futur par la publication d'un paragraphe concernant la narration de la Cène du Seigneur. Nous comparerons ce paragraphe de notre auteur avec les textes parallèles des autres commentateurs chaldéens pour mettre en lumière l'importance et la valeur historique et théologique du nouveau texte. Nous poserons enfin le problème d'une possible répercussion du texte de Gabriel Qaṭraya sur le texte liturgique de l'anaphora des Apôtres Addaï et Mari.

Description du manuscrit

C'est un manuscrit in 4°, de 230 folios, à 17 lignes la page, mutilé au début. Le colophon donne la date du ms., mais il y a une petite lacune tombante sur la dizaine; G. Margoliouth (3) lit

(1) A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 200, note 13.

(2) C'est le P. Mateos qui a eu l'idée de demander des photocopies de ce manuscrit et qui nous a engagé è prendre sa traduction et étude comme sujet de notre thèse doctorale.

(3) *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum acquired since 1873*, London 1899, p. 15.

1579 des Grecs (1268 a. D.), mais on pourrait aussi lire 1549 des Grecs (1238 a. D.). Il a été écrit au monastère de Deba au pied du mont Kola, et contient:

[Titre: Interprétation des offices] (1)

1er memra (14 chapitres, fol. 1r-35r): office du soir férial.
2e memra (17 ch., plus une « admonition », fol. 35r-102r): office du matin férial.
3e memra (5 ch., fol. 102r-120v): office du soir et office de la nuit festifs.
4e memra (9 ch., fol. 120v-182v): office du matin festif.
5e memra (8 ch., fol. 182v-229v):
- la Messe (deux chapitres, fol. 182v-211v);
- un usage monastique en relation avec la Messe (un chapitre, fol. 211v-215r);
- sur la lampe du sanctuaire (un chapitre, fol. 215r-218v);
- un usage monastique en relation avec la Messe (un chapitre, fol. 218v-223r);
- sur la tonsure (un chapitre, fol. 223v-225r);
- sur la barbe (un chapitre, fol. 225r-227v);
- épilogue (un chapitre, fol. 227v-229v).

Colophon (fol. 229v-230v).

L'auteur de l'ouvrage: Gabriel Qaṭraya

Le colophon nous offre le nom de Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya et le surnom de (Bar) Lip(h)ah:

ܫܠܡ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܚܝܐ ܫܓܝܪܐ ܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܥܘܢܝܢ
ܬܫܡܫ̈ܬܐ ܕܥܒܝܕ ܘܡܛܟܣ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܒܗ ܫܪܐ ܟܠܗ
ܟܠܗ ܪܒܢ ܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܕܡܬܟܢܐ [ܒܪ] (2) ܠܝܦܗ

« Explicit scriptio huius libri, pleni vitae ardentis, Interpretationis Officiorum, compositi ac dispositi a viro in quo plene habitavit Spiritus, Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya, cognomine (Bar) Lip(h)ah ».

'Abdišo' de Nisibe dans son Catalogue cite deux Gabriel Qaṭraya: le premier est signalé par Babaï le Grand († 628) son

(1) Le manuscrit est mutilé au début; ce titre on le trouve dans le colophon.
(2) Lacune du manuscrit.

contemporain ou qui a vécu après lui (1); le second serait l'auteur d'un traité sur l'Union (2). Selon Assemani celui-ci aurait vécu autour de l'an 740 (3). Addaï Scher conclut que les deux sont un même personnage qui aurait vécu au début du VIIe s., et aurait été maître à l'école de Mahozé (Sélucie); il aurait compté parmi ses disciples le patriarche Henanišoʿ I († 700) (4). Baumstark se rallie à cette hypothèse d'Addaï Scher (5).

Le surnom Bar Lip(h)ah, cité dans le colophon de notre manuscrit, ne nous aide guère dans notre recherche d'identification de notre auteur. En effet, R. H. Connolly a publié un commentaire sur la liturgie ayant le même titre que l'ouvrage que nous étudions et ayant un contenu et souvent un texte semblable (6). Dans les manuscrits employés par Connolly l'auteur de cet ouvrage s'appelle Mar Abraham Qaṭraya Bar Lip(h)ah (7). ʿAbdišoʿ le signale dans son Catalogue (8), et le pseudo-Georges d'Arbel le cite sous le même prénom: Abraham Bar Lip(h)ah, ou simplement: Bar Lip(h)ah (9).

(1) Cf. ASSEMANI, *Biblioteca Orientalis*, III, pp. 88-97. Assemani explique le nom « Qaṭraya » dans une note: « Gabriel Catarensi: nimirum ex Bactriana regione quae Syris dicitur ܒܝܬ ܩܛܪܝܐ Beth Catraje, unde derivatur ܩܛܪܝܐ Catraja, hoc est Bactrianus... Bactriana autem regio est trans mare Caspium inter Sogdoniam ad septentrionem, a qua divisa est Oxo fluvio, et Ariam ad meridionem; quae hodie... Mavaralnahra dicitur, hoc est transoxiana. Cataram Syri vocant et insulam, quae hodie Soctora; ut enim Marcandam Bactrianae urbem praeposita littera ܣ s, Samarcandam appellant, ita et Cataram, Sactaram seu Soctoram. Etsi autem Nestoriani tam in Bactrianam, quam in Soctora domicilium habuere, quum tamen Catarae mentionem faciunt, videntur Bactrianam regionem potius, quam Soctoram insulam intelligere ». (ASSEMANI, *o. c.*, p. 632).

(2) ASSEMANI, *o. c.*, pp. 172-3.

(3) ASSEMANI, *o. c.*, p. 172, nota 8.

(4) ADDAÏ SCHER, *Etude supplémentaire sur les Écrivains Syriens Orientaux*, dans *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XI (1906), pp. 17-18.

(5) BAUMSTARK, *o. c.*, pp. 200-201.

(6) R. H. CONNOLLY, *Abrahae Bar Lipheh Qatarensis Interpretatio Officiorum*, CSCO, scriptores Syri, series B, tom. XCII (version), Romae, 1913.

(7) Soit notre manuscrit soit le *Vatican Syriaque 504*, f. 119r, vocalise Lip(h)-h par le ܙܩܦܐ « a ». Nous suivrons cette vocalisation en écrivant: « Lip(h)*a*h ».

(8) Cf. ASSEMANI, *o. c.*, pp. 196-7.

(9) R. H. CONNOLLY, *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae*, CSCO, scriptores Syri, series B, tom. XCI, I (version), Romae 1913, pp. 28, 32 et 87.

A nous il suffit en ce moment d'avoir posé le problème de l'authenticité et de pouvoir affirmer que notre auteur appartient au début du VII[e] s. En effet, il a vécu au temps de ou après Šubḥa-l-Maran, évêque de Kark(h) da-Slok(h), contemporain du patriarche Grégoire I († 609), puisqu'il le cite au folio 109[r]; et comme il ne cite jamais Išo'yahb III († 658) le grand réformateur de la liturgie chaldéenne ni sa réforme, on peut présumer, avec la plus grande probabilité, qu'il a vécu avant lui. On devrait donc l'identifier avec le Gabriel Qaṭraya qui, en 615 a. D., écrivit le colophon du cod. *Brit. Mus. Add. 14,471* (1).

Le passage sur l'Eucharistie

Pour montrer l'importance de l'ouvrage de Gabriel nous choisissons un passage capital de son commentaire, celui où il explique pourquoi le prêtre, désigné pour offrir le sacrifice eucharistique, s'approche de l'autel. Voici le texte araméen (f. 199[r]-200[r]):

ܕܒܗܢܐ ܠܡܪܘܒܐ ܢܓܪܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܟܕ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܐܪܙܐ
ܕܡܘܬܗ [ܘ]ܕܩܘܪܒܬܗ (2) ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܬܒܥܐ [199v] ܕܩܛܠܐ
ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܘܒܪܘܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܠܒܐ ܕܟܐܢܘܬܗ . ܘܡܟܝܠ
ܩܪܒ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܢܛܘܪ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ . ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܒܪ ܕܡܢ
ܢܦܩ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܟܕ ܐܫܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܐܪܙܐ ܒܪܝܟ ܘܐܘܕܝ
ܘܐܡܪ . ܕܗܢܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܘܪܫܢܗ ܦܪܫܐ ܚܕ ܟܗܢܐ
ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܒܪܟ ܘܡܘܕܐ ܒܕܘܟܪܢܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ . ܟܕ
ܟܕ ܬܒܥܐ ܡܥܒܕ ܕܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܡܪ . ܕܗܢܘ ܠܡ ܦܓܪܝ
ܕܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܡܬܩܨܐ ܠܫܘܒܩܢܐ ܕܚܛܗܐ . ܘܒܬܪ ܕܐܟܠܐ
ܟܗܢܐ ܘܡܒܪܟ ܠܠܚܡܐ ܘܫܒܪܗ . ܟܕ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܦܪܘܫܐ
ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܀ ܗܘܝܘ ܡܟܝܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܘܕܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ .
ܠܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܡܗܘܬܐ ܘܒܡܫܪܝܘܬܐ . ܠܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ

(1) Cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1870, p. 53-54.

(2) Le ܘ initial de ce mot a été oublié par le scribe.

ܦܓܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ : ܚܕ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܚܕ ܒܐܪܥܐ . ܐܠܐ
[200r] ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܨܠܡܗ ܠܐ ܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܡܠܟ̈ܝܢ :
ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܢܣܒܬ ܡܢܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ : ܐܠܐ ܚܕ
ܒܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܕܐ ܠܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܢ . ܗܟܢܐ ܦܓܪܐ
ܗܢܐ ܥܡ ܗܘ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ . ܚܕ ܦܓܪܐ (1) ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܐܬܝܗܘܢ . ܕܒܕܚܠܬܐ ܘܒܙܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ . ܙܕܩ
ܠܗ ܠܟܗܢܐ ܕܢܫܡܠܐ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܚܝܠܬܐ . ܟܕ ܝܕܥ ܕܗܘܐ
ܒܕܘܟܬ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܐܡ ܒܗ̇ ܫܥܬܐ ܘܡܒܪܟ ܘܡܘܕܐ .

Voici la traduction:

« Hucusque exprimit Ecclesia per figuras (typoi) suas mysterium mortis et sepulturae Christi. Exinde accedit sacerdos ut figuram (typos) exprimat resurrectionis per recitationem sanctorum verborum ore suo et per signationem crucis manu sua. Quemadmodum enim Dominus noster Jesus Christus, quando tradidit haec Mysteria, benedixit, gratias egit et dixit, ita similiter Ecclesia, secundum mandatum eius, designat unum sacerdotem ut sit benedicens et gratias agens in similitudinem Christi Domini nostri, per recitationem notum faciens se verba Domini nostri dicere, nempe: " *Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis frangitur ad remissionem peccatorum* ". Et simul ac recitat sacerdos et benedicit panem et vinum, (haec) per gratiam Spiritus sancti quae illabitur, fiunt exinde corpus et sanguis Christi, non natura sed fide et operatione; non quod duo corpora sunt Christo: unum in coelo, alterum in terra; sed quemadmodum rex et imago eius non duos reges efficiunt, neque humanitas Christi ex nobis desumpta duos filios efficit, sed unum Dei Filium qui unitur humanitati ex nobis (desumptae); ita hoc corpus, cum illo quod in coelo est, unum corpus Christi sunt. Quare cum timore ac magna diligentia oportet ut sacerdos perficiat hoc tremendum servitium, sciens se Christi loco illo momento stare et benedicere et gratias agere ».

Nous pouvons ainsi analyser ce texte:

a) Jusqu'ici, c.-à-d. dans la déposition des oblats sur l'autel, les rites accomplis ont représenté le mystère de la mort et de la sépulture du Christ. Mantenant que le prêtre s'approche de l'autel, les rites vont exprimer la résurrection du Seigneur.

(1) Dans le texte: ܚܕ ܒܪܐ.

b) Comment cette résurrection sera-t-elle manifestée? Par deux choses: la récitation par le prêtre célébrant des paroles saintes et les signes de croix qu'il fera avec sa main.

c) Suit l'explication ultérieure de ces deux choses. D'abord, les paroles saintes; en effet, à la dernière Cène, Notre-Seigneur, lorsqu'il a voulu transmettre les rites que nous devrions accomplir, a béni, a rendu grâces et a prononcé certaines paroles. L'Eglise maintenant, selon l'ordre reçu du Christ, désigne un prêtre qui à son tour doit bénir, rendre grâces comme le Seigneur l'a fait, et par la formule qu'il emploie, montrer qu'il dit les paroles de Notre-Seigneur: « Ceci est mon corps qui pour vous a été brisé pour la rémission des péchés ».

d) Ensuite vient l'explication des signes de croix. En effet, quand le prêtre bénit le pain et le vin, ceux-ci par la grâce de l'Esprit Saint deviennent le corps et le sang du Christ; non d'après les lois de la nature, mais selon les lois surnaturelles: la foi de notre part, l'opération de l'Esprit Saint de la part de Dieu.

e) Pourtant la transformation du pain et du vin en corps et sang du Seigneur ne signifie pas une multiplication du corps du Christ. Mais, comme un roi et son image ne font pas deux rois, et que l'humanité du Christ unie au Verbe ne fait pas deux fils mais le seul Fils de Dieu qui est uni à l'humanité, ainsi ce corps avec celui qui est au ciel, est un seul corps du Christ.

Le texte parallèle dans l'Interpretatio Officiorum de ABRAHAM BAR LIP(H)AH a été traduit ainsi par Connolly:

« Huc usque exprimit ecclesia per typos suos mysterium mortis et sepulturae Christi. Jam (vero) "accessit sacerdos" ut typum exprimat resurrectionis. Quemadmodum Dominus noster Christus, quando tradidit haec mysteria, benedixit, et confessus est, et dixit: " Sic estote facientes in mei memoriam": ita facit ecclesia secundum eius mandatum: unum sacerdotem designat ut sit benedicens et confitens in similitudinem Christi Domini nostri; qui per recitationem (suam) notum facit se verba Domini nostri dicere. Et cum recitat sacerdos et benedicit panem et vinum, per gratiam Spiritus sancti, quae illabitur, fiunt exinde corpus et sanguis Christi: non natura, sed fide vera et operatione: non quod duo corpora sunt Christo, unum in coelo, alterum in terra: sed quemadmodum rex et imago eius non duos reges efficiunt, neque humanitas (Christi) ex nobis desumpta (et verbum divinum) duos filios (efficiunt) sed unum Dei Filium, qui

unitus est humanitati quae de nobis est: ita (et) hoc corpus cum illo, quod in coelo est, unum corpus Christi sunt » (1).

Le texte d'Abraham est donc identique à celui de Gabriel, excepté en une addition et deux omissions. L'addition concerne le mandat du Seigneur de répéter sa Cène en sa mémoire. Les omissions: *a*) au début, où il ne dit pas par quoi le prêtre représente la résurrection du Christ, c. à d. par la récitation des paroles saintes et par les signes de croix de sa main; *b*) au milieu, où après avoir affirmé que le prêtre par la formule montre qu'il dit les paroles du Seigneur, il omet ces paroles données par Gabriel: « Ceci est mon corps qui est brisé pour vous pour la rémission des péchés ».

Ces deux omissions rendent le sens du texte d'Abraham moins clair, mais ne le changent pas fondamentalement. Remarquons que le texte de Gabriel apporte la clarté sur ce que le texte d'Abraham laisse seulement deviner ou supposer, c.-à-d. les paroles que le Christ prononça à la dernière Cène, comme des éléments essentiels de la consécration; c'est pour consacrer en effet que le prêtre est venu à l'autel.

Des textes de Gabriel et d'Abraham il faut absolument rapprocher la composition de YOḤANNAN D-ZOʿBI, auteur du XIIIe s. (2); c'est un commentaire sur la messe chaldéenne, qui, après examen, résulte être une reproduction poétique de Gabriel. Voici la traduction du passage qui nous intéresse, tel que nous le trouvons dans le ms. *Borgia Syriaque 90*, ff. 88r-89r (3).

« Exinde accedit sacerdos ut exprimat sanctam figuram resurrectionis corporis Christi regis, per verba quae recitat. Ore suo pie recitat verba Spiritus, et manu sua sancte signat crucem lucis.

Quemadmodum Dominus quando tradidit mysterium corporis sui accepit panem et benedixit et fregit et ita dixit: "sic facite, discipuli mei, memoriam passionis meae ut purificemini a peccatis vestris"; ita Ecclesia designat unum sacerdotem ut sit locum Domini tenens de mandato Spiritus.

Recitatione enim qua sacerdos recitat verba Spiritus, notum facit per hoc quod verba Domini recitat: " Hoc est corpus meum

(1) CONNOLLY, *Abrahae Bar Lipheh*..., *o. c.*, p. 162.

(2) BAUMSTARK, *o. c.*, pp. 310-1.

(3) Ce manuscrit qui se trouve aujourd'hui à la Bibliotèque Vaticane nous a été signalé par le P. E. Farhat; nous le remercions cordialement de nous avoir donné ce renseignement.

quod pro omnibus ego do ut expiet debita et peccata omnium vestrorum " ».

Non duo corpora est corpus Domini Jesu: unum in sanctuarium, alterum in coelo, divise. Sed quemadmodum rex et imago eius non duos reges (efficiunt), ita cogita de corpore et unitate eius.

Tibi datur aliud persuadens argumentum: natura humanitatis et natura Verbi, duo quae facta sunt unum; naturae (igitur) cum distinctae sunt non faciunt duos filios, sed unum Filium in unitate personali (*parṣopaita*). Similiter etiam panis et vinum quae in sanctuario et illud quod in coelo, fide, unum corpus sunt.

Propterea cum timore et tremore ineffabili oportet ut sacerdos accedat ut perficiat tremenda Mysteria. Sciat quod vices Christi gerit et gratias agit et benedicit omnes benedictiones coelestes ".

Ici aussi *a*) le prêtre venant à l'autel représente la résurrection du Christ, *b*) par les paroles qu'il récite et par les signes de croix qu'il fait de sa main, *c*) Yoḥannan ajoute au texte de Gabriel, suivant Abraham, le mandat du Seigneur, *d*) les paroles à prononcer sont données dans une formule plus longue, *e*) tandis qu'une explication ultérieure des signes de croix n'est pas donnée; au contraire, Yoḥannan a souligné que les « verba » sont inspirés par le Saint-Esprit et que le prêtre tient la place du Christ par ordre du Saint-Esprit; *f*) il dissipe aussi la difficulté relative aux deux corps du Christ.

Autres commentaires sur l'Eucharistie

Le pseudo-Georges d'Arbel (XIe s.) auteur d'un long commentaire sur la liturgie chaldéenne, à l'endroit parallèle au texte de Gabriel Qaṭraya, écrit ainsi, d'après la traduction de Connolly (1):

« Venit nunc sacerdos ad ipsum officium dispensationis perfecte implendum, ut et ea, quae in ceteris officiis mystice sunt peracta, nunc plene cognoscantur... Usque adhuc in omnibus hisce orationibus, qui orabat aut legebat aut sedebat "presbyter" vocabatur et "episcopus"; nunc autem ablatum est nomen "presbyter" et "episcopus", et "sacerdos" vocatur. Cum jam sacerdos, Christus, officium hoc persolvat, sublatum est nomen " presbyter " et " episcopus ": " Ipse enim est sacerdos et pontifex ", ait beatus Ephraem, " et ipse est qui offert et accipit, nec non et consecrat "».

La Pseudo-Georges veut nous dire donc que *a*) l'anaphore exprime la plénitude des cérémonies célébrées jusqu'ici, c. à d.

(1) CONNOLLY, *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio..*, *o. c.*, tom. XCII, p. 45.

jusqu'au moment de la déposition des oblats; *b*) c'est le Christ qui est l'auteur principal de la liturgie en ce moment et c'est lui qui exerce par le prêtre son action sacerdotale, en ce cas, d'oblation et de consécration.

Mais pour trouver une allusion à la narration de la Cène il nous faut suivre l'auteur jusqu'au commentaire de la deuxième *ghanta* de l'anaphore où entre l'action de grâces de la première *ghanta* et l'epiclèse de la troisième *ghanta*, on lit:

« Et per recitationem suam ostendit totum scopum dispensationis Domini nostri; et gloriosa memorat, quae fuerunt in nativitate et epiphania eius, et usque ad passionem eius; in hac ghanta unam illam (et) voluntariam passionem enarrans: hoc est, quod tradidit corpus et sanguinem suum et sua sponte se sacrificavit; ut de pulvere resurgentes digni habeamur in mansiones regni coelorum introire et bonis perfrui quae non amittuntur, quorum typos sunt corpus et sanguis. Et cum pervenit ad finem narrationis de sacrificio — id est, postquam (Dominus) corpus suum et sanguinem tradidit, — deinde ghantam concludit sygillo Trinitatis » [1].

Ce texte n'est pas facile à expliquer, puisqu'il comporte une vision théologique assez singulière sur l'ensemble de l'anaphore. Mais ce qui nous intéresse ici c'est la dernière phrase: « Le Seigneur nous a livré son corps et son sang » qui sonne bien comme un texte liturgique qui devrait contenir la narration de la Cène. Pourtant, le pseudo-Georges ne lui donne pas de l'importance pour ellemême, mais pour ce qu'elle signifie: la passion du Seigneur ayant une valeur sacrificielle. La *ghanta* suivante qui culmine par l'epiclèse devrait signifier la mort et la résurrection du Seigneur, symbole de notre mort et de notre résurrection.

Au contraire, Mar 'Abdišo', metropolite de Nisibe et d'Arménie († 1318) dans son livre sur les Jugements Ecclésiastiques [2], se rapproche de Gabriel et d'Abraham:

« Tres prostrationes facit sacerdos coram altari ac deinde accedit ad consecrandum, figura huius quod tertia die resurrexit Dominus noster et nuntiavit salutem universo generi nostro. Sacerdos cum invocatione gratiae Spiritus suscitat corpus mystice.

[1] Connolly, *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio.., o. c.*, tom. XCII, p. 55.

[2] Cf. Jacobus-M. Vosté O. P., *Ordo Judiciorum Ecclesiasticorum*, Vatican 1940 p. 97.

Statio eius coram altari recitando orationes consecrationis mysteriorum, in figura Domini nostri qui gratias egit et benedixit, fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: " Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis frangitur ", et " Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Accipite ergo vos omnes et manducate de pane hoc et bibite ex calice hoc; et ita facite quotiescumque congregabimini in mei commemorationem "».

Mar 'Abdišo' sait donc très bien que *a*) le prêtre vient à l'autel pour « consacrer » et que son rite représente la résurrection du Sauveur. *b*) Cependant il ajoute imméditament qu'il ressuscite le corps du Seigneur « en mystère » par l'invocation qui demande la grâce de l'Eprit. *c*) Les paroles que Notre-Seigneur prononça à la dernière Cène sont données complètement et sur le pain et sur le vin; il ne les cite pas pour elles-mêmes mais uniquement en vue d'expliquer que le prêtre représente vraiment le Seigneur au moment de la consécration sacramentelle.

Si nous voulons maintenant comparer l'explication eucharistique de Gabriel avec celle de ses prédécesseurs, nous pouvons faire appel à deux commentaires, celui de la dernière cathéchèse de THÉODORE DE MOPSUESTE, et le XVIIe Memra attribué à NARSAÏ. Arrivés dans leurs explications à l'endroit où Gabriel résume ce qui pour lui fait l'essence du rite ecclésiastique, le deux commentateurs insistent uniquement sur le fait que le prêtre est « la langue commune de l'Eglise » et que le sacrifice commun se fait en mémoire de la mort du Segneur [1].

Pour trouver le texte parallèle à celui de Gabriel il nous faut entrer dans le corps de l'anaphore que chacun des deux commente. Après avoir expliqué le Sanctus et la prière christologique qui le suit, THÉODORE DE MOPSUESTE continue par ces phrases passablement obscures pour nous:

« Et mentionem facimus mortis Domini nostri in hoc servitio terribili, et cibum immortalem et spiritualem (qui est) corpus et sanguis Christi accipimus. (Nos) pro quibus Dominus noster, cum passionem aditurus erat, tradidit (Mysteria) discipulis suis, ut per eos, nos omnes — qui credimus in Christum — ea acciperemus et perficeremus; sic vicissim memoriam mortis Christi Domini nostri

[1] Cf. RAYNOND TONNEAU-ROBERT DEVREESSE, *Studi e Testi*, Vatican 1949, Homélie XVI, p. 541-5; ALFONSUS MINGANA, *Narsaï Doctoris Syri Homiliae et Carmina*, vol. I, Mausilii MCMV, p. 281.

agimus, unde et cibum ineffabilem accipimus, et nobis exinde datur spes capax nos trahendi ad communionem futurorum (bonorum).

Haec et similia dicit sacerdos in hoc sacro servitio, et commemoratione eorum (Mysteriorum) quae peracta sunt, (sacerdos) nobis omnibus parat donum Christi, per haec oblata videndum. Debet enim nunc Dominus noster Christus a mortuis resurgere ope eorum, quae peraguntur. Et gratiam suam in nos omnes effundere quod aliter effici non potest, nisi veniat gratia Spiritus sancti, qua etiam jam pridem eum resuscitavit » (1).

La première phrase nous rapproche de cette proposition de transition que nous trouvons aussi dans l'anaphore chaldéenne du VIe s. (2). Mais la phrase « cum passionem aditurus erat » sonne tout à fait comme une formule introductoire au récit de la dernière Cène dont il parle ensuite par des mots clairs, puisque c'est ce rite que le Seigneur a transmis par ses disciples à nous, afin que nous le continuions. A quelle oraison ou partie d'oraison pourrait faire allusion en cet endroit un nouveau rappel de la mort du Seigneur n'est pas clair. Mais la phrase qui suit semble bien rappeler un texte d'anamnèse. Finalement le rite qui appelle la venue de l'Esprit Saint représente la résurrection du Christ.

Voyons ce que nous apprend le XVIIe Memra attribué à Narsaï. Après avoir expliqué la prière christologique de l'anaphore il continue ainsi:

« Cum enim appropinquavit tempus passionis vivificatoris omnium manducavit pascham legalem cum discipulis suis.

Accepit panem et benedixit et fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: Hoc est, vere, corpus meum, sine dubio. Accepitque calicem et gratias egit et benedixit deditque apostolis suis dicens: Hoc est verus sanguis meus qui pro vobis; et mandavit eis ut sumerent et biberent ex eo omnes, et (hoc) expiabit debita eorum usque in saeculum.

Quod gratias egit et benedixit, scriptum est in evangelio vitae. Quid autem dixit, notum non fecerunt electi apostoli ».

(Ici l'auteur du Memra apporte ce que Théodore de Mopsueste pense que le Seigneur aurait dit dans sa bénédiction. L'auteur continue:)

(1) Cod. *Mingana, Syr. 561* (Selly Oak Colleges' Library, Birmingham), f. 138v. Cf. Tonneau-R. Devresse, *o. c.*, p. 550.

(2) R. H. Connolly; *Sixth-Century fragments of an East-Syrien Anaphora*, dans *Oriens Christianus*, Nova series XII B-XIV, p. 112, 27-35.

« Hoc modo (a Theodoro descripto) gratias egit Patri suo Filius Altissimi.

Et haec verba dixit cum dedit corpus suum et sanguinem: Hoc est corpus meum quod pro debitis mundi dedi, et hic est sanguis meus quem pro peccatis effundere volui. Qui manducat et bibit cum caritate corpus et sanguinem meum, vivet usque in aeternum, et manet in me et ego in eo. Ita facite in mei memoriam in ecclesiis vestris, et accipite ea (Mysteria) cum fide. Panem et vinum afferte sicut docui vobis, et ego perficiam et faciam ea corpus et sanguinem. Panis et vinum faciam corpus et sanguinem, incubatione et operatione Spiritus sancti.

Ita dixit vivificator universorum discipulis suis, et panem et vinum vocavit corpus et sanguinem. Non typum neque similitudinem ea appellavit sed corpus, certe, et sanguinem, vere. Quamquam valde longe ab eo sunt elementa (panis et vini), virtute tamen et unitate unus est corpus.

Angeli et homines gratias tibi agunt incessanter, Domine Christe, spes nostra, qui teipsum pro nobis tradidisti.

Unum est corpus, quod frangunt sacerdotes in ecclesia, cum illo corpore quod sedet in gloria ad dexteram. Sicut enim Deus unitur primitiae generis nostri, ita unitur Christus pani et vino quae sunt super altari. Quare panis, corpus est certe, et vinum sanguis est vere.

Apostoli acceperunt mandatum Domini accurate, et ipsi tradiderunt diligenter ad posteros. Usque nunc custoditur in Ecclesia et custodietur, usque dum cessabit Mysterium per epiphaniam suam et manifestationem.

Hoc modo sacerdos gratias agit coram Deo, et elevat vocem in fine orationis ut audiatur a populo. Vocem audire facit et manu signat Mysteria posita, et populus " Amen " addit ut terminet orationem sacerdotis » [1].

(Suivent les Intercessions et l'Epiclèse).

Analysons brièvement ce texte: *a*) le début « cum enim appropinquavit... » semble bien un texte liturgique. En effet, il se rapproche du texte de l'anaphore de Nestorius [2]; *b*) et les phrases successives contiennent tous les éléments de la dernière Cène. *c*) Ensuite l'auteur du Memra reprend l'explication des éléments mentionnés: amplifiant l'action de grâces et les paroles du Seigneur. *d*) Il ajoute immédiatement que c'est l'opération de l'Esprit qui transforme le pain et le vin dans le corps et le sang du Sauveur. *e*) Il affirme la vérité du corps et du sang, qui ne sont pas une similitude où bien un symbole, mais sont vraiment le corps et

(1) Cf. A. MINGANA, *o. c.*, vol. I, pp. 282-6.

(2) E. RENOUDOT, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, tom. II, 1e ed., Paris 1716, p. 629.

le sang du Seigneur. En effet, c'est le même corps et le même sang qui sont au ciel et sur l'autel. *f*) Il semble bien que les paroles prononcées par Notre-Seigneur font partie de la prière du prêtre célébrant. Comment l'auteur peut-il écrire alors que les Apôtres nous ont transmis ce que Notre-Seigneur a dit? Ce sont des paroles qui accompagnent l'action de grâces et la bénédiction. Et cependant, les Apôtres ont reçu un mandat de Notre-Seigneur et un rite à transmettre et ils l'ont transmis à leurs successeurs; l'Eglise d'ailleurs le garde aussi et le gardera aussi longtemps que durera le rite mystique, c.-à-d. jusqu'à la parousie. *g*) Pour finir l'auteur conclut: voilà comment le prêtre célébrant rend grâces à Dieu. Cette phrase pourrait évidemment faire allusion à toute la prière du prêtre jusqu'ici récitée et non seulement à une de ses parties.

Conclusion

De l'analyse des passages sur l'eucharistie dont nous avons cherché d'expliquer le sens, on peut tirer cette conclusion: Gabriel Qaṭraya et les auteurs qui ont suivi le sillon tracé par lui, c.-à-d. Abraham Bar Lip(h)ah et Yoḥannan d-Zo'bi, attribuaient à la narration de la dernière Cène et aux paroles du Seigneur une importance, sinon une valeur, égale à celle qu'ils attribuaient à l'épiclèse: ces deux font partie de l'unique rite consécratoire.

Mar 'Abdišo' se rapproche d'eux, mais il ne se prononce pas clairement au sujet de l'importance de la narration de la Cène; et citant les paroles du Seigneur il insiste plutôt sur le fait que le prêtre représente vraiment le Seigneur au moment de la consécration.

Le Pseudo-Georges d'Arbel fait allusion à la narration de la Cène, mais il ne formule pas une opinion sur sa portée. L'auteur du XVIIe Memra et Théodore de Mopsueste, connaissent bien l'existence de la narration de la Cène et les paroles du Seigneur comme partie des anaphores qu'ils commentent. Mais l'importance accordée à l'épiclèse semble diminuer chez eux la valeur attribuée à la narration de la Cène, en tant que partie du rite consécratoire.

Possible répercussion sur le texte liturgique de l'anaphore des Apôtres Addaï et Mari

La présence ou l'absence de la narration de la Cène du Seigneur dans l'anaphore d'Addaï et Mari a suscité déjà bien des études dont le dernière est celle de B. Botte (1). Le nouveau texte pourrait-il apporter quelque lumière dans cet épineux problème?

On peut supposer que Gabriel commente les anaphores de son temps telles qu'elles se présentaient généralement à lui. D'où on peut conclure qu'il ne peut y avoir de doute que la plupart d'entre elles contenaient cette narration avec les paroles du Christ. Mais peut-on prouver qu'en commentant la messe il avait en vue l'anaphore des Apôtres Addaï et Mari?

Supposons qu'il en soit ainsi. Pourrions-nous trouver quelque témoin qui permette de penser à une suppression des paroles du Seigneur après Gabriel? Un texte de Ibn Al-Ṭayyib († 1043) semble nous offrir ce témoignage. Dans son ouvrage « Jurisprudence Chrétienne » il écrit:

> « L'anaphore des Apôtres a été composée par Addaï et Mari, mais le Catholicos Išo'yahb l'a abrégée, et s'en servait pour dire la messe. Puis, les Pères d'Orient ordonnèrent, en honneur des Pères exilés d'Occident: Théodore, Nestorius et Chrysostome, de se servir de leurs anaphores » (2).

Si nous prêtons foi à Ibn Al-Ṭayyib, l'anaphore chaldéenne d'Addaï et Mari aurait eu deux rédactions: le texte original et le texte abrégé par Išo'yabh III († 658). Il est possible que l'abréviation de Išo'yabh ait supprimé la narration de la Cène. En ce cas, Gabriel Qaṭraya, à supposer que son commentaire englobait aussi cette anaphore, nous en aurait donné le texte original et primitif.

S. Hermiz Jammo

(1) Bernard Botte, *Problèmes de l'anaphore Syrienne des Apôtres Addaï et Mari*, dans *L'Orient Syrien*, vol. X, (1965),pp. 89-106.

(2) Cf. W. Hoenerbach *und* O. Spies, *Ibn At-Taiyib, Fiqh An-Nasraniya*, CSCO, vol. 168, Scriptores Arabici, tom. 19 (version), Louvain 1956, p. 93.

Edition with Translation of a Hypapante Homily ascribed to John Chrysostom

The following homily on the Hypapante (the Presentation of Christ in the Temple), incipit *Φαιδρὸν ἡμῖν τήμερον τὸ θέατρον*, is ascribed in the manuscripts to Chrysostom. Lambecius' catalogue of the Vienna manuscripts (V col. 143, 1778), commenting on codex 232 (now Theol. Gr. 47), f. 280, points out that this homily is not mentioned in the index of Chrysostom's works or in Savile's edition of Chrysostom or in Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Graeca*. Montfaucon lists it among the incipits in his edition of Chrysostom (XIII 1, p. 379) with the comment *spuria et praetermissa*. Harles includes it in the list of Chrysostom incipits in his revision of Fabricius' publication (VIII p. 531, 1802), but not among the incipits of Hypapante homilies (X p. 240-242, 1807). It is noted in A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* II-III (1937-52) = *Texte und Untersuchungen* LI-LII, and in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd. ed. by F. HALKIN (1957), Appendix VII, no. 222.

The following manuscripts to my knowledge contain this hitherto unedited homily, or part of it:

V *Vatic. Gr. 654*, s. XII, f. 529 (Ehrhard II pp. 91-92).

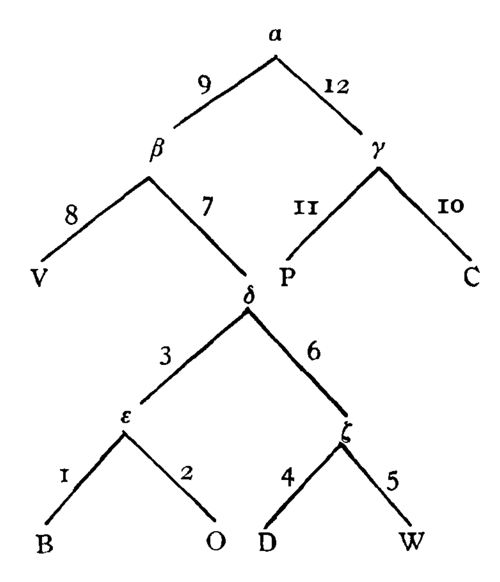
D *Athos Dionys. 43*, s. XII (Ehrhard II p. 595). I am indebted to a monk at this monastery for a transcript of the relevant folios.

P *Paris. Gr. 1500*, s. XII. f. 8 (Ehrhard II p. 598). The homily breaks off early in the 10th chapter, continuing instead with the last few sections of George of Nicomedia's Hypapante homily printed among the spuria of Athanasius (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* XXVIII col. 985 seq.).

X *Vatic. Gr. 562*, s. XIII, f. 28v (Ehrhard II p. 61), containing only a fragment of the beginning of the homily.

M *Marc. Gr. VII 29* (Nan. 140), s. XIII, f. 113v.
W *Vatic. Gr. 800*, s. XIV, f. 141 (Ehrhard III p. 827, note 1).
B *Vatic. Barb. Gr. 583*, s. XV, f. 990 (Ehrhard III pp. 476-478).
O *Vatic. Ottob. Gr. 264*, s. XVI, f. 178 (Ehrhard III p. 478).
C *Vindob. Theol. Gr. 47*, anno 1563, f. 280. The homily is incomplete, omitting the contents of two folios from early in the 6th chapter to the beginning of the 10th, and concluding with a doxology half way through the 12th chapter.
N *Marc. Gr. VII 39* (Nan. 155), anno 1588, f. 386.
— *Athens Bibl. Spyros Loberdos*, s. XVI (Ehrhard III p. 883).

Of these eleven manuscripts I have collated the first ten, but the readings of XMN are not included in the apparatus criticus (see Addenda at the end). There is little material on which to construct a stemma, as there are few significant variants, but the following shows the relationship of the manuscripts:



The readings on which this stemma is based are the following:

1) 10.18 *συνεισήγαγε*] *συνήγαγε* O
2) 20.11 *ἐπιστρέφων*] *ἐπιστρέφον* B
3) 4.18 *οὖν*] *om.* BO
4) 12.20 *εἰς τὸ*] *om.* W
5) 10.24 *καθ' ἡμᾶς*] *καθήμενοι* D, *ἥμων* W
6) 4.21 *γραφῶν*] *σοφῶν* DW

7) 22.15 *οὐ προπατόρες*] *om.* BODW
8) 10.6 *γὰρ*] *om.* V
9) 4.2 *ὑπαπαντὴν*] *ἁγίαν καὶ σεβάσμιον καὶ ὑπερένδοξον ante ὑπαπαντὴν add.* PC
10) 8.3 *ἴδε οὖν αὐτὸς*] *ὁρᾷς πῶς* C
11) 8.12 *δὲ*] *om.* P
12) 4.7 *ὅταν – ἀκροατῶν*] *om.* PC

If the manuscripts are uncontaminated, it follows from this stemma that where there is agreement between VPC against BODW or between PCBODW against V, such agreement represent the reading of the archetype, but that where VBODW differ from PC the stemma is of no assistance in deciding between the variants. The readings of the fragments in X (which is omitted from the stemma) agree with those of PC. After the middle of the 12th chapter the text is based only on VBODW.

The authenticity of the homily cannot be summarily either asserted or denied. As the Hypapante was already being celebrated in Jerusalem (1) and in Iconium (2) towards the end of the fourth century, a homily could have been preached on it in Chrysostom's time at Antioch, yet more than a century later Severus of Antioch in his 125th sermon (3) stated that Antioch did not keep this festival. The homily edited here contains much material closely resembling Chrysostom's genuine writings, yet it also includes grammatical forms and constructions foreign to his style, and the eulogy of the Virgin Mary is not like his work. A possible solution to the problem is that Chrysostom did deliver this homily in an attempt to introduce the Hypapante to Antioch on the correct date as he had argued for the correct date of Christmas in the Nativity sermon (4) referred to in the second chapter: however, because the attempt was unsuccessful the homily was never revised by Chrysostom but was circulated in an inadequate text derived from stenographers' notes, to which was later appended the eulogy in the final chapter (5).

E. Bickersteth

(1) *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 26.

(2) See Amphilochius' 1st sermon, which was preached at this festival, J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. XXXIX, col. 36 *seq.*

(3) See the edition with translation by M. Brière in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. XXIX, 1940, pp. 246-247.

(4) J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. XLIX, col. 351 seq.

(5) This problem of authenticity is stated a little more fully in my paper entitled « John Chrysostom and the early history of the Hypapante », in *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, vol. 8 (1953), pp. 401-404.

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, λεχθεὶς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, περιέχων ἐν τῷ τέλει ἠθικὸν πάνυ ὠφέλιμον.

5 *Πάτερ εὐλόγησον.*

1. Introduction.

Φαιδρὸν ἡμῖν τήμερον τὸ θέατρον καὶ λαμπρότερος τοῦ συνήθους ὁ σύλλογος· τί ποτε ἄρα τὸ αἴτιον; ὅταν τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς ἑρμηνεύωμεν ῥήσεις, μεστὴ γίνεται ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀκροατῶν· καὶ γάρ, ἀγαπητοί, ὅταν παρθένος εὐαγγελίζεται, τότε τῆς οἰκουμένης σωτηρία 10 *γίνεται. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδή τινες ἐθρύλησαν περὶ τοῦ ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθέντος, ὅτι διατί τὸ μὴ συντεῖνον εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν πανήγυριν νῦν προσεφωνήσαμεν, παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην τοῖς θεσπίσμασι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἄγεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλλειν τῶν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων θεσπιζομένων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρόβατα τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἀνθίστανται, δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς* 15 *παραστῆσαι τὸν χρόνον, ὅτε Συμεὼν τὸν Κύριον ὑπεδέξατο. Ἀλλὰ προσέχετέ μοι μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας· βούλομαι γὰρ σαφεστέραν τὴν διδασκαλίαν ποιῆσαι, ἵνα εὐσύνοπτα ᾖ τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς τὰ λεγόμενα.*

2. The 40th day.

Ἡ οὖν μακαρία παρθένος ἡ θεοστόκος Μαρία τῷ δεκεμβρίῳ μηνὶ τέτοκε τὸν Κύριον, καθὼς ἀπεπείσαμεν· ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πάντας τοὺς 20 *ἀντιλέγοντας ὅτε τὴν τοῦ Προδρόμου σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζαχαρίου σιωπὴν ὑμῖν ἐξηγούμεθα, καθὼς μέμνηνται οἱ φιλόπονοι τῶν γραφῶν, ὅτε καὶ παλαιὰς μαρτυρίας εἰς μέσον ἠγάγομεν συμφωνούσας τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς ῥήμασιν. Ἀρίθμησον τοίνον ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πόσαι ἡμέραι τυγχάνουσι· τουτέστιν ἀπὸ εἰκάδος πεμπτῆς*

---

2 *λόγος*] VBODW; *ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα* PC || *ὑπαπαντὴν*] VBODW; *ἁγίαν καὶ σεβάσμιον καὶ ὑπερένδοξον ante ὑπαπαντὴν add.* PC || *Κυρίου*] PCBO; *καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος post Κυρίου add.* VDW 3 *λεχθεὶς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ*] VDW; *ἐλέχθη ἐν Ἀ. τῇ πόλει* PC; *om.* BO || *περιέχων – ὠφέλιμον*] VBODW; *om.* PC 5 *Πάτερ εὐλόγησον*] VBOW; *δέσποτα εὐλόγησον* P; *κύριε εὐλόγησον* C; *om.* D 6 *τήμερον*] VBODP; *σήμερον* WC 7-8 *ὅταν – ἀκροα-*

Homily on the Presentation of our Lord Jesus Christ by our father among the saints John Chrysostom delivered in Antioch, containing at the end a most valuable moral section.

Father, give a blessing.

1. Splendid is our auditorium to-day and more famous than usual the gathering. What then can be the cause? Whenever we expound the gospel passages the church is filled with the mass of listeners. For indeed, beloved, whenever the Virgin receives the annunciation then the salvation of the world comes into being. But as some people complained about what has just been read out, asking why we have uttered what does not fit into the present festival, I beg that your charity may be directed towards the decrees of the priesthood and that you may have no doubt about the prophecies of the fathers. For since the sheep are in opposition to the shepherd, it is right to set before you the date when Symeon received the Lord. But pay attention to me most minutely, for I wish to make the teaching clearer, so that what is said may be immediately taken in by the hearers.

2. Now the blessed Virgin Mary the Theotokos gave birth to the Lord in the month of December, as we persuaded all those who disputed it in Antioch when we expounded to you the conception of the forerunner and the dumbness of Zacharias, as those who take pains with the scriptures remember, and when we brought forward ancient witnesses that agreed with the words of the gospels. Count, then, from the nativity of Christ up till now how many days there

---

τῶν] VBODW; *om.* PC 7 *τὰς*] BO; *οὖν* VDW 8-9 *καὶ γὰρ, ἀγαπητοί, ὅταν*] BVODW; *ὅταν γὰρ* PC 9 *εὐαγγελίζεται*] VDWPC; *εὐαγγελίζηται* BO 10 *ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ*] PC; *καὶ ἐπειδήπερ* VBODW || *ἐθρύλησαν* PCDW; *ἐθρύλλησαν* VBO 11 *νῦν*] BODPC; *om.* VW 15-16 *ἀλλὰ – ἀκριβείας*] PC; *post λεγόμενα pos.* VDW; *om.* BO 16 *μοι*] PC; *om.* VDW 17 *εὐσύνοπτα*] VBOW; *εὐσήνοπτα* D; *εὐσύνηπα* P; *εὐσύνουσα* C 18 *Ἡ οὖν*] VDWP; *om. οὖν* BO; *διηνι* C || *παρθένος ἡ θεοτόκος*] VBO; *καὶ θεοτόκος παρθένος* PC 21 *γραφῶν*] *σοφῶν* DW; *ἐξετασταί post γραφῶν add.* V

τοῦ δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς μεχρὶ τῆς δεῦρο· τοῦ δεκεμβρίου ἀναπλήρωσον ἡμέρας ἑπτά, συμμετρῶν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ὅτε ἡ παρθένος τέτοκε, καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μίαν τοῦ ἰαννουαρίου, καὶ δύο τούτου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνός, καὶ γίνονται ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἦλθεν ὁ Κύριος
5 *σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου, ἐσπούδασεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν νόμον, ἵνα πλήρωμα δῷ αὐτὸν καὶ οὕτως τῆς χάριτος ἄρξηται διδόναι τὰς δωρεάς. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀληθῶς τῆς πανσόφου ἐστὶν οἰκονομίας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀναδέξασθαι τὰ τοῦ νόμου κελεύσματα ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σαρκί, ἵνα δείξῃ τὸν νόμον τύπον καὶ σκιάν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ*
10 *τῆς χάριτος. Καὶ ὅτι ἅπαντα προφητικῶς ὁ νόμος ἐκήρυττεν, ἄκουσον τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος· " ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστι ", καὶ πάλιν· " ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν ". Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς, καθὼς προείρηται, πάντα τὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐσπούδαζε ποιῆσαι, ἵνα δῷ τέλος τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἄρξηται τῆς χάριτος διδόναι τὰς δωρεάς, δείξας*
15 *τε τὸν νόμον τύπον καὶ σκιὰν εἶναι αὐτὸν τῶν ἀληθινῶν πραγμάτων τῆς χάριτος, ἀκούσωμεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου βοῶντος· " Ἐλάλησε γὰρ Κύριος " φησι, " τῷ Μωσεῖ λέγων· γυνή τις ἐὰν σπερματισθῇ κοίτην σπέρματος καὶ τέκῃ υἱόν, ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας· καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ περιτεμεῖ τὸ παιδίον τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ*
20 *καθίσεται ἐν αἵματι καὶ καθαρῷ αὐτῆς τριάκοντα καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ". Ἡ οὖν ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ ἔξεστι περιτμηθῆναι τὸ βρέφος μία ἐστὶ τῶν τριάκοντα τριῶν ἡμερῶν. Ἀρίθμησον οὖν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας, καὶ τριάκοντα τρεῖς τῆς καθάρσεως, καὶ γίνονται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραι· ἰδοὺ οὖν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἀπὸ εἰκάδος πέμπτης τοῦ δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς*
25 *τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραι εἰσίν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπεπείσαμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ νόμου φύσεως, ἐλευσώμεθα εἰς τὸν Συμεὼν τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς βαδίζοντα καὶ μετὰ ἀγγέλων χορεύοντα.*

3. The Virgin's obedience to the Law.

Ἐὰν δὲ ἀκμὴν ἀμφιβάλλῃς ὅτι οὐ πάντως κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἡ παρθένος ἐποίησεν, ἄκουσον τί φησιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής· " Ὅτε ἐπληρώθησαν
30 *αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωσέως, ἀνήγαγον τὸ*

---

11 *Rom.* 7 : 14. 11-12 *Gal.* 3 : 24. 16 *Lev.* 12 : 1-4
29 *Lc.* 2 : 22-23

---

2 *αὐτὴν*] VBODW; *post τὴν pos.* PC 4 *μηνός*] PC; *φεβρουαρίου*] *ante μηνός add.* VBODW ‖ *ἐπεὶ*] *ἐπειδὴ* D 5 *ἰδίᾳ*] VDWPC; *οἰκείᾳ* BO 6 *δῷ*] VBODW; *δώσῃ* PC ‖ *αὐτὸν*] VDWPC; *αὐτῷ* BO 9 *οἰκείᾳ*] VBODN;

are. That is, from the 25th of the month of December up till the present. Count 7 days of December, including also the day on which the Virgin gave birth, and 31 of January, and 2 of this present month, and it makes 40 days. Since, then, the Lord came incarnate from the holy Virgin, he took care in his own flesh to take responsibility for the Law so that he might give it fulfillment and so that he might begin to give the gifts of grace. For this truly belongs to the all-wise dispensation of the Lord, to receive the commands of the Law in his own flesh in order to show the Law as a type and shadow of the spirit and of grace. That the Law announced all things prophetically, hear Paul saying: " The Law is spiritual " and again " the Law was our custodian until Christ came". Since, then, Christ, as already stated, was eager to accomplish all the things of the Law, so as to give an end to the Law and begin to give the gifts of grace, having shown the Law to be itself a type and shadow of the true matters of grace, let us hear the Law itself proclaiming: " For the Lord spoke " it says " to Moses saying ' If a woman is impregnated with an emission of seed and bears a son she will be unclean 7 days. And on the 8th day the child will be circumcised on the flesh of his foreskin, and she shall sit in her clean blood 33 days '. " So the day on which it is permissible to circumcise the child is one of the 33 days. So count 7 days of uncleanness and 33 days of purification, and it makes 40 days. See, then, from the 25th of the month of December up to to-day there are 40 days. Since, then we have persuaded your charity about the number of days and the nature of the Law, let us come to Symeon, who walked on earth and joined the angels' dance.

3. But if thou still doubtest that the Virgin did not do everything according to the Law, hear what the evangelist says: " And when the time came for their purification according to the Law of

---

ἰδίᾳ PC || *καὶ ante τῆς*] *om.* W 13-14 *δῷ ... καὶ ἄρξηται*] OB (*cfr. 6-7 supra*); *δοὺς ... ἄρξηται* V; *δῷ ... ἄρξηται* DW; *δώῃ ... ἄρξῃ τε* PC 15 *αὐτὸν*] PC; *αὐτῶν* VDW; *om.* BO 19 *σάρκα*] *σάρκας* D 20 *καθίσεται*] VOBC; *καθήσεται* PDW (LXX) || *καὶ καθαρῷ*] VBDWPCO; (*ἀκαθάρτῳ* LXX) || *αὐτῆς*] PCDW (LXX); *αὐτὴν* VBO 24 *μέχρι τῆς*] *τῇ* C 25 *ἐπεὶ*] *ἐπειδὴ* D 26 *τῆς τοῦ*] *τῆς τῆς* W 28 *ἀμφιβάλλῃς*] *ἀμφιβάλῃς* V

παιδίον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραστῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου· ὅτι πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ Κυρίῳ κληθήσεται". Ἴδε οὖν αὐτὸς πείθει ἡμᾶς ὁ εὐαγγελιστής· ἐτέλεσε τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωυσέως. Καὶ τότε "ἀνήγαγον τὸ
5 παιδίον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραστῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ", τουτέστι ⸤τῷ πατρί, τὸν μηδέπω χωρισθέντα τοῦ πατρός· "ἀνήγαγον παραστῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ" τὸν Κύριον πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· "ἀνήγαγον παραστῆσαι" τὸν σύνθρονον τοῦ πατρός, ᾧ τὰ Χερουβὶμ παρίστανται μετὰ φόβου· "ἀνήγαγόν" φησιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς "παραστῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ καθὼς
10 γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου, ὅτι πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ Κυρίῳ κληθήσεται".

4. Why Christ obeyed the Law.

Διατί δὲ ἄρα τὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐποιεῖ ὁ Κύριος ἐλθών; ἵνα παραγάγῃ τὸν νόμον, ἴδιον γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας καὶ προγνώσεως τοῦτο. Ἀπέκλειε γὰρ διά τε τῶν γραμμάτων, διά τε τῶν λόγων, τὰς αὐτῶν κακονοίας,
15 λέγων "Οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι τοῦτον". Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὤκνησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατηγορίας ἐφευρίσκειν κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, διὸ καὶ τὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐντάλματα ποιῶν, καὶ οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἠτιμάζετο. Εἰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ νόμου μὴ ἐποίει, τίς ἄρα ἐπέκλειεν αὐτῶν τὰ ἀναίσχυντα στόματα τοιαῦτα μελλόντων λέγειν, ὅτι ἐξ ἀτονίας τινός μὴ ἰσχύων
20 τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιεῖν κελεύσματα, ἄλλον τινὰ ἐφευρίσκει ἐλαφρὸν νόμον κηρύττειν, μὴ ἰσχύων αὐτὸς τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιεῖν ἢ πράττειν; Ὅμως μέντοι οὐκ ἐξακολουθεῖ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἡμῶν ἕνεκεν ἐποιεῖ μυστήρια· ὅμως ἔσπευδε κἀκείνων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπισπάσασθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκπληρῶσαι τὸ τῆς οἰκονο-
25 μίας μυστήριον. Τὸ γὰρ πράττειν αὐτὸν τὰ τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἵνα πλήρωμα δῷ τῷ νόμῳ, τῆς δὲ χάριτος ἄρξηται διδόναι τὰς δωρεάς. †Οὐ μὴν δὲ τοῦτο μόνον† τύπον καὶ σκιὰν εἶναι τῶν ἀληθινῶν πραγμάτων τῆς χάριτος. Καὶ ἀνέλαβεν ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σαρκὶ

---

2 *Ex.* 13:2 9 *Lc.* 2:22-23 10 *Ex.* 13:2 15 *Mt.* 5:17

---

3 ἴδε οὖν αὐτὸς] ὁρᾷς πῶς C ‖ ἐτέλεσε] φησι *post* ἐτέλεσε *add.* C 6 μηδέπω] *sic mss.*; *scr.* μηδέποτε 6-7 τῷ Κυρίῳ] τουτέστιν, τῷ πατρί, *post* Κυρίῳ *add.* C 8 παρίστανται] παρίσταται C 12 δὲ] *om.* P ‖ ἐποιεῖ] VC; ἐποίησεν PBODW ‖ παραγάγῃ] παράγῃ C 14 γραμμάτων] *sic mss., fortasse scr.* πραγμάτων *cf.* 12.16 *infra* 16-17 Κυρίου, διὸ καὶ τὰ τοῦ] C *fortasse per coniecturam*; *om.* VBODWP 17 ὑπ'] παρ' B 18 ἐπέκλειεν]

Moses, they brought the child to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord, as it is written in the Law of the Lord that every male that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord ". See, then, the evangelist himself persuades us; he accomplished the 40 days according to the Law of Moses. And then " they brought the child up to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord, that is, to the Father, him who was never separated from the Father "; " they brought up to present to the Lord " the Lord of all ages; " they brought up to present " him who shares the Father's throne, before whom the Cherubim stand in fear; " they brought up " says the evangelist " to present to the Lord as it is written in the Law of the Lord that every male that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord ".

4. But why did the Lord perform the command of the Law when he came? In order to bring forward the Law, for this is part of God's wisdom and foreknowledge. For both through the Scriptures and through words he precludes their malice, saying " I came not to abolish the Law but to fulfill it ". For the Jews did not shrink from finding out accusations against the Lord † because even doing the precepts of the Law †, even thus he was dishonoured by them. But if he did not perform the Law's commands, who then would shut up their shameless mouths when about to say such things as that because of some weakness he could not perform the Law's commands but found out some other easy law to preach, himself being unable to do or perform the Law's commands? Nevertheless, however, this does not follow from their words, since he performed many mysteries for the sake of our salvation and dispensation. Nevertheless he hastened to embrace even their salvation and to fulfill towards us the mystery of the dispensation. That he fulfilled the commands of the Law is nothing other than that he should give fulfillment to the Law, and begin to give the gifts of grace. † For this is not merely the type and shadow of the true things of grace. † God the Logos took up in his own flesh the commands of the Law, and having shut the Law he opened the

---

ἀπέκλειεν C || *ἀναίσχυντα*] VDWPC *ἀπύλωτα* BO *fortasse recte* (*cfr.* Aristophanes *Ranae 838*) 21 *ἰσχύων*] *δυνάμενος* C 23 *ἕνεκεν*] *post ἐποιεῖ pos.* P[a.c.] 26 *δῷ*] *δώῃ* C || *τῷ νόμῷ*] *καὶ τούτῳ post τῷ νόμῳ add.* W

τὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ κλείσας νόμον ἤνοιξε διὰ τῆς οἰκείας εὐσπλαγχνίας τὰ τῆς δωρεᾶς χαρίσματα. Τοίνων θαυμάσωμεν τοῦ Παύλου βοῶντος· "Ὦ βάθος πλόυτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ, ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνιάστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ". Καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς βοᾷ·
5 *"Οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι".*

5. The Incarnation.

Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἦλθεν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς υἱὸς ἀναδέξασθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σαρκὶ τὰ τοῦ νόμου, οὐκ ἄνωθέν ποθεν κατενέγκας τὴν σάρκα, ἀλλ' εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς παρθένου καὶ σαρκωθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῆς· οὐ προϋπάρξαντος βρέφους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς
10 *τότε ἐκ τῶν τῆς παρθένου μελῶν σαρκωθεὶς ἄνευ σπορᾶς. Ἡ δὲ παναγία παρθένος ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου συλλαβοῦσα τοῦτον, ὃν τὰ σύμπαντα χωρῆσαι οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἔτεκεν αὐτὸν σαρκωθέντα. Ὢ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ φρικτοῦ μυστηρίου τὸ θαῦμα· τίς ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐκπλάγει; τίς ἐννοήσας οὐ θαυμάσειεν; ὅτι ὃν τὰ σύμπαντα οὐκ ἐχώρησε μήτρα παρθενικὴ*
15 *ἐχώρησεν.*

6. The Virgin's poverty.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔχει ὁ νόμος ἀμνὸν ἐνιαύσιον συνεισφέρειν τὴν τικτοῦσαν εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν, καὶ δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νεοσσοὺς περιστερῶν, τὸν μὲν ἀμνὸν οὐ συνεισήγαγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν κατὰ χεῖρας. Ὄντως γὰρ καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει· "Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐπορῇ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτῶν, συνοίσουσι δύο τρυ-
20 *γόνας ἢ τοὺς δύο νεοσσοὺς τῶν περιστερῶν". Εἶδες ποῦ θεὸς ἐνῴκησεν ὁ μόνος πλούσιος; ὁρᾷς εἰς ποίαν πενίαν καὶ πτωχείαν κατῆλθε; καὶ τοιαύτην πενίαν ὥστε μηδὲ ἑὼς ἀμνοῦ εὐπορεῖν τὴν παρθένον; γνῶθι οὖν ποῦ θεὸς ἐνοικεῖ, οὐκ εἰς πολύπλουτον γυναῖκα χρήμασι βεβυθισμένην, ἀλλ' εἰς πλοῦτον ἐναρέτου ψυχῆς. Οἱ γονεῖς δὲ οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς,*
25 *ἡνίκα ἂν μέλλωσι τοὺς ἰδίους παῖδας γυναικὶ συζεῦξαι, ἐρευνῶσι ποῦ τίς κόρη ἐστὶ πλουσία ἔχουσα χρημάτων ὄγχους, εἶτα εἰ ἔστιν εὔοπτος*

---

3 *Rom.* 11:33 5 *Mt.* 5:17 19 *Lev.* 12:8

---

1 *τὰ τοῦ*] *πάντα τὰ τοῦ* C ‖ *εὐσπλαγχνίας*] *ἀσπλαγχνίας* C 2 *θαυμάσωμεν*] *θαυμάσω μετὰ* C ‖ *βοῶντος*] *βοῶν* C 6 *γὰρ*] *om.* V 7 *οἰκείᾳ σαρκὶ*] VDWPC; *σαρκὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ* BO 9 *εἰσελθεῖν*] *εἰελθῆναι* DW 12-13 *φοβεροῦ . . . φρικτοῦ*] VPC; *φρικτοῦ . . . φοβεροῦ* BODW 13 *ἐκπλάγει*] DWPC;

favours of the gift through his own mercy. Let us therefore marvel at Paul proclaiming " Oh the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways!". And Christ proclaims "I came not to abolish the Law and the prophets but to fulfill ".

5. For the Son of God the Father really came to receive in his own flesh the commands of the Law, not bringing down his flesh from some place above but entering into the womb of the Virgin and being incarnate from her. There was no pre-existing child in the womb, but at the very moment of entry into her womb he became incarnate from the bodily frame of the Virgin, without seed. The all-holy Virgin conceived from the Holy Spirit him whom all things cannot contain; she bore him incarnate. Oh the marvel of the fearful and terrible mystery! Who on hearing has not been astounded, who on reflecting would not be amazed, that a virgin womb contained him whom all things did not contain?

6. Now since the Law has a yearling lamb for a mother to offer as burntoffering, and two turtle doves or two young pigeons, she did not bring the lamb because she did not have one. For the Law actually says " If they are not well off they will bring two turtle doves or two young pigeons ". Dost thou perceive where God, who alone is rich, has taken up his dwelling? Dost thou see to what need and poverty he has come down? And such need that the Virgin was not well enough off for a lamb? Know, then, where God dwells, not with a very rich woman weighed down with money but with one rich in a virtuous soul. But parents with us, when they are going to find wives for their own children, search for a girl who is rich with masses of money, or for one who is attractive

---

ἐκπλαγῇ V; *ἐκπλαγέιη* BO 14 *θαυμάσειεν*] *θαυμάσιεν* DW 16 *'Επεὶ*] *'Επειδή* D 18 *συνεισήγαγε*] *συνήγαγε* O || *ὄντως*] VDWPC; *οὕτως* BO; *post ὄντως deficit* C *usque ad 10.2* 19 *εὐπορῇ*] VDWP; *εὐπορεῖ* BO 22 *ἑὼς*] VDWP; *ὡς* BO 23 *οὐκ*] V; *οὐχ* BPODW 24 *πλοῦτον*] *πολύπλουτον* V || *καθ' ἡμᾶς*] *καθήμενοι* D; *ἡμῶν* W 25 *ἰδίους*] VDWP; *οἰκείους* BO || *γυναικὶ*] *γυναιξὶ* V 26 *ὄγκους*] VDWP; *πλῆθος* BO

καὶ περικαλλής, καὶ οὐκ ἐξερευνῶσιν εἰ ἔστι σώφρων ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ πλοῦτον τὸν ἀεὶ ἀναπτεροῦντα τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν νέων, καὶ τὴν εὐοψίαν τὴν εὐόλισθον, ἥτις μετὰ μικρὸν θρήνους τῷ ἀνδρὶ προξενεῖ. Μιμησώμεθα οὖν τὸν Κύριον καὶ δεσπότην τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς πτω-
5 χεύσαντα, καὶ πάντα ποιήσαντα εἰς τύπον καὶ σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν. Ἡ οὖν μακαρία Μαρία ἡ θεοτόκος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην τὴν σωφροσύνην ἐφύλαξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κύριον ἐν γαστρὶ συνέλαβεν. Εἰ δὲ ἦν που τίς ἄλλη παρθένος ὑπὲρ ταύτην τὴν παρθένον τῇ σωφροσύνῃ κεκοσμημένη, πάντως ἂν αὐτὴν παραγαγὼν ὁ Κύριος εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνῴκει.

7. Christ the true Lamb.

10 Ἐπειδὴ οὖν αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἀμνὸς ὁ θυόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, ὁ ἀμνὸς ὁ ἄμωμος καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀμνὸν αὐτὸν ἐκελάδει, οὐ χρεία ἦν ἀμνοῦ ἑτέρου. Ἀληθῆ γὰρ τὰ Παύλου ῥήματα· "ἀδύνατον γάρ", φησιν, "αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων ἀφελεῖν ἁμαρτίας". Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀμνοῦ σφαγῆς οὕτως βοᾷ ὁ συγκορυφαῖος τοῦ Παύλου Πέτρος
15 λέγων· "Οὗ τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἰάθημεν". Ἐπεὶ οὖν αὐτὸς ἦν ἀμνὸς ὃν διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων προετύπου ὁ νόμος, τίς χρεία ἀμνοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ εὑρισκομένου.

8. The Crucifixion.

Τίνα οὖν δέοι λαβεῖν τὰς δύο † διαθήκας †; τὴν μὲν γὰρ μίαν προστάττει ὁ νόμος εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν προσφέρεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ὑπὲρ
20 ἁμαρτιῶν. Εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, μετενέγκωμεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον. Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σαρκὶ τὰς διατρήσεις λαμβάνων τῶν ἥλων καὶ θυόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν θεότητα την ἄφεσιν τῶν πταισμάτων τοῖς πᾶσι χαριζόμενος. Εἰ δέ τις ἀμφιβάλλοι ὅτι εἶπον· Ὁ θεὸς ἐσταύρωται ἐν σαρκί, ἐγὼ οἶδα τὸν
25 ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸν ἥλιον σκοτίσαντα, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐγείραντα ἐκ

---

3 *Heb.* 10:4 15 *I Petr.* 2:24, cf. *Is.* 53:3

---

1 σώφρων] σοφρόνων O[a.c.]; σωφρονοῦσα O[p.c.] 2 τὸν ἀεὶ ἀναπτεροῦντα] VBOP; ἀεὶ ἀναπτηροῦντα DW 3 ἥτις μετὰ μικρόν] VBOP; *om.* DW 6 ἡ θεοτόκος] VDWP; *om.* BO 8 ἄλλη παρθένος] παρθένος ἄλλη W

and beautiful, and do not inquire if she is chaste or anything of that kind, but wealth which always sets the souls of young men fluttering and the unreliable good looks that soon produce lamentations for a man. Let us therefore copy the Lord and master who for our sakes became poor and did everything as an example and for our salvation. For the blessed Virgin, the Theotokos, preserved her temperance beyond all human nature, and for this reason conceived the Lord in her womb. If there had been any other virgin more adorned with temperance than this Virgin, setting aside her he would have dwelt in her.

7. Since then he is the lamb sacrificed for the life of the world, the blameless lamb as John celebrated him, there was no need of another lamb. For the words of Paul are true when he says " For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins ". And about the slaughter of the lamb Peter, the fellow-leader with Paul, says " By his wounds we have been healed ". Since then he himself was the lamb whom the Law had prefigured in the scriptures, what need was there to find another lamb than he who was the true lamb?

8. How then should one take the two testaments, for the Law commands the one to be offered for a burnt offering and the other for sins. If you wish, let us transfer it to the mystery of the incarnation. For the Word of God was truly crucified, receiving in his own flesh the holes made by the nails and being sacrificed, but according to his godhead granting forgiveness of faults to all. But if anyone is in doubt because I said ' God was crucified in the flesh ', I know him who on the cross darkened the sun, and

---

11 *'Ιωάννης*] VDWP; *ὁ ante 'Ιωάννης add.* BO 12 *Παύλου*] *τοῦ ante Παύλου add.* W 14 *ἀμνοῦ*] V *fortasse per coniecturam*; *κόσμου* BODWP || *σφαγῆς*] VBOWP, *fortasse pro ζωῆς, cfr. 11 supra*; *φυγῆς* D || *οὕτως*] VBWP; *οὗτος* O; *οὕτω* D 15 *οὗ τῷ*] OBDWP, *I Petr.* 2:24; *οὕτω* V || *ἰάθημεν*] OBDWP, *Is.* 53:5; *ἰάθητε* V, *I Petr.* 2:24 || *ἀμνὸς*] *ὁ ante ἀμνὸς add.* V 16 *γραμμάτων*] *πραγμάτων* V || *προετύπου*] V; *προετύποι* OBDWP; *fortasse scr. προτυποῖ* 20 *εἰς τὸ*] *om.* W 22 *λαμβάνων*] VDWP; post *ἥλων pos.* BO 24 *τις ἀμφιβάλλοι*] VDWP; *τινες ἀμφιβάλλοιντο* BO 25 *τοῦ*] VDWP; *om.* BO

τῶν μνημάτων, καὶ αὐτοῦ νεκρουμένου τὸ καταπέτασμα σχιζόμενον καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν νυττομένου, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίναντος, τὸν θάνατον ἀπολλύμενον, τὰς διατρήσεις τῶν ἥλων λαβόντα, καὶ τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον βοῶντα· " Ἀληθῶς υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐστὶν οὗτος ". Ποῦ εἰσὶν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ οἱ λέγοντες 5 ὅτι οὐκ ἐσταυρώθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; ὁ ἄπιστος πιστεύει, καὶ οἱ δοκοῦντες πιστεύειν ἀπιστοῦσι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκονομίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου γενομένην ἀθετοῦσιν.

9. Symeon.

Ἐλευσώμεθα δὴ πρὸς τὸν Συμεὼν τὸν τοσούτῳ πόθῳ κρατούμενον εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγάπην, οὗ θεωρήσασα τὸ θερμὸν τῆς πίστεως ἡ 10 τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις διεβεβαιώσατο αὐτὸν " μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν Κυρίου ". Καὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ μοι θεωρεῖν αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἀναμένοντα τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν τὸν αὐτῷ προσδοκώμενον. Καὶ †ἀναβαίνοντα† εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς τε παναγίας παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ταύτης υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, νυχθεὶς ὁ Συμεὼν 15 ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος ὅτι ὅντινα ζητεῖ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστίν, ἀναστὰς ἔτρεχεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν. Καὶ ὅρα μοι αὐτόν, ἀγαπητέ, τὰς χεῖρας προπέμποντα καὶ ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδόντα πρὸς δρόμον. Ἦν γὰρ ἰδεῖν γέροντα ἀγωνιῶντα καὶ τοὺς πόδας καταναγκαζομένους τοῦ τρέχειν καὶ μὴ δυναμένους κατακολουθεῖν τῇ προθυμίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ ἐπλη-20 ροῦτο ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ λόγιον τὸ φάσκον. " Ἀνακαινισθήσεται ὡς ἀετοῦ ἡ νεότης σου ", " Καὶ ἦλθε ", φησίν, " ἐν τῷ πνεύματι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ ἐν τῷ τοὺς γονεῖς εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ ποιῆσαι †αὐτοῖς† κατὰ τὸ εἰθίσμενον τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς " δραμὼν ἐπεσπάσατο αὐτόν, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δὲ " δεξάμενος εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτοῦ " ἀνεφώνησε 25 λέγων " Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου, ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου, ὃ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν, φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν, καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ ". ' Πορεύομαι γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοῖς εἰς τὸν ᾅδην εὐαγγελίσασθαι ὅτι ἐτέχθη ὁ τὸν θάνατον λύων '. Καὶ πῶς ἐτόλ-30 μησας, ὦ Συμεών, θεὸν βαστάσαι, ὃν τὰ Χερουβὶμ τρέμει; εἰκότως

---

4 *Mt.* 27:54 10 *Lc.* 2:26 20 *Ps.* 103:5 21 *Lc.* 2:27-28 24 *Lc.* 2:29-32

---

2 *νυττομένου*] *νυττόμενον* D 4 *υἱὸς θεοῦ*] VBP; *θεοῦ υἱὸς* O 12 *αὐτῷ*] *αὐτὸν* W 13 *ἀναβαίνοντα*] VBOW, *scr.* *ἀναβαινόντων*; *ἀναμένοντα* D

raised the dead from the tombs, and himself being dead rent the veil, and was pierced in the side and bowed his head, death being destroyed, receiving the perforations of the nails, and the centurion crying " Truly this is the Son of God ". Where are the heretics who say that the Son of God was not crucified? The unbeliever believes and those who appear to believe disbelieve the dispensation concerning them; rather, they deny the dispensation that took place for the sake of the whole world.

9. Let us come then to Symeon, who was seized with such desire for the love of the Lord; the grace of the Spirit, seeing the warmth of his faith, assured him " that he should not see death before seeing the Lord's Christ ". For I seem to see him sitting in Jerusalem and awaiting the Lord Jesus whom he expected. And when the all-holy Virgin and her Son and God went up to Jerusalem, Symeon being told by the grace of the Spirit that he whom he sought was in the Temple rose up and ran to the Temple. See him, beloved, stretching out his hands and giving himself up wholly to running. It was possible to see an old man struggling and his feet being forced into running and not able to catch up with the eagerness of his soul. And there was fulfilled in him the text saying " Thy youth will be renewed as an eagle's ". " And in the Spirit " it says, " he came into the Temple, and when the parents brought in the child to the Temple to do according to the custom of the Law, he himself " ran and took him, and " receiving him to himself into his arms " he cried out saying " Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy people Israel ". For I go from the present to announce to those in Hades that the destroyer of death has been born. And how didst thou dare, Symeon, to carry God, at whom the Cherubim tremble? Perhaps he says ' For this

---

19 *μή*] *om.* V || *προθυμίᾳ*] VDWP; *post ψυχῆς pos.* BO 22 *εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*] *om.* V, *Lc.* 2:28 23 *αὐτοῖς*] *sic. mss.*; *scr. αὐτοὺς cfr. Lc.* 2:27 29 *ἐτόλμησας*] VDWP; *σὺ ante ἐτόλμησας add.* BO

φησί· " Διὰ τοῦτο ἐνηνθρώπησεν, οὐχ ἵνα μόνον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ βασταχθῇ, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ σταυρωθῇ. Πορεύομαι δὲ δεῖξαι τοῖς ἐν ᾅδῃ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀγκάλας μαρτυρούσας τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τὰ εὐαγγέλια βεβαιῶν. Οὐκ ἔτι δειλιῶ τὸν θάνατον, νῦν γὰρ 5 μετὰ χαρᾶς πορεύομαι, ἐμοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεωρῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ περιμένω αὐτὸν ἔρχεσθαι κἀκεῖθεν ἐγείρας με μετὰ πάντων ἀτελεύτητον ζωὴν χαρίσηται".

10. The Light of the Gentiles.

Καὶ βλέπε τὴν τούτου μεγαλοφροσύνην προαναφωνοῦντα τὰ τοῦ Παύλου λόγια· ἐκεῖνος γάρ φησιν· " ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἓν καὶ τὸ 10 μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι καταργήσας, ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ποιῶν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῷ θεῷ". Τουτέστιν ἐπάρας τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, ὅ ἐστι νόμος· φραγμὸς γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ νόμος λέγεται διὰ τὸ μὴ 15 συγχωρεῖν τὸν Ἰουδαῖον εὑρίσκεσθαι μετὰ ἐθνικοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐλθὼν ὁ Κύριος ἦρεν αὐτὸν καταλύσας τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ καὶ ἐποίησε τὰ ἀμφότερα ἕν, τά τε τῶν Ἰουδαίων γένη καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν πλήθη εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν τοῖς πᾶσι ἐδωρήσατο. Διὰ τοῦτο φησὶ καὶ ὁ Συμεὼν " Φῶς εἰς ἀποκά-20 λυψιν ἐθνῶν καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ".

11. Symeon should be imitated.

Ὢ πολιὰ φρονήσει συμπεπλεγμένη, ὢ γῆρας βίῳ ἀκηλιδότῳ λαμπρυνόμενον· ὢ προφήτης ἄριστος, δοχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος γεγονώς. Τοῦτον μιμήσασθε, ὅσοι τῷ βίῳ προέβητε· οὗτος γὰρ τὸν Κύριον ὑπεδέξατο· οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ ἡμᾶς θρόνους εἶναι τοῦ ἁγίου 25 πνεύματος, ἐὰν τούτου τὸν βίον μιμησώμεθα. Καὶ πῶς ἄρα γένοιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ἐν μέθαις καὶ ἐν θεάτροις καὶ κύβοις διημερευόντων ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ " τῆς ἀσωτίας ἡ ἀνάχυσις" γίνεται. Ὁ Συμεὼν ταῦτα οὐκ ἔπραττεν,

9 *Eph.* 2:14-16 19 *Lc.* 2:32 21 *cfr. Sap.* 4:9 27 *I Petr.* 4:4

2 ᾅδῃ] τῷ *ante* ᾅδῃ *add.* V 5 θεωρῶν] VD; θεωρῶ BOWP 6 με] VDWP; *om.* BO 8 τὰ] *om.* P 9 λόγια] -για C ‖ φησιν] VBOP; *om.*

he became incarnate, not only that he might be carried by me but that he might also be crucified for me. I go to show to those in Hades my arms bearing witness to my words through the deeds, and confirming the good news as reliable. I no longer fear death, for now I go with joy, with my own eyes seeing the resurrection. For there I await his coming, and from thence after raising me up he will grant me and all men life unending '.

10. And see the greatmindedness of this man who pronounced beforehand the sayings of Paul. For the latter said " Who has made both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments in ordinances that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body ". That is, taking away the dividing wall, which is the Law. For division is what the Law of the Jews is called, because the Jew is not allowed to be present with the Gentile. Therefore since the Lord has come and taken it away, having broken down the dividing wall, and made both one, making peace between the families of the Jews and the masses of the nations through his blood, he gave one and the same grace to all. For this reason Symeon too said " A light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy people Israel ".

11. Oh grey hairs united to wisdom! Oh old age shining with spotless life! Oh best prophet, become a receptacle of the Holy Spirit! Imitate this man, you who are advanced in age. For he received the Lord; nothing prevents us also from being the throne of the Holy Spirit, if we imitate the life of this man. And how indeed would this happen, when we spend our days in drinking and at spectacles and in dicing, in which " wild profligacy " comes about. Symeon did not do these things, but the opposite. Thou

---

C; *φησι* DW 10 *λύσας*] *post λύσας deficit* P 11 *ἐν ἑαυτῷ*] VOBDW, *Eph.* 2:15; *om.* C 13 *ἐν*] VBODW, *Eph.* 2:16; *om.* C 14 *ἐστι*] VBODW; *ἐστιν ὁ* C 18 *αὐτὴν*] VC; *αὐτοῦ* BODW 21 *ἀκηλιδότῳ*] *ἀκηλιδώτῳ* V, *Sap.* 4:9 22 *προφήτης*] *προφήτη* D 26 *κύβοις*] VDWC; *ἐν ante κύβοις add.* BO

ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον. Σὺ μὲν γὰρ τρέχεις ἐν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· σὺ τὰ θεάτρα περισκοπεῖς, οὗτος δὲ εἰς θεωρίας πνευματικὰς ἐσχόλαζε· σὺ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν αἰσχρὰν τὸν νοῦν αἰχμαλωτίζεις, οὗτος δὲ ὡς γενναῖος ἀθλητὴς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀντεπάλαιε.

12. Despair is worse than sin.

5 *Μὴ αἰσχύνου ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κατανύγηθι ἀκούων. Εἰ γὰρ βούλει τὸ γραμματεῖον τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβὼν οὕτως ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελθεῖν, μὴ προβάλλου μοι ὄκνον, ἀλλὰ δὸς θερμῇ τῇ ψυχῇ σεαυτὸν στενάξας πικρῶς ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξας, καὶ καθομολογήσας τῷ δεσπότῃ μηκέτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς εὑρίσκεσθαι. Ἔκτοτε ἀσφαλῶς ἔχε, ὅτι καὶ*
10 *σὺ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὴν δωρεὰν ἔλαβες, καὶ μηδέπω ἀπογνῷς σεαυτόν. Οὐ χαλεπὸν ἡ ἁμαρτία ὡς χαλεπὸν ἡ ἀπόγνωσις. ' Ἀλλὰ πλειστάκις', φησί, ' πταίσας μετενόησα, καὶ πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιέπεσα, καὶ τί ποιῆσαι οὐκ οἶδα· καὶ τοῦτο λογίζομαι, ὅτι ἀπέστραπταί μοι ὁ θεός'. Ἄκουσον, ἀγαπητέ, περὶ τούτου. οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν*
15 *τοῦτο γίνεται ἢ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τῆς γραφῆς σε ἀκουέιν μηδὲ σχολάζειν σε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ λεγούσῃ· "Θεὸς κακῶν ἀπείραστος· ἕκαστος γὰρ πειράζεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας ἐξελκόμενος καὶ δελεαζόμενος". Μικρὸν γὰρ ἄρτι κλαυθμυρίζων, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξιέναι σε τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηκέτι μνημονεύων τῶν παραινέσεων ὧν ἀκήκοας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μετεωρισμοὺς*
20 *σεαυτὸν ἐκδούς, πῶς οὐχὶ ἄρα παραπτώματι περιπέσῃς, εἰπέ μοι; Ἀλλὰ κάτεχέ μου τοὺς λόγους, καὶ σχόλαζε τῇ εὐχῇ, τῇ εὐποιΐᾳ δαψιλῶς κεχρημένος, καὶ μετὰ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν διάγων, μηκέτι πρὸς ἀδηφαγίαν σεαυτὸν ἐκδῷς· μὴ ῥεμβέσθω ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἄκαιρα· μὴ λογιζέτω ἡ καρδία σου κενὰ καὶ μάταια· κέκτησο τὴν ταπείνωσιν· αὔξανον πρὸς*
25 *τὴν ἀγάπην· " τῷ τύπτοντί σε εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, πάρεχε αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν"· ἀγγαρευόμενος προστίθει· " μὴ ἀποδιδοὺς κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ, ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας" · μηκέτι ὅρκος διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διερχέσθω, ἀλλὰ βόα μετὰ τοῦ Παύλου· " Ἐσταύρωμαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐμοί". Ἔχε τοίνυν ἀσφαλεῖς τὰς παραδόσεις τῶν ἁγίων*

---

16 *Jac.* 1 : 13-14 25 *Lc.* 6 : 29, *cfr. Mt.* 5 : 39 26 *cfr. Mt* 5 : 41 || *I Petr.* 3 : 9, *cfr. Rom.* 12 : 17 28 *Gal.* 6 : 14

---

2 *περισκοπεῖς*] *περισυντεθεῖς* C 5 *αἰσχύνου*] *αἰσχύνῃ* V 6 *λαβὼν*] VC; *λαβεῖν καὶ* BODW 9 *μηκέτι*] *τοῦ ante μηκέτι add.* C 10 *μηδέπω*] *sic mss.*; *scr. μηδέποτε* 11 *οὐ*] VBOW; *om.* D; *οὐχ οὕτως* C || *ἡ ante*

runnest in drinking and in dicing, but he in the Temple; thou gazest at spectacles, but he gave himself to spiritual contemplations; thou enslavest thy mind to shameful lust, but he as a noble athlete struggled against things of that kind.

12. Do not be ashamed when reproved, but rather be spurred on as thou hearest. For if thou wishest to receive the tablet of the remission of sins, and thus to go out from hence, do not put forward any delay to me, but give thyself to an ardent heart, bewailing bitterly the things thou hast done and undertaking to the Lord not to be found in the same things any longer. From then on hold firmly the faith that thou indeed hast received the gift of remission of sins and do not despair of thyself. Sinning is not as serious as despairing. ' But ', he says, ' after countless stumbles I have repented, and fallen once more into the same deeds, and I do not know what to do. And I think this: that God has turned away from me '. Listen beloved, on this point: this thought comes from no other source than thy not listening to the scriptures nor paying attention to the church which says; ' God is not tempted of evil; for each person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his own desire '. For having wept a little now, and after going out of the church remembering no more the warnings thus hast heard, but giving thyself up to distraction, how couldst thou not fall into transgressions, tell me? But hold fast to my words, and pay attention to prayer, engaging liberally in well-doing, and spending time with holy men, no longer giving thyself up to gluttony. Let not thine eye roam about after unseasonable things; let not thy heart think upon empty and vain things; possess humility; increase towards charity. " To him who strikes you on the right cheek, offer the other also ". Give in addition to the person who forces you to go one mile. " Do not return evil for evil or reviling for reviling ". Let no oath pass through thy mouth, but shout with Paul: " I have been crucified to the world and the world to me ". Keep, then, unshaken the traditions of

---

ἁμαρτία] VDWC; *om.* BO 13 *ποιῆσαι*] VC; *ποιήσω* BODW 14 *μοι*] VC; *μου* BODW 15 *μηδὲ*] *μὴ* C 19 *μνημονεύων*] *ὁ εἰς γέννητον πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτηχεῖν* (*sic*) *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. post μνημονεύων add. et postea deficit* C 20 *παραπτώματι*] *περιπτώματι* V 23 *ἄκαιρα*] *ἄκερα* D || *λογιζέτω* VDW; *λογιζέσθω* BO

ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πατέρων, ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσι τῶν θείων γραφῶν σχόλαζε· ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἑδραῖα καὶ ἀμετακίνητα τὰ θεῖα λόγια φύλασσε ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου. Τότε οὖν πεπεισμένος ἔσο ὅτε καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν τῶν πταισμάτων εἴληφας.

13. Injunctions against falling back into sin.

5 *᾿Επεὶ οὖν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἠγνόησας τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ τὰς ἐναντίας δυνάμεις ἐφαίδρυνας τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ σου, σπούδασον κἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακροθυμήσαντα ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸν δεσπότην τὸν γνώριμόν σε γενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ μετανοίας, καὶ τοὺς μηδέποτε χαροποιηθέντας ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ σοὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐπανόδου χαροποίησον· εὐφροσύνην*
10 *ποίησον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἀσφάλισαι σεαυτόν, μηκέτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς εὑρισκόμενος· ἐπεὶ σὺ λογισθήσῃ καθάπερ "κύων ἐπιστρέφων ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον", ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃς καὶ σὺ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου βοῶντος· "Κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἢ ἐπιγνόντας εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐπανακάμψαι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς παραδοθείσης*
15 *αὐτοῖς ἁγίας ἐντολῆς". Λαβὼν οὖν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν πταισμάτων καὶ τὴν λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα τῆς σωφροσύνης, καρπίζον τὰς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφάς, θαυμάζων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, ὅτι ἐν ποίᾳ δυσωδίᾳ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀμαυρότητι ψυχῆς εἰσῆλθες ἐνταῦθα, καὶ πῶς εὐώδης καὶ λαμπρὸς κατέστης διὰ τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβὼν ἐξέρχῃ.*
20 *Διὸ παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι καὶ ἀντιβολῶ μὴ ῥυπῶσαι τὴν στολὴν τὴν νυμφικήν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς μετανοίας λαμπρῦναι αὐτήν. Εἰς δὲ τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανέλθωμεν.*

14. The sword.

Τί γάρ φησιν ὁ δίκαιος Συμεὼν πρὸς τὴν ἄχραντον παρθένον; "Καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία". Τίνα ἄρα λέγει
25 *εἶναι τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἢ πάντως τὰς προσβολὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ; Καὶ ποῦ, φησίν, ἡ παρθένος ἐδέξατο ῥομφαίαν; ὅτε ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ παρειστήκει. Καὶ πῶς ἄρα ταύτην ἐδέξατο; πῶς; ἐγὼ λέγω· ἐννοήσασα τοιγαροῦν ἡ*

---

11 *II Petr.* 2:22 13 *II Petr.* 2:21 24 *Lc.* 2:35

---

2 *ἀσφαλῆ*] BO; *οὖν post ἀσφαλῆ add.* VDW 3 *οὖν*] *om.* V || *πεπεισμένος*] VDW; *πεπιστευμένος* BO 7 *τὸν γνώριμον*] VO; *τοῦ γνώριμον* BDW

the holy apostles and the fathers. Pay attention to the reading from the divine scriptures. Guard in thy heart the divine sayings unshaken and firm and unchangeable. Then therefore shalt thou be persuaded that thou has indeed received pardon for thy faults.

13. Since therefore thou hast up till now failed to recognize the master, and hast delighted the opposing powers by thy perdition, be eager from now for the master who has suffered long for thee to know thou hast come to him through repentance, and to the angels who have never yet rejoiced over thee give joy now by thy return to the master. Make gladness in heaven, and secure thyself no longer being present at the same things, since thou reasonest like " a dog returning to its own vomiting ", in order that even thou mayest not hear the apostle Peter calling " For it would have been better for them never to have known the way of righteousness than having known it to bend back again to the things behind from the holy commandment delivered to them ". Having therefore received remission of thy faults and the shining garment of temperance, pluck the delicacies of paradise, amazed at God's love towards men, because thou hast come in thither in such a stench of works and dimness of soul, and how sweet-smelling and shining thou hast become through repentance, and having received remission of sins thou goest out. Wherefore I beg and beseech and entreat, do not befoul the wedding garment, but much more through repentance make it glorious. Let us return to the point.

14. For what says the righteous Symeon to the spotless Virgin: " And a sword will pierce through thine own soul also ". What then does he mean the sword to be? Certainly, the attacks of the enemy. And where, he says, did the Virgin receive the sword? Because she stood by at the cross. And how, then, did she receive this sword? How? I tell you: the blessed Virgin, thinking over her

---

10 *αὐτοῖς*] *om.* W   11 *ἐπιστρέφων*] *ἐπιστρέφον* B   13 *ἦν*] *om.* W
17 *τῶν ἔργων*] V; *om* BODW   20-21 *στολὴν τὴν νυμφικήν*] VDW; *νυμφικὴν στολήν* BO   24 *δὲ*] BODW, *Lc.* 2:35, *cfr. p. 22 l. 5 infra*; *om.* V
25 *εἶναι*] VDW; *om.* BO   26 *τοῦ*] VDW; *om.* BO   27 *πῶς; ἐγὼ λέγω*] *bis* O || *τοιγαροῦν*] VBO; *γὰρ* DW

μακαρία παρθένος τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἄφθαρτον κύημα καὶ τῶν σημείων αὐτοῦ τὰς ἰάσεις, καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα μυστήρια, ἔγνω αὐτὸν ἀληθῶς εἶναι Θεόν· ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν ὕστερον κρεμάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ, τότε ἐδέξατο τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καθώς φησιν ὁ 5 Συμεών· "Καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία". Οὐκ εἶπεν "ἐμμείνῃ" ἀλλὰ "διελεύσεται". Ἐπεὶ οὖν μετὰ μικρὸν ὕστερον εἶδε τὸ καταπέτασμα σχιζόμενον, τὰς πέτρας ῥηγνυμένας, τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐγειρομένους, ἀποβαλοῦσα εὐθέως τὸ βέλος· ἔγνω τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον. Ἴδε οὖν διῆλθε, καὶ οὐ διέμεινε.

15. Eulogy of the Virgin.

10 Προσδραμόντες οὖν ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον καὶ θεοτόκον, τὸ κέρδος ληψώμεθα· ὅσοι παρθένοι νῦν τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Κυρίου σχολάσατε. Αὕτη γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου κτήματος πρόξενος. Μέγα γὰρ ὄντως τῆς παρθένου τὸ θαῦμα· τί γὰρ μεῖζον τῶν ὄντων εὑρεθήσεταί ποτε; τῆς γὰρ γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πλατυτέρα αὕτη 15 μόνη ἐφάνη· τίς γὰρ τάυτης ἁγιωτέρα γέγονεν; οὐ προπατόρες, οὐ προφῆται, οὐκ ἀπόστολοι, οὐ μάρτυρες, οὐ πατριάρχαι, οὐ πατέρες, οὐκ ἄγγελοι, οὐ θρόνοι, οὐ κυριότητες, οὐ τὰ Σεραφίμ, οὐ τὰ Χερουβίμ, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν τε ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων ἐν ποιήμασιν οὐ μεῖζον ταύτης εὑρίσκεται. Δούλη τυγχάνει καὶ θεοτόκος, παρθένος ἐστὶ καὶ μήτηρ. 20 Καὶ μηδεὶς ἀμφιβάλλῃ λέγων· πῶς δούλη καὶ θεοτόκος; ἢ πῶς παρθένος καὶ μήτηρ; πίστει δέξαι, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ μὴ ἀμφίβαλλε τοῖς λογιζομένοις, μὴ ἀμφίβαλλε τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πατέρων δεδοκιμασμένοις, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ, καὶ ἀνεξετάστως πίστευσον. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν πίστευε, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμόνει. Εἰ μὲν ὡς σὺ νοήσεις πιστεύσεις, βλέπε τῷ κινδύνῳ σου. 25 Εἰ δὲ τῇ κηρύγματι τοῦ λόγου πιστεύσεις, οὐκέτι σὺ ἀπολογῇ, ἀλλ' ὁ προεστώς. Πίστευσον τοίνυν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς παρθένου λεγόμενα, καὶ μὴ ἀμφίβαλλε ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ δούλην καὶ θεοτόκον καὶ παρθένον καὶ μητέρα· δούλη γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς κτίσμα τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθέντος· θεοτόκος δὲ τυγχάνει καθότι θεὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθέντα τέτοκε· 30 παρθένος δέ, ὅτι κοίτην σπέρματος ἐξ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἔγνω· μήτηρ, καθότι

5 *Lc.* 2:35

2 ἔγνω] V; οὖν *post* ἔγνω *add.* BODW 6 ἐμμείνῃ] V; ἐμμένει BODW 10 ἁγίαν παρθένον καί] BO; παναγίαν VDW 11 ληψώμεθα] BODW; ληψόμεθα V 12 τούτου] VDW; τόκου BO 15 οὐ προπατόρες] V; *om.*

uncorrupted conception, and the healings of his miracles, and the unspeakable mysteries of his teaching, knew him to be truly God. But seeing him later hanging on the wood of the cross then she received the sword in her soul, as Symeon says " And a sword will pierce through thine own soul also ". He did not say ' will remain in ' but " will pierce through ". Since therefore a little later she saw the veil rent, the stone split, the dead raised, immediately throwing the weapon away she knew the mystery of the dispensation. Behold therefore it pierced through and did not remain.

15. All of us therefore running towards the holy Virgin and Theotokos, let us receive the benefit. As many as are virgins now devote yourselves to the mother of the Lord. For she is your patroness of this fair and incorruptible possession. For truly, great is the marvel of the Virgin. For what greater thing will ever be found than the things which are? For she alone has appeared wider than the earth and the heaven. For who has become holier than she? Not the forefathers, not prophets, not apostles, not martyrs, not patriarchs, not fathers, not angels, not thrones, not dominions, not the Seraphim, not the Cherubim, not anything else visible and invisible among created things is found greater than she. She is slave and Theotokos, Virgin and mother. And let no one be in doubt, saying, how is she slave and Theotokos? or how is she Virgin and mother? Receive in faith, oh man, and do not doubt the things that are reasoned, do not doubt what was approved by the fathers, but fear, and believe without examination. Rather therefore believe and do not be inquisitive. If thou believest as thou thinkest, see thy danger. But if thou believest the proclamation of the word, it is no longer thou that makest defence, but the leader. Believe therefore the things that are said by us about the Virgin, and do not hesitate to confess her both slave and Theotokos, both Virgin and mother. For she is slave as a creature of him who was born of her, Theotokos inasmuch as God was born incarnate of her, Virgin because she did not conceive from the seed of man, mother inasmuch as she gave birth and became

---

BODW 18 *οὐ*] VDW; *om.* BO ‖ *μεῖζον ταύτης*] *ταύτης μεῖζον* W 19 *εὑρίσκεται*] *εὑρίσκεις* D 20 *ἀμφιβάλλῃ*] BO; *ἀμφιβάλοι* V; *ἀμφίβάλῃ* DW 21 *ἀμφίβαλλε*] VOW; *ἀμφίβαλε* BD 23 *καὶ*] BO; *φησὶν post καὶ add.* VDW 27 *καὶ θεοτόκον*] *post παρθένον pos.* V

ἐγέννησε καὶ μήτηρ ἐγένετο τοῦ προανάρχως ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντος. Αὕτη τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ δεσπότου τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐκ ταύτης ἐσαρκώθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ σαρκὶ σταυρωθῆναι καταδεξάμενος. Καὶ θέλεις εἰδέναι ὅσον ἡ παρθένος τῶν οὐρανίων 5 *δυνάμεων κρείττων ἐστί; πρόσεχε· ἐκεῖνα μὲν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ περιπτάμενα τὴν ὄψιν κατακαλύπτει, αὕτη δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος αὐτῷ προσφέρει καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν λαμβάνομεν· αὕτη τούτον ἐγέννησεν ὃν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τοῦ τόκου ἐλθόντες μετὰ φόβου ἐδοξολόγουν, λέγοντες "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν* 10 *ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία". Χαῖρε τοίνυν ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οὐρανός· ἡ κόρη καὶ νεφέλη· ἡ παρθένος καὶ θρόνος· τὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας καύχημα καὶ στερέωμα· ἐκτενῆ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δέησιν ποίησον ὅπως λάβωμεν διὰ σοῦ ἔλεος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως, καὶ τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν θεὸν ἐπιτύχωμεν, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου* 15 *ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμή, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

---

9 *Lc.* 2 : 14

---

5 *κρείττων*] *κρεῖττον* V 6 *γένος*] VDW; *post προσφέρει pos.* BO 7 *τὴν*] VBO; *om.* DW 10 *οὐρανὸς*] *ὁ κύριος* D 12 *λάβωμεν*] VBO; *λάβομεν* DW 16 *τιμή*] VDW; *om.* BO

ADDENDA (*)

1. Κόσμον φησὶν εἰπῶν οὐ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν ᾐνίξατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ βιωτικὰ πράγματα πρὸς ἔπαινον τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ μὲν δωροφορίαν, τὴν δόξαν, τὸν πλοῦτον, τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι λαμπρά. Ταῦτα γάρ μοί νεκρὰ γέγονε, καὶ ταῦτα εἰπῶν ἐπήγαγε κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ, διπλὴν τὴν νέκρωσιν ἐνυττόμενος, καὶ λέγων ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐμοὶ νεκρῶ, κἀγὼ ἐκείνοις. Καὶ οὔτε αὐτὰ ἑλεῖν με δύνανται καὶ νεκρώσασθαι· νεκρὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἅπαξ, οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῶν. Νεκρὸς γὰρ αὐτός εἰμι κἀγώ.

2. Πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἀγροίκων θεασάμενος ἐνταῦθα †τις† ἐληλυθότας σήμερον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ †ἁπλῶς τειναν† [scl. ἁπλουστέραν] τὴν διδασκαλίαν ποιησάμην.

(*) I have only recently collated M and N. N shares most of the readings of DW. M is closely related to C, has two short extra passages, and preserves the following reading for the first sentence of chapter 8, p. 12.18: *Τίνα οὖν δέοι λαβεῖν τὰς δύο τρυγόνας ἢ πάντως τὰς δύο διαθήκας;*

mother of him who before all eternity was begotten of the Father. She therefore is the mother of the master of angels and of men; from her the Son of God was incarnate, he who accepted being crucified in the flesh. And dost thou wish to know how much greater is the Virgin than the heavenly powers? Pay attention: they, flying about in fear and trembling, veil their sight, but she offers the race of man to him and through her we receive the remission of sins. She bore him whom the angels glorified when they came at his birth saying " Glory to God in the highest and upon earth peace, goodwill among men ". Rejoice therefore, mother and heaven, maiden and cloud, Virgin and throne, the boast and foundation of our church; make continuous prayer on our behalf so that we may obtain though thee mercy in the day of judgment, and may attain the good things laid up for those who love God, by the grace and love towards mankind of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom together with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory, power, and honour, now and for ever and for the ages of ages. Amen.

1. Saying " world " he indicated neither the heaven nor the earth, but the affairs of this life with reference to the praise that comes from men for giving of gifts, glory, wealth, all things of that kind which seem to be magnificent. For these things have become dead to me, and having said " these things " he added " and I to the world ", hinting at a double dying, and saying that both they are made dead to me and I to them. And neither are they able to take me and reduce me to death. For once they are dead, neither do I desire them, for I myself am dead too.

2. For after seeing many country folk coming in here to-day, on this account I have made my teaching more simple.

(" How then should one take the two turtle doves except surely as the two testaments? "). I quote here the two extra passages in N, the first inserted in chapter 12 after *ἐμοί* on p. 18.29 and the second in chapter 13 after *αὐτήν* on p. 20.21:

Orientales ab Ecclesia Catholica seiuncti tenenturne novo iure canonico a Pio XII promulgato?

Codificationem Canonicam Orientalem, quam Pius XI inceperat, Pius XII ita est prosecutus ut, inter annos 1949-1957, principaliores eiusdem partes promulgaverit, in quibus nova disciplina de Matrimonio, de Iudiciis ecclesiasticis, de Religiosis, de Bonis ecclesiasticis temporalibus, de Verborum significatione et tandem de Ritibus orientalibus ac de Personis continetur (1).

Mens nostra nunc non est de momento, necessitate aut de utilitate Codificationis Orientalis agere. Intendimus potius attentionem nostram convertere ad quaestionem maioris momenti, nempe ad vim et obligatorietatem huius novi iuris a Pio XII in codicem redacti ac pro Ecclesia Orientali promulgati. Haec quaesio, ut patet, naturam ipsam harum legum attingit.

Quod hoc novum ius omnes catholicos ritui orientali adscriptos obliget, omnino clarum est, nec ab ullo ambiguitur. Disputatio potius fit circa extensionem illius obligatorietatis, seu a. v., an istud novum ius orientale, praeter catholicos, etiam Orientales ab Ecclesia catholica separatos liget et teneat.

Momentum huius particularis quaestionis neminem latet, cum, prout una vel alia solutio admittatur, gravissimae sequelae inde profluant. Nam, si admittatur novum ius etiam separatos obligare, necessario sequitur disciplinam, qua hucusque ipsi regebantur, abrogatam esse; secus, autem, si huiusmodi extensio reiciatur.

(1) Litterae Apostolicae a Pio XII Mp datae: 1) « *Crebrae allatae sunt* » de disciplina Sacramenti Matrimonii, in AAS 41 (1949) 89-119); 2) « *Sollicitudinem Nostram* », de Iudiciis, in AAS 42 (1950) 5-120; 3) « *Postquam Apostolicis Litteris* », de Religiosis, de Bonis ecclesiasticis temporalibus et de Verborum significatione, in AAS 44 (1952) 65-152; 4) « *Cleri sanctitati* », de Ritibus Orientalibus, de Personis, in AAS 49 (1957) 433-600.

Quaestionem hanc de obligatorietate novae Codificationis Orientalis iam alii AA. tractarunt, inter quos recensendi sunt Card. A. Coussa, Ae. Herman, et D. Faltin (1), qui quaestionem hanc particularem, non quidem directe in se consideraverunt, sed potius in connexione cum problemate generali de legibus, quibus separati ab Ecclesia teneantur, exinde deducendo, ut unam ex consequentiis, responsionem nostrae particulari quaestioni dandam; quae responsio est pro extensione obligatorietatis novi iuris orientalis etiam ad Orientales separatos.

Haec tamen solutio non omnibus placuit nec placet, tum quia argumenta ab AA. allata persuasiva non videntur; tum quia huiusmodi extensio obligatorietatis contraria videtur sive menti ipsius Legislatoris, nempe Pii XII, qui hoc ius promulgavit, sive spiritui et decretis Concilii Vaticani II; tum denique quia, illa extensione admissa, plurima dubia pluresque difficultates necessario exsurgunt, prout tribunalia ecclesiastica saepe experta sunt atque experiuntur.

Ideo consilium cepimus hanc quaestionem iterum tractandi, non ut sententiam illorum cl. AA. a priori reiceremus, sed potius ut fundamentum, quo eorum sententia innititur, considerationi subiceremus, et praesertim ut in veram mentem Legislatoris, circa vim huius novi iuris orientalis, inquireremus.

Nam, quaestio, quam hic agitare intendimus, non est, ut diximus, quaestio generalis, utrum nempe baptizati separati teneantur necne legibus ecclesiasticis; sed potius, quaestio valde particularis, scil. utrum baptizati Orientales, sed ab Ecclesia catholica seiuncti, hoc novo iure pro Ecclesia Orientali promulgato, obligentur.

Ut hanc particularem quaestionem recte consideremus, diversam viam ab illa, qua allati AA. usi sunt, sequemur, nempe in prima parte huius nostri articuli, conabimur invenire qualis

(1) COUSSA, A., *Epitome Praelectionum de Iure Ecclesiastico Orientali*, Vol. I Romae (1948) nn. 15-21; *De Matrimonio*, Romae, (1950), nn. 4-5; *Annotationes in can. LXXII Trullanae Synodi*, in « Apollinaris » 32 (1959) 170-181. — HERMAN, Ae. *Quibus legibus subiiciantur Dissidentes rituum orientalium*, in « Il Diritto Ecclesiastico », anno LXII-1951, fasc. IV, pp. 1043-1058; *Adnotationes ad motu proprio «Crebrae allatae sunt»*, in « Periodica de re morali », 1949, 93-125. — FALTIN, D., *De legibus quibus baptizati acatholici ritui orientali adscripti tenentur*, in « Apollinaris » 35 (1962) 238-249.

fuerit Legislatoris mens in hoc novo iure promulgando; in altera vero parte, argumenta allata pro sententia quae talem extensionem sustinet, crisi subiiciemus.

I

Norma prima ad determinandam extensionem alicuius legis humanae inveniri debet praeprimis in ipsa voluntate et intentione Legislatoris. Ipse enim est fons legis, ipseque est qui vim propriae legis determinat, sive quoad territorium sive quoad personas, quibus illa lex applicanda erit. Lex, igitur, humana, in casu nostro lex mere ecclesiastica (non igitur fit nunc quaestio de lege divina vel de lege ius divinum determinante) suam propriam determinationem recipit a Legislatore, et in casu nostro, cum de legibus generalibus agatur, a Romano Pontifice. Ergo, ut quaestioni supra propositae debita et fundata detur solutio, non satis erit ad rationes generales, vel ad quaedam criteria communia recurrere, sed necessarium omnino erit cognoscere qualis fuit mens, et qualis intentio Legislatoris in praedictis Litteris Apostolicis promulgandis. Hanc vero mentem, hancque intentionem quaerendam esse in primis in ipso textu legis, clarum est; et tunc tantum ex aliis criteriis erit eruenda, si illa mens Legislatoris non satis clara in ipso legis textu appareat.

Opus, igitur, nostrum erit ipsa documenta legalia examinare, ut, si fieri possit, ex illis eruamus Legislatoris mentem.

A) « *Notificatio* » *anno 1929 facta.* — Antequam ad istud studium directum et immediatum singularum Litterarum Apostolicarum Pii XII accedamus, non sine utilitate erit nonnulla praemittere circa earum remotam praeparationem, seu, magis concrete, circa « Notificationem » quae iussu Pii XI anno 1929 publici iuris facta est.

En Notificationem: « Cum quamplurimi Orientalis Ecclesiae Rev.mi Praelati ad Apostolicam Sedem supplices preces instanter porrexerint, ut suis quoque Ecclesiis provideretur per Orientalem Codificationem, Ssmus. D. N. Pius div. Prov. PP. XI super ipsa re interpellari mandavit Excmos. DD. Patriarchas, Revmos. Metropolitas, Archiepiscopos et Episcopos, ut, collatis consiliis, libere significarent quae de hoc tanti momenti negotio sentirent, simulque mentem suam aperirent qua via et qua ratione procedendum

esset, respectu praesertim habito ad disciplinam, traditiones, necessitates atque privilegia uniuscuiusque ritus, ut Codificatio in veram utilitatem vergeret illarum Ecclesiarum, cleri populique.

Quibus habitis, atque insuper ab iisdem Praelatis sacerdote pro suo cuiusque ritu delecto, qui operam navaret ad memoratum opus, Sanctitas Sua constituere dignata est Commissionem Cardinalitiam pro studiis, ut aiunt, praeparatoriis Codificationis Orientalis » [1].

Primum quod ex hac « Notificatione » apparet, est consilium et voluntas Pii XI procedendi ad Codificationem iuris canonici orientalis pro universa Ecclesia Orientali. In ea praeterea nonnulla sunt elementa quae non parum erunt utilitatis ad scopum nostrum.

In primis, illi qui ad Sedem Apostolicam supplices preces porrexerunt fuerunt « quamplurimi Orientalis Ecclesiae Revmi. Praelati », qui non alii esse possunt, nisi Praelati catholici; non enim constat ullum Praelatum acatholicum orientalem a Sancta Sede codificationem postulavisse.

Secundo, isti catholici Praelati supplices preces ad Sanctam Sedem porrexerunt « ut suis quoque Ecclesiis [sicut pro latinis factum fuerat] provideretur per Orientalem Codificationem ». Verba « suis Ecclesiis », iuxta eorum obvium et naturalem sensum, non significant nisi Communitates catholicas ritus orientalis, non autem illas Communitates a communione cum Sede Romana seiunctas, de quibus nullus catholicus Episcopus dicet esse « suas Ecclesias », cum istae aliis Hierarchis subsint. His igitur verbis subiectum passivum futuri Codicis modo quidem generali, sed sufficienter claro, iam indicatur.

Positis et admissis supradictis precibus, Pius XI mandavit ut consilium Patriarcharum, Metropolitarum, Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum exquireretur. Actus iste Pontificius solos Praelatos catholicos ritus orientalis abs dubio respiciebat; non autem noncatholicos.

Obiectum vero huius Consultationis in ipsa « Notificatione » declaratur: sc. « ut collatis consiliis, libere significarent quae de hoc tanti momenti negotio sentirent, simulque mentem suam aperirent qua via et qua ratione procedendum esset, respectu praesertim habito ad disciplinam, traditiones, necessitates atque privilegia uniuscuiusque ritus, ut Codificatio in veram utilitatem ver-

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, (1929) 669.

geret illarum Ecclesiarum, cleri populique ». In hoc consilio circa Codificationem Orientalem exquirendo, Summus Pontifex Pius XI nihil aliud intendebat, ut ex verbis satis constat, nisi providere, meliori quo fieri possit modo, bono atque utilitati illarum Ecclesiarum quae illis praelatis commissae erant, id est, totius Ecclesiae Catholicae Orientalis. Non tamen intendebatur bonum communitatum a Sede Romana seiunctarum modo absoluto excludere, vel ab eo penitus praescindere; hoc tamen bonum maturescere debet potius tamquam fructus novae vitalitatis quae per Codificationem Ecclesiis catholicis obventura sperabatur.

Illam fuisse mentem Pii XI, clare apparet sive ex ipso obvio sensu verborum, sive etiam ex eo quod in tota hac « Notificatione » ne verbum quidem unum factum est de Communitatibus separatis, etsi occasio aut motivum, ut de illis mentio fieret, non defuerint, praesertim si in intentione Summi Pontificis fuisset illam Codificationem etiam pro Communitatibus separatis parare et peragere.

Tandem, in « Notificatione » clare exprimitur scopus per Codificationem intentus, scilicet « ut Codificatio in veram utilitatem vergeret illarum Ecclesiarum, cleri populique ». Istae Ecclesiae non aliae sunt, nisi illae de quibus in praecedentibus dictum est; clerus vero et populus, non alii nisi illi quibus illae Ecclesiae constant, sub auctoritate proprii Hierarchae, id est, clerus populusque catholicus.

Si autem illa Codificatio etiam ad Communitates separatas extendenda esset, merito quaeri posset, an illa Codificatio considerari revera possit tamquam vere utilis sive pro Ecclesia catholica Orientali, sive etiam pro Ecclesiis separatis. Praeterquam quod extensio Codificationis ad separatos ad minimum dicenda esset non utilis, saltem directe, immo etiam damnosa, quatenus nova legislatio a separatis, ut praevidendum erat, non solum ignorata esset, sed etiam contempta, tamquam indebita intromissio Ecclesiae catholicae in regimen illarum Communitatum, ac proinde tamquam usurpatio iurium quae Hierarchia separata sibi vindicat. Talis extensio utilis tantum fuisset ad certam reactionem creandam contra Ecclesiam catholicam, et consequenter prorsus contraria desiderio Ecclesiae et Romanae Sedis procurandi unitatem omnium christianorum sub Successoris Petri regimine. Considerationes istae certe Legislatorem, nempe Pium XI, non latebant; qui minime intendebat nova obstacula unioni creare.

B) *Litterae Apostolicae Pii XII.* — Praemissis his considerationibus, quae argumentum prorsus certum pro nostro scopo non faciunt, commendant tamen sententiam quae illam extensionem ad separatos non admittit, procedendum est directe ad inquirendam intentionem et voluntatem Legislatoris. Praesumi enim debet Ipsum, in sua nova lege promulganda, palam fecisse pro quibus Ipse canones promulgavit. Ad hanc voluntatem Legislatoris inveniendam, opportunum, immo necessarium erit breviter perpendere ipsas Litteras Apostolicas, sive in parte earum introductiva, sive in parte conclusiva. Quod hic faciemus, ipsas Litteras Apostolicas examinando, servato ordine chronologico promulgationis.

I. – De parte introductiva Litterarum Apostolicarum.

1. – *Litterae Apostolicae «Crebrae allatae sunt».* — Litterae Apostolicae «Crebrae allatae sunt», quibus nova disciplina de Sacramento Matrimonii pro Ecclesia Orientali promulgatur, subsignatae sunt die 22 mensis Februarii anni 1949, et exsecutionem suscipere inceperunt a die 2 mensis Maii eiusdem anni (1).

In ipso Prooemio Pius XII significat motivum propter quod Ipse motus est ad separatam promulgationem canonum disciplinam matrimonialem respicientium. In hac motivatione facile erit aliquod elementum invenire ad nostram quaestionem solvendam utile.

En verba Pii XII in Prooemio: «Crebrae allatae sunt Nobis, praesertim postremis hisce annis, tum a Legatis Nostris tum a sacrorum Antistibus Orientalis Ecclesiae supplicationes, per quas rogabamur, ut, instantibus votis annuentes, dum codificatio legum Ecclesiae Orientalis haud multum abest, ut absolvatur, earundem legum singularia quaedam capita, magni quidem momenti, nulla interposita mora promulgaremus, ut gravibus et perniciosis rerum adiunctis, in quibus nonnullae Christi ovilis partes orientali ritu utentes versarentur, efficaci praesidio obviam iremus» (2).

Qualis fuerit ratio huiusmodi exspostulatae promulgationis canonum de disciplina matrimoniali, nobis declarat P. Herman

(1) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 41 (1949) 89-119.
(2) L. c. pag. 89.

qui, post indicatas causas ob quas etiam Episcopi latini Codificationem orientalem derideraverant, scribit: « Quodsi ob has causas iuris matrimonialis Orientalium codificatio praesertim latinis Episcopis in votiserat, non minore desiderio in Oriente promptam canonum matrimonialium promulgationem exspectabant. Notum est enim in regionibus in quibus christiani una cum mahumetanis vivunt et plerumque constituti sunt sub guberniis islamicis, certa negotiorum genera et praesertim ea quae ad « statum personalem » pertinent, subiecta esse iurisdictioni Hierarchiae christianae diversorum rituum. Inter illa negotia gravissima sunt quae ad matrimonium spectant. Constitutis post primum bellum mundiale novis Statibus independentibus in Aegypto, Syria, Libano, Iraq, Palaestina, etc., Episcopi singularum communitatum christianarum mox invitati sunt ut propria « statuta personalia » gubernio exhiberent. Id ob varias causas usque ad id tempus fieri non potuit; hodie promulgato Motu Proprio « Crebrae allatae sunt », *catholici rituum orientalium* [sublineatio est nostra] quod ad matrimonium attinet, normas bene determinatas auctoritati singulorum Statuum proponere valent et hac ratione vitare ne normae iuris matrimonialis islamici, spiritu tam diverso a doctrina christiana, *sibi* applicentur » (1).

Haec ratio, ab eo declarata qui adeo bene ipsam Codificationem Orientalem noverat, quaestionem de subiecto passivo huius legis plene, ut nobis videtur, illuminat.

Etenim, Romanus Pontifex per promulgationem huius Mp. intendebat providere peculiaribus difficultatibus quae praesertim in determinatis partibus Ecclesiae catholicae orientalis persentiebantur: « .... in quibus nonnullae Christi ovilis partes orientali ritu utentes versarentur, efficaci praesidio obviam iremus ». Certum est, huiusmodi « Christi ovilis partes... » non alias esse nisi Ecclesias catholicas orientales in Statibus mahumetanis viventes; nullo autem modo, sub illis verbis venisse, iuxta mentem Pii XII, etiam communitates separatas. Nam, id quod per promulgationem huius novae legis immediate intendebatur, erat exhibere auctoritati civili codicem quemdam canonicum (pro matrimonio) in ordine ad statutum personale obtinendum. Hoc vero solam Ecclesiam catholicam respiciebat, neque auctoritas civilis unquam

(1) HERMAN, Ae., *Adnotationes ad Motu Proprio « Crebrae allatae sunt »*, in *Periodica de re morali* (1949) pp. 93-94; vid. etiam HERMAN, in *Monitor Ecclesiasticus* (1950), p. 87; COUSSA, *De Matrimonio*, n. 2.

agnovisset talem codicem tamquam vim habentem etiam pro ceteris Communitatibus christianis a Sede Romana separatis, cum hae, coram Statu, communitates autonomas constituant, plene a communitate catholica diversas et cum propriis repraesentantibus hierarchicis ecclesiasticis, qui, vicissim, ut possent et ipsi iuribus status personalis frui, tenebantur exhibere auctoritati civili codicem legalem pro suis communitatibus.

Hoc fuit quidem motivum immediatum illius anticipatae promulgationis legis de matrimonio, quae tamen valebat etiam pro ceteris Orientalibus, quamvis a praedictis difficultatibus exemptis. Per extensionem autem illius legis etiam ad Orientales separatos, necessario ortus esset quidam conflictus conscientiae, necnon et ordinis publici, quatenus, illa extensione admissa, Orientales separati subiecti fuissent, etiam coram auctoritate civili, duabus disciplinis matrimonialibus, quae non raro inter se sunt discordes, imo et contrariae. Ergo illa extensio videtur prorsus a mente Legislatoris excludenda.

Quod ista extensio excludi debet, constat etiam ex verbis quibus Pius XII initium dat Prooemio In Litt. Apost. « Sollicitudinem Nostram », videlicet, ubi Romanus Pontifex gaudet de fructibus praecedentis legis de Matrimonii disciplina, «apud christifideles eiusdem Ecclesiae [scil. Orientalis] servanda». Verbum autem «christifidelis», ut postea declarabimus, solos catholicos connotat.

2. – *Litterae Apostolicae « Sollicitudinem Nostram »*. — Huiusmodi Litterae Apostolicae m. p. datae, subsignationem habent diei 6 Ianuarii anni 1950, et exsecutionem suscipere debebant post annum, id est, die 6 Ianuarii anni 1951. His Litteris promulgati sunt canones « De Iudiciis pro Ecclesia Orientali » [1].

In ipso Prooemio, post assertos optimos fructus qui ex praecedenti lege de Matrimonio provenerant, Pius XII declarat Se statuisse, ut morem gereret iteratis votis a Legatis Pontificiis et a sacrorum Antistibus Romano Pontifici oblatis, procedendum esse ad promulgationem immediatam canonum De Iudiciis, cum, iuxta illa vota, res prorsus urgeret, « ut saltem canones ad ecclesiastica tribunalia spectantes actutum promulgarentur », quia « quodsi huiusmodi necessitati obviam non iretur, magnum incommodum et dectrimentum christifidelium animis exoriturum esse ».

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 42 (1950) 5-120.

Praeter necessitatem adaptandi hodiernis necessitatibus leges processuales in Ecclesia Orientali vigentes, aliud quoque motivum Romanum Pontificem ad promulgandos nostros canones induxit, prout in sequentibus verbis satis clare declaratur: « Oportet etiam sacra Ecclesiae iura sarta tecta serventur in exercenda iudiciali potestate, quae ad ipsam divinitus data pertinet, itaque compescantur conamina, ibidem hic illic notabiliter prodeuntia, quae civilibus magistratibus huiusmodi iudicia arrogant ».

Ex his omnibus clare eruere licet intentionem Pii XII, in canonibus de Iudiciis promulgandis, fuisse bono fidelium Ecclesiae catholicae orientalis providere, idque per opportunum codicem processualem auctoritatibus civilibus exhibendum, et quo in tutum reponerentur et bonum christifidelium, et efficacitas procedurae ecclesiasticae necnon et iura Ecclesiae catholicae divinitus data.

Consecutio huius triplicis finis cum sano optimismo sperari poterat, si nova haec lex ad solos catholicos restringebatur. Si autem haec lex etiam separatos comprehendisset, dubium quam maxime fundatum fuisset de efficacitate legis ad illos fines assequendos, sive quia lex prorsus inutilis, immo et voluntarie ignorata fuisset, sive quia ex illa intentione necessario provenisset reactio ex parte Hierarchiae dissidentis, quae in hac extensione nihil aliud vidisset nisi quamdam usurpationem iurium quae ipsa sibi attribuit tamquam propria; haec vero reactio favorem invenisset in ipsa auctoritate civili, coram qua quaelibet communitas christiana, sicut etiam et catholica, propria gaudet autonomia, a ceteris communitatibus omnino reverenda, nec conculcanda.

Pius XII vero has Litteras Apostolicas promulgavit, non pro quodam rerum statu pure ideali, sed pro locis et personis apprime determinatis et cum circumstantiis omnino concretis, quas Ipse minime ignorabat. Merito, igitur, iudicare possumus et debemus Pium XII, cui cordi erat illos tres fines efficaciter obtinere, restrinxisse ad ambitum Ecclesiae catholicae orientalis vim legalem huius legis de Iudiciis ecclesiasticis.

Obici potest, extensionem vel non extensionem huius legis ad Orientales separatos non pendere a consensu auctoritatis civilis; quod est omnino verum. At, quando Sancta Sedes canones de Iudiciis (sicut etiam illos de Matrimonio) auctoritati civili exhibuit tamquam codicem proceduralem, iuxta quem iudicia ecclesiastica erant absolvenda, debuit quoque illam auctoritatem certio-

rem facere de subiecto passivo seu de communitate apud quam illi canones servandi erant. Nec potuit Sancta Sedes illos canones tamquam vim habentes pro communitate catholica exhibere, reticita tamen intentione eosdem etiam aliis comunitatibus christianis separatis imponendi.

3. – *Litterae Apostolicae « Postquam Apostolicis Litteris »*. — Huiusmodi Litterae mp. datae tribus partibus constant: in prima agitur de disciplina Religiosorum, in altera de Bonis ecclesiasticis temporalibus, in tertia denique verborum significatio traditur. Subscriptae a Pio XII die 9 Februarii anni 1952,vigere inceperunt die 21 mensis Novembris eiusdem anni (1).

Scopus novae huius legis de disciplina Religiosorum est novum vigorem in vitam religiosam orientalem sub diversis eius formis infundere. Normae iuridicae hucusque vigentes non amplius exigentiis nostrorum temporum respondebant. Necessarium igitur erat illas ad novas necessitates adaptare, « ut eae magis consonae congruentesque vitae et profectui essent tum monachorum, tum eorum qui alias evangelicae perfectionis formas postea invectas amplexi sunt: loquimur de Ordinibus, de Congregationibus, de Societatibus hominum qui, quamvis tria sueta religiosa vota publica non nuncupaverint, tamen religiosae communitatis vinculo astringuntur » (2).

Huiusmodi formae evangelicae perfectionis professae sive in monasteriis sive in Ordinibus aut in Congregationibus vel Societatibus, dici non possunt nisi de institutis religiosis consistentibus in sinu Catholicae Ecclesiae, non autem de illis formis quae in monasteriis dissidentium profitentur. Verba enim Pontificia, iuxta eorum obvium et naturalem sensum, nonnisi ad Instituta religiosa catholica applicari valent, nec, quantum scimus, in mentem ullius venit canones de Religiosis ad illas formas perfectionis quae apud dissidentes adhuc hodie profitentur applicare.

Si attente Prooemium consideretur, perspicuum erit ad quosnam Religiosos mens Summi Pontificis referebatur, quando hanc novam legem de Religiosis promulgavit. Agitur enim de antiquis normis iuris perficiendis atque huius temporis necessitatibus aptandis. Huiusmodi vero antiquae iuris normae accipiendae sunt,

(1) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 44 (1952) 65-152.

(2) L. c., pag. 66.

non in genere pro quibuslibet, sed pro illis quibus instaurata vita religiosa in Oriente regebatur. Haec vero religiosa vita illa est quae in Oriente quidem viget, Petri tamen Cathedrae magisterio inhaerens. Etenim, ipse Summus Pontifex, immediate ante quam necessitatem antiquas iuris normas aptandi proclamet, haec refert: « Attamen provida et sapientiae plena opera aliquot religiosae disciplinae restitutorum ut Theodori Studitae, Josaphat Kuntsevyc et Mekhitar, necnon maternae Apostolicae Sedis curae effecerunt, ut in *plagis Orientalium Ecclesiarum, Petri Cathedrae magisterio inhaerentis*, pristinus reflloresceret vigor » (1).

Praeterea, quod ista nova lex nonnisi de Religiosis catholicis sit accipienda, clare confirmatur ex iis quae in ipso Prooemio statim dicuntur: « Quam ob rem, inter alia, quae Sacra Congregatio Ecclesiis Orientalibus praeposita sibi agenda praestituit, id praecipuum est huiusmodi statuta et decreta revisere, emendare et perficere. Huic vero instanti et providentissimo incepto id obstat quod adhuc deest communis quaedam primaria lex, quae ceteris mutandis et perficiendis velut moderatrix forma praeluceat. Quocirca hos de religiosis sodalibus canones promulgari peropportunum Nos duximus.» (2). Numquam, quantum scimus, S. Congregatio Orientalis, in exsecutionem horum canonum, proprium suum officium reputavit manus apponere revisioni, adaptationi, perfectioni statutorum vel typicorum apud monasteria orientalia dissidentia vigentium; quod tamen valde obvium et naturale est.

4. – *Litterae Apostolicae « Cleri sanctitati »*. — Hae Apostolicae Litterae, de Ritibus Orientalibus et de Personis pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus agentes, datae sunt die 2 mensis Junii anni 1957, ut vigere inceperent die 25 mensis Martii proximi anni 1958 (3).

Antiqua disciplina de clero, cum nostro tempori iam aptata non fuerit, vix ullam utilitatem Hierarchiae afferebat; quare nonnullae Synodi particulares conatae erant remedium pro suis Ecclesiis invenire. Experientia tamen docuit huiusmodi conamina particularia studiis et optatis propriae communitatis minime satisfecisse. Consequenter « desiderabatur quotidie magis ab Orientalibus Ecclesiis unum ac commune corpus legum ecclesiasticarum,

(1) L. c., pag. 66.
(2) L. c., pag. 66.
(3) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 49 (1957) 433-600.

integrum, certum, hodiernis rerum temporumque adiunctis accommodatum atque universale.... quod sane inceptum nonnisi ab una suprema et universali Romani Pontificis auctoritate eiusque apostolica sollicitudine efficienter et promoveri et sanciri poterat» (1).

Pius XII vero duxit adventum iam fuisse tempus ad huiusmodi corpus legale promulgandum: « Nunc vero tempus esse duximus, ait Pius XII, indulgendi crebris supplicationibus Nobis allatis a sacris orientalibus antistitibus atque a Sacra Congregatione pro Ecclesia Orientali, cuius quidem opus ac ministerium haud parvis difficultatibus ob incertam disciplinam detinebatur, ut etiam leges de cleri disciplina publicaremus. Nos igitur attente et cogitate omnibus in Domino perpensis, motu proprio, certa scientia ac de Apostolicae plenitudine potestatis statuimus ac decrevimus canones ad cleri disciplinam spectantes promulgari quos Pontificium Consilium Orientalium Ecclesiarum Codici Canonico conficiendo paravit » (2).

Huiusmodi canones a Pio XII considerari et accipi debent promulgati concorditer cum intentione eorum qui istos canones a Sancta Sede expostulaverant. Episcopi vero catholici orientales, cum eorum vota pro lege de disciplina cleri Sanctae Sedi exhibuerunt, se referebant certe et exclusive ad illam partem proprii gregis, id est, ad clerum eis commissum et cuius curam ipsi agebant. Aliis verbis, ad clerum catholicum, non autem ad clerum non-catholicum, qui a propria hierarchia dependet. Ipsi exoptabant in possessione esse codicis legalis quo vita proprii cleri moderaretur, et Romanus Pontifex, in isto exoptato codice promulgando, intendebat certe desideriis Episcoporum respondere.

Velle iis canonibus etiam clerum non-catholicum obligare, atque exigere ut hic codex de disciplina cleri constituat pro eo regulam obligatoriam, idem foret ac impossibilia aggredi. Applicatio huius legis ad separatos, nedum inutilis prorsus, evaderet nova causa, qua status separationis ac dissensionis profundior ac latior fieret, cum separati nonnisi violationem iurium Episcoporum suorum in ea lege viderent.

Ex his quae circa partem introductivam singularum Litterarum harum Apostolicarum breviter diximus, satis clare, ut pu-

(1) L. c., pag. 434.
(2) L. c., pag. 435.

tamus, apparet mens Legislatoris, quae non alia erat nisi bono Ecclesiae catholicae orientalis providere, quin quidquam, modo generali, de seiunctis christianis ritu orientali utentibus statueret.

Haec tamen proprium complementum habent in parte conclusiva, in qua Romanus Pontifex clarius adhuc suam voluntatem manifestam fecit.

II. – De parte conclusiva Litterarum Apostolicarum.

Formula a Romano Pontifice in conclusione Litterarum harum Apostolicarum usurpata eadem est in quattuor huiusmodi documentis: « Nos autem per Apostolicas has Litteras motu proprio datas supra recensitos canones promulgamus eisdemque vim legis christifidelibus Ecclesiae Orientalis tribuimus, ubique terrarum hi sunt et tametsi Praelato diversi ritus sunt subiecti » (1).

Hac formula, praeter factum promulgationis canonum, quibus expresse *vis legis* tribuitur, explicite significantur personae « pro quibus » huiusmodi leges generales latae et promulgatae sunt, ac proinde illae pro quibus canones promulgati vim legis habent. Istae vero personae designantur verbo « christifideles Ecclesiae Orientalis », qui proinde constituunt totum et plenum subiectum passivum harum legum. Has igitur leges extendere ad alias personas, quae illa voce « christifidelis » non comprehenduntur, prorsus contra claram Legislatoris voluntatem esset.

Quaenam vero personae veniunt illa voce « christifideles »? Comprehenditne omnes prorsus christianos orientales, sive sint catholici sive non catholici, an potius accipienda est sensu restrictivo pro christianis communionem cum Romano Pontifice habentibus? Hoc est quod in sequentibus investigabimus.

Antequam ad documenta pontificia accedamus, ut de sensu qui isti voci in illis documentis tribuitur investigemus, liceat huc refferre opinionem clarissimi P. Hürht, qui fuit notissimus Professor Theologiae Moralis in Universitate Gregoriana et Consultor Sancti Officii. P. Hürht ad consultationem quamdam privatam ita respondit: « Wenn zwei so gewichtige Autoren [agitur, ni fallor, de Coussa et Herman] so urteilen, hat man sicher eine probabilitas extrinseca. Indes lehnen m. W. die amtlichen Stellen des Hl.

(1) Vid. ed. gr. Mp. « Crebrae allatae sunt » in AAS 41 (1949) 117.

Sthules es ab, in amtlichen Schreiben die « nicht-katholischen Christen » in dem einen Namen « Christen » zusammenzufassen mit den « katholischen Christen ». Will man zusammenfassen, dann spricht man von « Getauften », die man den « Nicht-Getauften » gegenüber stellt. Darum bleiben mir Bedenken, das « christifideles » der Schlussklausel des Motu Proprio « Crebrae allatae » von allen Getauften Ecclesiae Orientalis zu verstehen » (26–XII–1959).

Transmissa vero hac opinione, maximi quidem momenti, sed privata, opportunum nobis visum est, etiam ad vitandas inutiles disputationes, investigare qualis fuerit sensus vocis « christifidelis » in Documentis a Pio XII datis. Ad Pium XII nostram investigationem restringere voluimus, sive quia impossibile fuisset nobis perplurima alia documenta pontificia percurrere, sive quia Pius XII, promulgator legum orientalium de quibus est quaestio, Ipse nos docere debet significationem quam Ipse voci « christifidelis » tribuebat. Nec Documenta omnia Pii XII evolvere potuimus; quare nostra investigatio limitata est ad nonnulla, pauca, Documenta, quae tamen ad nostrum scopum sufficere iudicavimus.

Inter Documenta Pii XII alia selegimus ad Orientales destinata, in quibus deesse non poterat occasio veram significationem vocis « Christifidelis » praebendi, et alia ex eorum ipsa natura magis universalia.

Ad prima pertinent sequentia: *a*) Pius XII « Orientalis Ecclesiae », 9-Aprilis-1944, Litt. Encycl., de S. Cyrillo Patriarcha Alexandrino, saeculo exeunte quinto decimo a piissimo eius obitu (1);

b) Id., « Orientales omnes Ecclesias », 23–Decemb.–1945, Litt. Encycl.: CCCL elapsis Annis ex quo Ruthenorum Ecclesia Apostolicae Sedi feliciter coagmentata est (2);

c) Id., « Paterna semper », 31–Octob.–1951, Novus exarchatus apostolicus ritus alexandrini aethiopici in Aethiopia erigitur « de Addis Abeba » nuncupandus (3);

d) Id., « Orientales Ecclesias » 15–Decemb.–1952, ad locorum Ordinarios Orientalium Ecclesiarum pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentes (4).

(1) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 36 (1944) 129-144.
(2) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 38 (1946) 33-63.
(3) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 44 (1952) 253-255.
(4) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 45 (1953) 5-14.

Ad alteram classem pertinent sequentia Documenta:

a) Pius XII « Mystici Corporis », 29–Iun.–1943. De Mystico Iesu Christi Corpore deque nostra in eo cum Christo coniunctione[1];

b) Id., « Munificentissimus Deus », 1-Novemb-.1950. Fidei dogma definitur Deiparam Virginem Mariam corpore et anima fuisse ad caelestem gloriam assumptam [2]

c) Id., « Christus Dominus », 6 Januar. 1953. De disciplina servanda quoad ieiunium eucharisticum [3].

In allatis Documentis verbum « Christifideles » usurpatum est (salvo possibili errore) quinquies et sexagies (65); et vox « fidelis », decies. Sive haec sive illa eodem sensu constanter adhibentur, scilicet, ad significandos catholicos, seu illos christianos qui ad societatem visibilem Ecclesiae catholicae actu pertinent, et in oppositione ad illos christianos qui, una vel alia de causa, extra Ecclesiam visibilem catholicam versantur. Isti diversimode designantur: « christiani », « acatholici » « baptizati acatholici », « schismatici », « dissidentes » « disiuncti » « separati », etc. Semel tantum aut bis dubium aliquod fortasse moveri poterit circa verum sensum « christifidelis ».

Praeterea in Litteris Encyclicis « Mystici Corporis », Pius XII iam inde ab earum initio definitam distinctionem statuit inter « christifideles », seu catholicos, et ceteros christianos, ut ex sequenti textu satis apparebit: « Ac spes est haec praecepta hortamentaque Nostra uberiores esse, in praesentibus rerum adiunctis, *christifidelibus* paritura fructus; quandoquidem novimus tot.... » Et in paragrapho immediate sequenti prosequitur Romanus Pontifex: « Ac praeterea fore confidimus *ut iis etiam, qui a Catholicae Ecclesiae gremio seiuncti* sunt, ea non ingrata neque inutilia evadant, quae mox sumus de mystico Iesu Christi Corpore expposituri... » [4].

Hanc oppositionem, seu distinctionem iterum in iisdem Litteris Pius XII expressis verbis proponit: « Nihilo secius, si de his, quae supra attigimus, iure meritoque gaudere possumus, diffitendum tamen non est, *non modo ab iis, qui sunt a vera Ecclesia*

(1) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 35 (1943) 194-248.
(2) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 42 (1950) 753-771.
(3) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 45 (1953) 15-24.
(4) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, L. c., pag. 194-195.

disiuncti, graves, ad doctrinam quod attinet, disseminari errores, *sed inter christifideles* etiam vel minus accuratas, vel omnino falsas serpere sententias, quae quidem mentes a recto veritatis tramite abducant » (1).

In Litteris Encyclicis «Munificentissimus Deus» iterum Pius XII ad eandem claram distinctionem revertit: « Futurum enim sperandum est ut *christifideles omnes* ad impensiorem erga caelestem Matrem pietatem excitentur; *utque eorum omnium animi, qui christiano gloriantur nomine, ad desiderium moveantur Mystici Iesu Christi Corporis participandae unitatis*... » (2).

Ex iis omnibus nobis videtur posse tuto concludere: vox « christifidelis », quae in Pio XII constanter unum eundemque sensu habet, scilicet, semper « catholico » aequivalet, merito iuxta eundem sensum accipienda est etiam in documentis a Pio XII datis de quibus hic agitur, nisi evidens ratio obstet. Quoniam nulla ratio obstat, quominus in nostris textibus « christifidelis » pro « catholico » accipiatur, clare sequitur quod, cum Pius XII canonibus promulgatis vim legis tribuit « christifidelibus Ecclesiae Orientalis », solos catholicos Ecclesiae Orientalis, non autem christianos orientales a Ecclesia catholica separatos, obligare intendebat.

Conclusio, quam ex voce « christifidelis » pro subiecto passivo MP. eruimus, confirmari potest ultimis verbis clausulae supra adductae: « Nos..... vim legis christifidelibus Ecclesiae Orientalis tribuimus, *ubique terrarum hi sunt et tametsi Praelato diversi ritus sunt subiecti* » (3). Etenim, haec verba, sensu obvio, et mente non praeconcepta considerata, unice ad Orientales catholicos referri possunt: ii, enim, soli, si extra territorium proprii ritus degunt, Praelatis diversi ritus, ordinarie latini, subiciuntur. Nec cogitare potest Legislatorem hic prae oculis habuisse christianos non catholicos, qui Praelato diversi ritus subicerentur, quod, quantum scio, nullibi apud eos evenit; dum e contra frequentissimum est apud catholicos extra regiones orientales commorantes; imo tempore promulgationis MP. « Crebrae », exceptis Ruthenis et Ucrainis in Canada et Statibus Foederatis Americae septentrionalis, qui proprii ritus Hierarchas habebant, ceteri Orientales catholici omnes

(1) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, L. c., pag. 197.
(2) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, L. c., pag. 769.
(3) Vid. ed. gr. Mp. « Crebrae allatae sunt », L. c., pag. 117.

subiciebantur Praelatis diversi ritus; et adhuc hodie non pauci catholici Orientales in Occidente commorantes Episcopis latinis subsunt. Hinc clarus apparet pro istis catholicis sensus formulae, « tametsi Praelato diversi ritus sunt subiecti ».

Huic interpretationi consentit etiam Card. Coussa, qui dictam clausulam nonnisi Orientalibus catholicis applicat, illam vero omittit cum de separatis loquitur. En verba Card. Coussa:

« Ad territorium quod attinet, fideles omnes Ritus orientalis, ubique commorantes iisdem canonibus reguntur, etsi Hierarchae diversi, seu latini seu orientalis, ritus extra provincias Orientis subiecti sint. Ita, eaedem Litterae [Apostolicae] ad finem.

Orientales, proprii Ritus Hierarcha extra patriarchatus orbi, subiiciuntur Episcopo loci [in nota: Ritus, plerumque, latini], qui iisdem fidelibus praescripta canonum recentium litterarum apostolicarum applicare debet.

Quod attinet ad Personas. Planum est fideles cuiusvis Ritus orientalis, utpote subiectum legis, regi normis canonum litterarum apostolicarum. Sed *iidem canones tenent et Dissidentes Ritibus orientalibus adscriptos ubivis terrarum commorantes* » [1].

Ergo, etiam ex hac clausula finali clare eruitur Mp. quibus Pius XII novum ius canonicum orientale promulgavit, solos Catholicos Orientales respicere.

C) *De mente Pii XII.* — Conclusio, quam ex examine Litterarum Apostolicarum quibus Pius XII novum ius orientale promulgavit eruimus, omnino conformis est cum mente Sanctae Sedis, et particulatim cum mente eiusdem Pii XII, circa necessitatem et convenientiam conservandi disciplinam qua Ecclesiae orientales separatae ab antiquo reguntur. Admisa enim extensione novi iuris canonici ad orientales separatos, necessario sequitur abrogatio disciplinae praecedentis, cum duae diversae disciplinae simul stare nequeant. Sed Romani Pontifices saepe asseruerunt, decursu saeculorum, voluntatem Apostolicae Sedis ut disciplina illa, quam ab Ecclesia catholica separati a Patribus et a Conciliis receperunt, et qua usquenunc adhuc propriam vitam christianam moderantur, servetur, nisi in aliquibus casibus aliud ipsa Sancta Sedes expresse declaraverit, Huiusmodi autem attestationes atque asseverationes Pontificiae, etsi aliquam alicuius legis abrogationem

[1] *De Matrimonio*, nn. 4-5.

vel mutationem admittant, certe consistere nequeunt cum abrogatione generali integrae disciplinae, prout haberetur ex applicatione ad separatos integri novi iuris in dictis Litteris Apostolicis contenti et promulgati.

Perfacile foret plurima testimonia Pontificia ad illam Sanctae Sedis voluntatem confirmandam; non tamen necessarium id duximus, et sufficiens ad nostrum casum erit nonnulla afferre testimonia ex ipso Pio XII, qui novum ius promulgavit.

Pius XII, enim, vestigia praemens suorum Praedecessorum, nullam praetermisit occasionem, ut alte affirmaret (quamvis aliqui aliter iudicaverint) intentionem et voluntatem Apostolicae Sedis integre conservandi disciplinam qua separati orientales utuntur. Hoc fecit, ex. gr. in Litteris Encyclicis quas Ipse dedit de S. Cyrillo Alexandrino, « saeculo exeunte decimo quinto a piissimo eius obitu »: En Eius verba:

« Iamvero, ut remotissimo eo tempore, ita in praesenti quoque, VV. FF., ad eam auspicato provehendam, ad quam boni omnes contendunt, dissidentium filiorum cum una Ecclesia Christi conciliationem, procul dubio sincera atque efficax animorum benevolentia adiumentum afferet, afflante iuvanteque Deo, omnium validissimum. Hic enim benevolentiae affectus mutuam refovet cognitionem, ad quam quidem procurandam perficiendamque Decessores Nostri per varia incepta tantopere adlaborarunt, ac nominatim per conditum in hac alma Urbe Pontificium Institutum altioribus rerum orientalium provehendis studiis. Itemque aestimatione debita ea omnia amplectatur oportet, quae Orientalibus gentibus fuere, peculiare veluti patrimonium, a maioribus tradita; simul quae ad sacram Liturgiam et ad Hierarchicos Ordines spectent, simul etiam quae ad ceteras christianae vitae rationes pertineant, modo eadem cum germana religionis fide rectisque de moribus normis penitus concordent. Sic enim necesse est singulis universis orientalis ritus populis in rebus omnibus, quae a sua cuiusque historia, a suo cuiusque ingenio atque indole pendent, legitima libertas, quae tamen a vera et integra Iesu Christi doctrina non discrepet. *Idque sciant ac secum reputent tum qui in Catholicae Ecclesiae gremio sunt nati, tum qui desiderio ac voto eidem assequendae velificantur*: qui etiam omnes noscant ac pro certo habeant *se numquam coactum iri ad proprios legitimos ritus et ad antiquitus sibi tradita instituta cum latinis ritibus institutisque commutanda*, quae quidem omnia aequali aestimatione aequalique

decore habenda, communem Matrem Ecclesiam quasi regia circumdant varietate. Quin immo eiusmodi rituum institutionumque diversitas, dum id, quod unicuique antiquum est atque pretiosum, sartum tectumque servat, verae sinceraeque unitati minime obsistit » [1].

Prolixior fortasse fuit textus allatus: integrum tamen voluimus referre, ut clare appareret mens Pii XII, quo melius, nullus fortasse Eiusdem Praedecessorum de hac re locutus est, et cuius doctrina solemniter a Concilio Vaticano II proclamata est.

Similiter, at brevius, de eadem re scripsit idem Pius XII in suis Litteris Encyclicis « Orientales omnes Ecclesias » ad Ruthenos anno 1945 datis: « Quam ad rem animadvertendum est minime esse Orientalibus timendum, ne iidem, fidei ac regiminis unitate restituta, legitimos suos ritus et usus relinquere cogantur: quod quidem Decessores Nostri non semel clare luculenterque edixerunt. « Neque est cur dubitetis, quidquam propterea vel Vos, vel Successores Nostros de iure vestro, de patriarchalibus privilegiis, de rituali cuiusque Ecclesiae consuetudine detracturos » [Leo XIII, Epist. Apost. « Praeclara gratulationis », 20 iun. 1894] [2].

Si attente considerentur huiusmodi solemnes iterataeque Pontificiae affirmationes, revera valde difficile erit eas prout sonant accipere, et simul admittere plenam, totalem abrogationem disciplinae orientalium a Ecclesia catholica seiunctorum per extensionem ad eos obligatorietatis novi iuris ab eodem Pio XII in allatis Litteris Apostolicis promulgati, et quidem sine ulla explicita mentione dispositionis tam gravis, quae certe fieri debuisset, etiam ad innumera iuris dubia tollenda.

D) *De Concilii Vaticani II mente.* — In confirmationem nostrae sententiae non inopportunum erit auctoritatem Concilii Vaticani II in medium proferre. Omnibus constat quanta cum reverentia et cum amore erga Orientales a Sede Romana seiunctos Concilium Vaticanum suos proprios sensus iterum atque iterum manifestos voluit. Unum tantum textum, ex decreto « De Oecumenismo » desumptum, proferemus: « Praeterea a primis iam temporibus Ecclesiae Orientis disciplinas proprias a Sanctis Patribus atque a Synodis etiam Oecumenicis, sancitas sequebantur. Cum

(1) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 36 (1944) 137-138.

(2) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 38 (1946) 34.

autem unitati Ecclesiae minime obstet, immo decorem eius augeat et ad missionem eius implendam non parum conferat quaedam morum consuetudinumque diversitas, uti supra memoratur, Sacra Synodus, ad omne dubium tollendum, declarat Ecclesias Orientis, memores necessariae unitatis totius Ecclesiae, facultatem habere se secundum proprias disciplinas regendi, utpote indoli suorum fidelium magis congruas atque bono animorum consulendo aptiores. Perfecta huius traditionalis principiis observantia, non semper quidem servata, ad ea pertinet quae ad unionem restaurandam tamquam praevia condicio omnino requiruntur » [1].

Iamvero, Concilium, in iis de disciplina Orientalium separatorum decernendis, abs dubio non attendebat ad disciplinam novam quae per extensionem ad eos novi iuris a Pio XII conditi inducta fuisset, sed potius ad illam disciplinam antiquitate venerandam, quam ipsi a Patribus et a Conciliis, etiam Oecumenicis, receperunt, et iuxta quam hucusque propriam vitam christianam moderati sunt. Hanc, igitur, non novam, Concilium voluit confirmare, et iuxta antiquam illam, non iuxta novam, Orientalibus separatis agnoscitur facultas se regendi. Aliis verbis, Concilium consideravit ut exsistentem, non ut abrogatam, antiquam illam disciplinam Ecclesiarum Orientis.

II

Ex dictis in Parte prima sufficienter constare videtur, novum ius canonicum a Pio XII promulgatum nonnisi Orientales Catholicos obligare. Haec vero solutio non admittitur ab illis AA. initio nostri articuli citatis, qui indubitanter sententiam contrariam sustinent, nempe, etiam Orientales ab Ecclesia catholica seiunctos illo iure obligari.

Sic in primis Card. Coussa, qui ad quaestionem «quibus legibus reguntur dissidentes», respondit eos legibus ecclesiasticis omnibus subici. Hae vero leges sunt: 1) « Leges quae in suo Ritu ante separationem vigebant; 2) Non autem illae quas dedit hierarchia dissidens (post separationem ab Ecclesia catholica); 3) Leges communes (sive ante separationem sive post eam) uni-

[1] Sacrosanctum Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum Secundum *Decretum De Oecumenismo*, n. 16.

versae catholicae Ecclesiae vel universae Ecclesiae Rituum orientalium; 4) Leges quaedam ab hierarchia Ritus catholici qui Dissidentium ritui respondet datae » (1). Primam affirmationem probat dicendo quod adhaesio haeresi vel schismati leges in catholica Ecclesia datas minime solvere potest (2).

Ad tertium vero casum, A. respondet « Ratio huius affirmationis in aperto est » (3).

Applicatio huius doctrinae generalis ad casum particularem de nova disciplina matrimoniali ab eodem A. his verbis fit: « Planum est fideles cuiusvis Ritus orientalis, utpote subiectum legis, regi normis canonum litterarum apostolicarum. Sed *iidem canones tenent et Dissidentes Ritibus orientalibus adscriptos ubivis terrarum commorantes*. In iis autem quae meri ecclesiastici iuris sunt, iidem iis reguntur normis quibus Ecclesia Orientalis, non latini Ritus, regitur. Lex autem quae Ecclesiam Orientalem universam regit in iis quae institutum matrimoniale respiciunt, sunt Litterae Apostolicae recentes, quae, nisi de exceptione constet, Dissidentes etiam afficiunt. De exceptione constat in can. 90 S. 2. » (4). Eandem sententiam propugnavit Coussa in recentiori articulo circa canonem 72 Concilii Trullani (5).

P. Ae. Herman quaestionem generalem sibi proposuit, eamque tractavit (6). Indicatis criteriis quibus latini usi sunt et utuntur ad applicandum CIC separatis occidentalibus (hereticis, protestantibus), continuo ad hanc conclusionem pervenit: « Cum autem in his principiis generalibus nulla differentia habeatur inter Ecclesiam Latinam et Ecclesiam Orientalem, quae hic a canonistis latinis dicta sunt, applicanda sunt etiam ad Orientales » (7). Cuius immediata consequentia est: « Ad leges pro universa Ecclesia Orientali datas extendenda sunt quae supra diximus de legibus pro universa Ecclesia catholica: haeretici et schismatici orientales ad-

(1) COUSSA, *Epitome Praelectionum de Iure Ecclesiastico Orientali*, Vol. I, Romae, (1948) n. 15 ss.

(2) L. c., n. 16.

(2) L. c., n. 19.

(4) COUSSA, *De Matrimonio*, n. 5.

(5) COUSSA, *Animadversiones in can. LXXII Trullanae Synodi*, in « Apollinaris » (1959) 179-181.

(6) HERMAN, *Quibus legibus subiiciantur Dissidentes Rituum Orientalium*, in « Il Diritto Ecclesiastico », (1951) pp. 1043-1058.

(7) L. c., pag. 1044-1045.

stringuntur legibus pro catholicis latis. Eaedem enim rationes valent. Ita dissidentes orientales hodie tenentur Motu proprio «Crebrae allatae» die 22 Febr. 1949 de Matrimonio et Motu proprio « Sollicitudinem Nostram », die 6 Ian. 1950 de Iudiciis pro Orientalibus promulgatis ». [1].

Antequam ad ulteriora procedamus, et ad singula argumenta declaranda quibus isti AA. ad propriam sententiam tuendam nituntur, opportunum ducimus brevem at necessariam declarationem praemittere, circa aequiparationem quam inter Ecclesiam Latinam et Ecclesiam Orientalem instituit Herman, ut pro Ecclesia Orientali eadem criteria adhibeat, quae latini pro Latina applicant.

Nam, magnum, ni fallimur, interest discrimen inter utramque Ecclesiam, seu potius inter separatos occidentales et separatos orientales, ita ut immerito prorsus eadem mensura eodemque criterio ambo aestimentur. Dum enim, separati occidentales generatim seu protestantes propria valida hierarchia, ac proinde propria disciplina penitus carent; Orientales separati, et Hierarchiam et omnia possident Sacramenta ac praediti sunt ingenti quodam patrimonio sive liturgico, sive spirituali et disciplinari ab ipsis Patribus et Conciliis, etiam oecumenicis, necnon ab ipsa Sede Apostolica promananti, quo illorum vita christiana, non obstante separatione a Cathedra Petri, usque ad nostra tempora regitur atque moderatur. Totum hoc patrimonium, quoad maximam partem, omnino catholicum est, utpote ab ipsa catholica Ecclesia proveniens, et substantialiter servatum, atque ad praxim satis fideliter deductum: Hierarchia enim dissidens generatim sat fidelis est dicenda in exsequendis decretis et in servanda disciplina a maioribus susceptis, etsi in aliquibus defectus, maioris etiam fortasse momenti, deflendi sint.

Hoc perantiquum patrimonium, etiam ad meram disciplinam quod attinet, numquam, saltem iuxta nostram sententiam, hucusque modo generali fuit abrogatum; nec ullum in hunc sensum afferri potest documentum pontificium; immo, ut iam supra innuimus, Sancta Sedes saepissime ita est locuta, ut evidenter appareat illam disciplinam, qua separati Orientales utuntur, in vigore apud eos adhuc esse, eamque eos servare posse, si ad unitatem verae Christi Ecclesiae in communione cum Romano Pontifice redeant.

[1] L. c., pag. 1045.

Haec autem nullo pacto de separatis occidentalibus affirmari posse, evidens est. Exinde constat maximo separari discrimine occidentales et orientales separatos. Quod evidentius apparuit in ipso Concilio Vaticano II, quod modo valde diverso egit de protestantibus ac de Orientalibus a Romana Sede seiunctis. Et in decreto « De Oecumenismo » illa magna et substantialis diversitas inter occidentales separatos et separatos orientales exsistens apertis verbis est affirmata. Adeo, ut ipsum Concilium necessarium reputaret diversos modos proponere ad verum oecumenismum exercendum. Alio modo agendum est cum occidentalibus, alio valde diverso cum orientalibus; quae diversitas agendi ratio provenit et imponitur, non ex mero facto separationis, sed potius ex valde diversa condicione in qua isti separati versantur, ita ut, non sine iniuria Concilium aequiparavisset, etiam in mero oecumenismi exercitio, protestantes ad Orientales dissidentes.

Numquam revera intendit Concilium huiusmodi aequiparationem facere, ut satis constat ex lectione capitis III allati decreti « De Oecumenismo », ubi ad n. 16, Concilium declarat « Ecclesias Orientis, memores necessariae unitatis totius Ecclesiae, facultatem habere se secundum proprias disciplinas regendi, utpote indoli suorum fidelium magis congruas atque bono animorum consulendo aptiores ». Quibus verbis Concilium, ut supra dictum est, mentem suam, non ad novum ius a Pio XII inductum, sed ad antiquam et « catholicam » disciplinam referebat, quam proinde non censuit abrogatam ne quidem post leges disciplinares pro Ecclesia orientali a Pio XII latas.

Ipse Coussa hanc aequiparationem reicit: « Non urget analogia [inter protestantes et Dissidentes] quia norunt omnes Sedis Apostolicae oeconomiam erga Dissidentes toto differre coelo ab eiusmet oeconomia erga Protestantes » (1) Sic ipse; etsi postea parum consequenter MP ad Orientales separatos extendit eodem modo ac Commentatores CIC hunc ad protestantes applicant.

Ergo utpote non fundatam aestimamus sententiam Herman, qui illam aequiparationem inter occidentales et orientales ab Ecclesia catholica separatos statuit tamquam fundamentum, quo posset eadem criteria adhibere in extendendis legibus ecclesiasticis ad illos separatos. Separatio, enim, per se sola, minime sufficit, cum vera et realis condicio in qua separati versantur, sit semper consideranda.

(1) COUSSA, *De Matrimonio*, n. 8.

Proinde, hic praescindere volumus a quaestione de validitate illorum criteriorum, ut leges CIC ad protestantes extendi possint. Illud tantum affirmamus, scil. ob diversam condicionem in qua inveniuntur Orientales separati, illa criteria non sunt a priori admittenda, ut leges ecclesiasticae ad separatos Orientales extendantur.

Praeterea, ex applicatione in casu nostro illorum criteriorum magnum incommodum necessario sequeretur. Prout in prima parte declaravimus, Legislator, in ipso textu legis, satis perspicue suam voluntatem quoad subiectum et vim legis manifestavit. Si vero illa criteria modo generali ad Orientales applicantur, ignoratur prorsus haec voluntas Legislatoris, qui, in nostris particularibus legibus, et praecisione facta a quaestione generali, clare suam mentem declaravit. Interpretari autem huiusmodi leges earumque vim iuxta alia generaliora criteria, et non secundum expressam voluntatem Legislatoris, admitti certe non potest. Quare non possumus non reiicere sententiam etiam a Coussa enuntiatam: « Planum est fideles cuiusvis Ritus Orientalis, utpote subiectum legis, regi normis canonum litterarum apostolicarum. *Sed iidem canones tenent et Dissidentes Ritibus orientalibus adscriptos ubivis terrarum commorantes* » [1]. Postquam Legislator canonibus promulgatis vim legis tribuit, non in genere « christianis Ecclesiae Orientalis » vel « Ecclesiae Orientali », (quae clausulae ansam dare potuissent illi extensioni), sed specifice et restricte « christifidelibus Ecclesiarum Orientalium »; et post ea quae de sensu vocis « christifidelis » supra dicta sunt, difficulter concipitur, quo iure illa extensiva additio, quam prorsus a mente Legislatoris alienam reputamus, fieri potuit.

Admissa, denique, illa generali norma, iuxta quam omnis lex generalis catholica etiam ad acatholicos sit necessario applicanda, novum gravissimum in nostro casu secum fert incommodum. Etenim, si a priori admittatur leges generales catholicas, et in particulari recens ius canonicum a Pio XII pro Ecclesia catholica orientali latum ligare quoque dissidentes, necessario sequitur abrogatio generalis fere totius illius disciplinae et a Patribus et a Conciliis datae, quae per tot saecula vitam christianam Orientalium est moderata, et quam ii summa aestimatione colunt atque conservant. Huiusmodi vero generalis abrogatio, cum negotium sit adeo

[1] *O. c.*, n. 5.

grave, et cum illa antiqua disciplina in sui favorem tot ac tantis Sanctae Sedis declarationibus gaudeat, revera admittenda non est, nisi de ea plena cum certitudine constet; eo vel magis, quod, ut dictum est, illam adhuc in vigore esse pro christianis orientalibus separatis a Concilio Vaticano II indubie supponitur. Iamvero, argumentum quo de huiusmodi generali abrogatione certi omnino esse possimus, nullum hucusque allatum est.

Cum vero, qui extensionem novi iuris etiam ad Orientales separatos propugnant, hoc argumentum invenire censeant sive in cc. 87 et 12 CIC, sive in exceptionibus quae dicuntur fieri in ipsa lege [1], opportunum erit breves aliquas considerationes hic submittere.

Admittendum certe est, quemlibet baptizatum, vi et ratione baptismi, in veram Christi Ecclesiam incorporari, atque personam in Ea fieri et esse (can. 87), idque modo indelebili; hinc eum etiam et semper manere subditum Ecclesiae, huiusque auctoritati plane subesse. Ecclesia igitur semper potest quemlibet baptizatum, etsi a corpore Ecclesiae separatum, suis legibus obligare. De hoc, nullum haberi potest dubium. Dubitari autem potest, num huiusmodi baptizati semper et actu omnibus legibus ecclesiasticis teneantur, quia aliud est ius ligandi habere, aliud, quod Ecclesia velit hoc iure erga separatos semper uti. Ius ligandi, cum ex ipsa voluntate Christi sit constitutum, non pendet a voluntate Legislatoris, exercitium autem huius iuris certe a voluntate Legislatoris pendet.

At ex canone 87 CIC minime eruitur voluntatem Legislatoris esse suas leges semper etiam separatis imponere, etiamsi in allato canone dicatur quemlibet baptizatum esse personam in Ecclesia Christi « cum omnibus christianorum iuribus et officiis ». Quia hoc canone modo tantum generico subiectio baptizatorum erga Ecclesiam determinatur. Haec autem subiectio pressius definiri debet aliunde, videlicet ex cc. 12 et 13 CIC, qui subiectum legis ecclesiasticae strictius determinant, diverso tamen modo.

Etenim, canon 12 in genere tantum legis ecclesiasticae subiecta declarat, et quidem per restrictiones seu per exclusionem, eos indicando qui ab observantia legum substrahuntur. Nam hic canon modo negativo procedit: « legibus mere ecclesiasticis non tenentur qui baptismum non receperunt». Ex hoc tamen auctores inferunt

(1) *Faltin*, l. c., pag. 246.

indirecte quod baptizati tenentur legibus ecclesiasticis. Notari tamen debet, quod ex textu non sequitur omnes baptizatos necessario legibus ecclesiasticis subesse vel ligari, ut patet ex exceptionibus in eodem canone statutis, neque eos, qui iis legibus tenentur, omnibus legibus ecclesiasticis obligari.

Quibus vero legibus singuli baptizati revera teneantur, statuitur in canone 13, qui est complementum praecedentis canonis 12, quique in determinando subiecto legis modo positivo procedit, prout constat ex ipso eius textu: « Legibus generalibus tenentur ubique terrarum *omnes pro quibus latae sunt* » (can. 13 § 1). Ergo, iuxta hoc principium vere positivum, et omnino conforme cum natura legis, subiectum passivum actuale cuiusvis legis ecclesiasticae generalis, non sunt omnes baptizati, sed, inter baptizatos, ii soli pro quibus illa lex lata est.

Nunc vero, quantum ad Orientales separatos in specie, certum est et ab omnibus tenetur, eos obligari legibus: *a*) quae datae sunt ante separationem, nec abrogatae; *b*) quae ex rei natura ad ipsos referuntur; *c*) in quibus de iisdem explicite disponitur. Ergo, quoad nostra MP, Orientales separati certe obligantur iis quae sub *b*) et *c*) comprehenduntur. De ceteris autem, quoad MP, saltem non constat. Immo, iuxta ea quae supra exposuimus, attentis praesertim verbis a Pio XII sive in Introductione sive in Conclusione MP adhibitis, ipsa dumtaxat ad Orientales catholicos referuntur, eosque solos proinde obligare.

Praeterquam ex canonibus 12 et 87 CIC, citati AA. arguunt etiam ex canonibus 1070, § 1, et 1099 § 2 CIC, seu ex canonibus in quibus, iuxta eos, separati eximuntur ab observantia determinati praescripti; ex quo, concludunt, satis probatur separatos ceteris canonibus, in quibus illa exceptio non continetur, teneri [1].

Non intendimus hanc quaestionem quatenus latinos tangit dirimere. Quare attentionem nostram convertemus ad canones orientales qui illis canonibus CIC respondent.

Atque in primis de canone 60 Mp. « *Crebrae allatae* », qui respondet canoni 1070 CIC.

En textum horum canonum: Can. 60 § 1: « Nullum est matrimonium contractum a *persona non baptizata cum persona baptizata* ». Can. 1070 § 1: « Nullum est matrimonium contractum *a*

[1] COUSSA, *De Matrimonio*, n. 5; HERMAN, L. c., pag. 1044; FALTIN, L. c., pag. 246.

persona non baptizata cum persona baptizata in Ecclesia catholica vel ad eandem ex haeresi aut schismate conversa ».

Ut ex ipsis verbis constat, magnum discrimen intercedit inter utrumque canonem. At quidquid sit de canone 1070, certum est canonem 60 etiam ab Ecclesia catholica separatos afficere, quorum igitur matrimonia cum persona non baptizata inita, ex hoc capite omnino irrita sunt. Amplior sensus clausulae « *cum persona baptizata* » hanc extensionem probat. Nec ex eo ulla iniuria separatis fit, cum Ecclesia, ut saepe dictum est, potestate gaudeat etiam illos suis legibus ligandi; hanc vero potestatem in hoc casu adhibere voluit, ut fidem quorumlibet christianorum tueretur. Fundamentum igitur huius impedimenti reponendum est in solo Baptismate, quin ulterius consideretur utrum Baptisma in catholica Ecclesia vel extra Eam receptum sit, aut utrum baptizatus in Ecclesia catholica aliquando vixerit necne. Aliunde infitiari nequit, hoc impedimentum quodammodo ipso iure divino inniti, quo illa extensio ad separatos satis iustificata manet.

Ratio vero discriminis quod inter utrumque canonem, latinum nempe et orientalem, viget facile inveniri potest in diversa condicione in qua, relate ad Baptismum, inveniuntur separati occidentales et orientales. Nam, cum de Orientalium separatorum baptismo agitur, generatim nullum habetur dubium sive de eiusdem collatione sive de valore; aliter autem frequenter res se habet cum de baptismo occidentalium separatorum est quaestio. Quare ad vitanda quamplura incommoda quae ex ampliori disciplina ante Codicem vigenti proveniebant, consulto illa disciplina in CIC ita restricta est, ut afficeret solos baptizatos in catholica Ecclesia et eos qui semel saltem ad Eandem per conversionem pertinuerunt [1].

[1] « Cum iure praecedenti impedimentum consisteret in facto, quod unus coniugum esset baptizatus, alter baptismo careret sine ulla exceptione, novo iure impedimentum exsistit dumtaxat inter partem non baptizatam et alteram baptizatam, modo haec fuerit baptizata in Ecclesia catholica vel ad Ecclesiam catholicam fuerit ex haeresi vel schismate conversa. Quare ab impedimento disparitatis cultus immunes sunt illi baptizati, qui numquam ad Ecclesiam catholicam pertinuerunt, neque baptismate in eadem recepto, neque fidei catholicae professione. E contra, qui semel ad Ecclesiam catholicam pertinuerunt sive baptismate sive subsequenti conversione impedimento disparitatis cultus ligantur, tametsi postea Ecclesiam catholicam deseruerint, fidem abiecerint, se incredulos profiteantur....... »: WERNZ-VIDAL, *Jus Matrimoniale*, n. 262. Ratio vero istius restrictionis ita ab eodem Vidal exponitur:

Ut huiusmodi restrictio etiam in ius canonicum orientale induceretur, nulla erat ratio, eo vel magis quod idem impedimentum commune est omnibus Orientalibus separatis. Merito igitur Ecclesia maluit hoc impedimentum in sua amplitudine conservare, ita ut afficeret quoslibet baptizatos Orientales.

In hac vero extensione habetur quidem exceptio; non autem exceptio talis, qua probari possit separatos ceteris canonibus ligari; sed potius talis est illa exceptio, ut probet separatos non teneri ad ceteros canones servandos, nisi aliunde demonstretur.

Difficultas contra nostram sententiam movetur quoque ex canone 90 § 2 MP. « *Crebrae allatae* », in quo, Legislator, postquam statuit in § 1, quinam tenentur ad formam canonicam matrimonialem in canone 85 descriptam, in § 2 declarat: « Firmo autem praescripto § 1, acatholici baptizati, si inter se vel cum acatholicis non baptizatis contrahant, *nullibi tenentur ad catholicam matrimonii formam servandam* ».

De hoc canone Herman haec scripsit: « Sine ullo dubio vero auctoritas canonum [MP « Crebrae »] non solum ad Orientales catholicos, sed etiam ad Orientales dissidentes extenditur nisi in aliquo canone expresse eximuntur, ut fit in can. 90, § 2ª » (1). Difficile creditu videtur, ut, post ea quae sive in prima sive in hac altera parte dicta sunt, una exceptio in canone 90 contenta tamquam sufficiens argumentum aestimanda sit ad totam legem seu totum ius novum canonicum ad dissidentes extendendum, cum gravibus consequentiis quae inde necessario sequerentur.

At quaeri debet: agiturne de vera et propria exemptione? Si in hoc canone habetur vera et propria exemptio, et talis ut huius vi reliqua pars legis obbligatoria sit dicenda pro orientalibus separatis; immo, quod praecedens disciplina matrimonialis (et idem valet de ceteris MP), qua usque ad annum 1949 Orientales separati

---

«... cuius restrictionis seu moderationis optima ratio habetur in studio evitandi ne innumera matrimonia haereticorum et schismaticorum essent invalida, quos nunc legislator intra terminos explicatos sua lege non comprehendit. Cui rationi etiam illa alia accedit, quod valor baptismi in pluribus sectis collati haud paucis dubiis est obnoxius, unde graves aderant difficultates ad iudicandum de valore matrimonii ab ipsis contracti cum ad fidem catholicam convertebantur ». (L. c., n. 265).

(1) HERMAN, *Adnotationes ad motu proprio « Crebrae allatae sunt »*, in « Periodica de re morali » 1949, pag. 95; vide etiam COUSSA, *De Matrimonio*, n. 5.

regebantur, habenda sit ut abrogata (quod admitti non posse, satis probatum manet sive ex textu legis, sive ex mente Pii XII, et Concilii Vaticani II), necessario admittenda erit contradictio in ipso Legislatore. Quam tamen, quantum fieri potest, vitare debemus, et quae sunt obscura, pro posse declarare conari. Huc veniunt quae sapienter admonent Cicognani-Staffa: « Si verba legis sensum clarum, perfectum et indubium praebent, illis standum est, quia in hoc casu voluntatem legislatoris satis manifestant. Quandoque autem accidere potest quod ex sola consideratione verborum sensus, legis non pateat quia *verba dubia et obscura manent*: aut in se, aut quoad vim, naturam vel extensionem obligationis, aut quia videntur ducere *ad iniustum, ad absurdum, ad imprudens, ad inutile,* quod pariter vitandum est, nam « verba aliquid operari debent ». Tunc recurrendum est *ad regulas subsidiarias* seu *secundarias* interpretationis, quae consistunt in examine quorundam elementorum quae non sunt constitutiva formulae legalis consideratae, sed cum ipsa tamen necessario et intime connectuntur » [1].

Ut ad canonem 90 huiusmodi criteria applicemus, admissa illa asserta exemptione, praeter alias consequentias, sequeretur etiam quod acatholici orientales, quoties inter se matrimonium contrahunt, nullibi tenerentur servare formam in matrimonio ineundo: nam eximuntur a forma catholica in canone 85 statuta.

Contra hoc liceat, quod sequitur, opponere: Omnibus notum est quantum Orientales omnes magni faciant benedictionem sacerdotalem in nuptiis ineundis; ipsi vix concipere valent unionem matrimonialem quae coram Ecclesia non celebretur et a sacerdotali benedictione non sit sacra; ipsa hierarchia dissidens, innixa traditione, usibus et praescriptis canonicis, nullum matrimonium ut validum agnoscit, quod coram sacerdote celebratum non fuerit et ab eo non fuerit benedictum.

Legislatorem minime huiusmodi sensus latebant; nec Ipse ignorabat quod declaratio generalis, qua matrimonia inter acatholicos inita, etiam non servata forma, ut valida habenda essent, idem erat ac agere contra illos traditionales et universales sensus, et quidem sine necessitate et saltem sine utilitate; immo cum gravi incommodo, quatenus per huiusmodi dispositionem id solum obtineretur, nempe, conflictus conscientiae in cristianis creare, cum

[1] CICOGNANI-STAFFA, *Commentarium ad Primum Librum Codicis Iuris Canonici,* Vol. I, Romae (1939) pag. 278.

matrimonium sine forma celebratum ab Ecclesia catholica ut validum consideratum, a Hierarchia dissidenti tamquam invalidum reputaretur. Hoc autem a mente Legislatoris prorsus alienum erat. Ille, igitur, canon nequit accipi tamquam vera exceptio.

Si obiiciatur, acatholicos eximi tantum a forma catholica in canone 85 statuta, non autem ab alia legitima forma, respondi potest: hanc aliam legitimam formam esse vel formam catholicam ante separationem receptam, vel aliam a Hierarchia dissidenti statutam. Haec altera pars admitti nequit, quia, iuxta istos AA. Hierarchia dissidens iurisdictione ad hoc caret (1). Ergo non restat nisi prima. Et in hac hypothesi, videtur quod canon 90 § 2 accipiendus est, non ut vera exemptio, quae, ex dictis praesertim in prima Parte, non est necessaria, sed potius tamquam *declaratio*, neque ipsa necessaria, et quae fortasse explicari potest ob nimis servilem imitationem CIC, in quo illa exemptio opportune quidem facta est.

Legislator igitur, in hoc canone nihil aliud fecit nisi declarare matrimonium inter duos acatholicos (in § 1ª non contentos) multum differre a matrimonio de quo in § 1ª, quatenus in matrimonio inter hos duos acatholicos nullam habet partem coniux catholicus vel qui fuerat catholicus, et propter quem in matrimonio mixto, de quo in § 1ª, n. 2, imponitur forma canonica in canone 85 statura. Deficiente igitur causa propter quam forma catholica imponatur, Legislator simpliciter declarat quod acatholici, quoties inter se contrahunt «nullibi tenentur ad catholicam matrimonii formam servandam» (in canone 85 statutam); eosque relinquit in illa condicione in qua ante MP «*Crebrae*» versabantur. Hoc pacto vitatur absurdum et inutilitas legis, ad quam perduceret canonsi in eo vero exemptio admitteretur, vitatur quoque contradictio in ipso Legislatore, et simul obtinetur, ut textus canonis 90 § 2 et Legislatoris mens atque verba, quibus Ipse subiectum harum legum clare determinavit, apprime inter se concordent.

Tandem, in favorem nostrae sententiae argumentum fieri potest ex ipsa difficultate quam experiuntur ii qui propugnant Orientales non catholicos novo iure obligari, quamve sub tribus Dubiis et Responsionibus in conclusione sui articuli D. Faltin clare proposuit.

(1) HERMAN, *Quibus legibus subiiciantur Dissidentes Rituum Orientalium*, l. c. pp. 1050-1057; COUSSA, *Epitome* ... Vol. I, nn. 16-18; FALTIN, *L. c.*, pag. 247.

In responsione ad Dubium I, iterum affirmat « baptizatos acatholicos ritui orientali adscriptos teneri per se omnibus legibus ac decretis post haeresim vel schisma a Sede Apostolica datis universae catholicae Ecclesiae vel dumtaxat universae Ecclesiae orientali, et quidem iuxta rationes supra expositas atque in eadem extensione ac quae valent pro catholicis ritui orientali adscriptis » (1).

Ipsum tamen A. minime latet quanta sequeretur difficultas ex huiusmodi generali applicatione legum ad orientales separatos, quia statim alterum Dubium sibi proponit, nempe: « Utrum *expediat* personas, de quibus in D. I., a vinculo legum et decretorum de quibus in eodem dubio I, solutos declarare ». Ut difficultati illi occurrat, ad hoc Dubium II respondet « Affirmative », servatis tamen quibusdam distinctionibus:

a) « eos qui sunt *in mala fide* seu qui facto proprio culpabili ab unitate fidei et communionis recesserunt, ab obligatione legum ac decretorum, de quibus in D. I, solutos declarare non expedit ». Revera, nulla adest defficultas in hac solutione admittenda, at ni fallor, hic casus non venit in considerationem, cum potius quaestio versetur circa totum complexum generalem Orientalium separatorum.

b) « eos vero qui sunt *in bona fide* seu qui in haeresi vel schismate nati vel educati sunt ab infantili aetate, nisi, expleto 14 aetatis anno, haeresi vel schismati scienter ac libere adhaeserunt, ab obligatione nonnullorum legum et decretorum, de quibus in eodem dubio I, solutos declarare expedit, ne sine adaequata causa, i. e. sine delicto proprio haeresis vel schismatis, ex inobservantia illarum legum ac decretorum eorum peccata multiplicentur.... Hi eximi possent, ratione benignae interpretationis voluntatis piae Matris Ecclesiae, a nonnullis legibus ac decretis, de quibus in dubio I, scilicet, 1) ab *omnibus* legibus ac decretis mere disciplinaribus, quae directe non respiciunt bonum commune et ordinem publicum; 2) a legibus ac decretis ordinis privati ut sunt leges ac decreta, quae directe respiciunt propriam sanctificationem iuxta exposita sub n° IV...; 3) a nonnullis impedimentis matrimonialibus.....; 4) a legibus novi iuris orientalis « de iudiciis », « de bonis eccl. temporalibus », « de ritibus orientalibus et de personis », tamen cum aliquibus restrictionibus, quae continentur in responsione ad dubium III ».

(1) L. c., pag. 247-248.

Restrictiones vero hae referuntur ad leges et decreta quae data sunt ad tuitionem verae fidei atque bonorum morum; ad eas quibus interpretatur lex divina sive naturalis sive positiva, quaecumque illae sint; et quibus determinatur lex divina sive naturalis sive positiva et respiciunt praecipue et directe bonum commune ac ordinem publicum....; ad leges et decreta de delictis et poenis, quae item intendunt bonum commune et ordinem publicum, et quidem praecipue seu directe; ad leges et decreta universalia praeceptiva de actibus humanis; tandem, ad eas, quibus Sedes Apostolica explicite voluit obligare, propter bonum commune, etiam hos baptizatos acatholicos ritui orientali adscriptos» (1).

Praetermissis non paucis quaestionibus quae hic moveri possent, et praetermissa difficultate quae in applicatione huiusmodi distinctionum haberi potest, unum tantum notare velim, scilicet: vi extensionis ad acatholicos orientales legis ecclesiasticae pro catholicis latae, id quod statim sequitur est abrogatio disciplinae praecedentis, quae proinde iam non amplius viget. Si autem postea seu post novam legislationem promulgatam, illi separati a tota vel a maiori parte novae disciplinae sunt dispensandi et de facto dispensantur, quaeritur quanam disciplina, post dispensationem a nova disciplina concessam, illi reguntur? Non nova disciplina, quia ab ea dispensati sunt; non ab antiqua, quia et ipsa per novam abrogata fuit, nisi et illa, semel abrogata, per dispensationem a nova, iterum reviviscat, quod inauditum videtur. Ergo, illi, qui ob eorum bonam fidem maiori indigent cura Ecclesiae Matris, privati manent illis mediis, seu illa disciplina a Patribus et a Conciliis recepta, per quam Ecclesia bono spirituali istorum christianorum aliquo modo adhuc providebat.

Praeterea, si statim post applicationem ad separatos legis catholicae, persentitur necessitas vel maxima convenientia eos ab eadem lege dispensandi, et quidem modo tam generali, iure quaeri potest, ad quid illa extensio seu applicatio inserviat: nonne tantum ad arguendum Legislatorem de defectu prudentiae ac praevidentiae? et ad iudicandam ut inutilem illam legem quatenus Orientalibus separatis applicatam?

Haec autem incommoda optime devitantur, si, lata lege pro catholicis Orientalibus, separati relinquantur sub praecedenti, etiam catholica, disciplina, qua hucusque usi sunt. Salvis, ut patet

(1) L. c., pag. 248-249.

legibus, quae, vel ob rei naturam vel ob expressam Legislatoris voluntatem, etiam illos ab Ecclesia catholica seiunctos afficiunt.

Hucusque conati sumus utriusque sententiae argumenta perpendere. Argumenta vero pro sententia quae tenet novum ius orientale a Pio XII promulgatum etiam Orientales dissidentes obligare, nobis videntur vi revera probativa carere; dum sententia quae sustinet obligatorietatem huius novi iuris per se ad solos catholicos Orientales restringi, nostro iudicio, non solum ut probabilior, sed ut sola vera est retinenda. Quodsi scopum, quem nobis praestituimus, hanc, scilicet, alteram sententiam probandi, assecuti non simus, aut argumenta a nobis allata non omnibus plene satisfecerint, admitti saltem debet, huiusmodi argumenta tanti esse ponderis, ut vim harum legum seu illam extensionem novi iuris ad Orientales separatos dubiam dubio iuris revera faciant. Ideoque ista extensio urgeri nequit, et consequenter, hoc dubio manente, Orientales non catholici novo iure canonico obligari non possunt.

Clemens Pujol S. J.

La traduction de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome par Léon Toscan.

Édition critique

Parce qu'elle nous fournit une description détaillée des usages de la Grande Église de Constantinople et qu'elle peut être datée avec une assez grande précision, la traduction de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome effectuée par Léon Toscan sous le règne de Manuel Ier Comnène reste aujourd'hui encore, en même temps qu'un point de repère irremplaçable, l'un des témoins les plus précieux pour servir à l'histoire de la Liturgie eucharistique byzantine. Malheureusement, on ne dispose toujours pas à l'heure actuelle d'une édition convenable et accessible de ce texte important. La fatalité voulut que l'édition princeps de 1540 passât presque totalement inaperçue jusqu'en ces dernières années et que fût seule utilisée pendant quatre siècles la médiocre édition parisienne de 1560, à laquelle deux réimpressions successives assurèrent une large diffusion. Outre les déficiences du manuscrit qui servit à l'éditeur, celui-ci contribua lui-même largement à faire de son texte une source de dangereuses confusions en ne rétablissant pas de manière correcte l'ordre bouleversé des feuillets du codex, erreur qui provoqua la création bien involontaire d'un rite byzantin assez inhabituel. Les liturgistes ne semblent pourtant pas s'être inquiétés outre mesure de cet état de choses, puisqu'il fallut attendre 1933 avant de voir J. M. Hanssens en signaler enfin les incohérences. Il importe donc de proposer une édition qui satisfasse autant que possible aux exigences de la philologie moderne. À cet égard, les matériaux dont nous disposons sont incomparablement supérieurs à ceux que connaissaient nos prédécesseurs et permettent de résoudre de façon satisfaisante la plupart des problèmes que pose

encore le texte de la traduction de Léon Toscan. Avant de passer à l'étude de la tradition manuscrite, il nous suffira de rappeler brièvement les circonstances de la traduction, sur lesquelles des publications récentes ont fait toute la lumière désirable.

I. – Date de la traduction et de son modèle grec

Manuel Ier Comnène (1143-1180), « tout pénétré de l'idée de l'empire universel et possédé d'une passion toute byzantine pour les discussions théologiques » (1), aimait à s'entourer de Latins. Parmi ceux-ci, Hugues Éthérien et son frère cadet Léon Toscan, pisans d'origine, occupèrent une place de choix (2). Il est difficile de savoir si Hugues Éthérien eut à la cour de Constantinople une fonction officielle (3); du moins, fut-il le conseiller attitré de l'empereur en matière théologique, notamment pour toutes les questions touchant au problème de l'union avec les Latins (4). Léon Toscan, lui, exerça la charge d'interprète à la chancellerie impériale; la première mention de cette charge date de 1166 (5), la dernière de 1182 (6). Outre la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome, il traduisit également les *Oneirocritica* d'Ahmed ben Sirin (7) et composa de plus le traité théologique intitulé *De haeresibus et praevaricationibus Graecorum* (8).

C'est à la demande d'un noble catalan que Léon Toscan exécuta sa traduction de la Liturgie de Chrysostome, comme il ressort clairement des premières lignes du prologue (9). Dans l'édition parisienne de 1560, ce personnage porte le nom de Renaud de

(1) G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'État byzantin*, Paris, 1956, p. 401.

(2) Sur la vie et l'œuvre des deux frères pisans, voir avant tout l'étude fondamentale de A. Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan*, dans *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 27 (1952), p. 67-134 (catalogue des sources, p. 69-72; bibliographie antérieure, p. 67, note 1).

(3) Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 81.

(4) Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 82-86.

(5) C. H. Haskins, *Leo Tuscus*, dans *The English Historical Review*, 33 (1918), p. 493 (= *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 23, 1923-24, p. 44).

(6) Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 81.

(7) Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 121-123.

(8) Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 116-119.

(9) Texte du prologue, ci-dessous, p. 134.

Montcada (10), qui n'est attesté dans aucune liste généalogique de la famille de Montcada. Ce fut le mérite d'A. Strittmatter d'attirer l'attention sur l'édition princeps de Colmar (11), dont l'existence avait déjà été signalée à plusieurs reprises sans que personne ait songé pour autant à la consulter. L'éminent liturgiste américain y trouva le véritable prénom du destinataire du prologue — Raymond —, qu'il n'eut dès lors aucune peine à identifier comme étant Raymond de Montcada, premier seigneur de Tortosa et quatrième sénéchal de Barcelone (12). La mission que Raymond de Montcada accomplit à Constantinople et qui lui donna l'occasion de faire la connaissance de Léon Toscan était peut-être en relation avec les négociations entreprises en 1173 par Alphonse II, roi d'Aragon, en vue d'obtenir la main d'Eudocie, nièce de Manuel I[er] Comnène (13) Il se pourrait donc que ce soit aux alentours de cette date que la traduction de Léon Toscan ait vu le jour.

À la fin du siècle dernier, C. A. Swainson et F. E. Brightman, sur la base des diptyques de l'édition parisienne, crurent devoir distinguer la date de la traduction et l'âge de l'original grec, que le premier situait « unhesitatingly » au commencement du XII[e] siècle et le second au tournant des XI[e] et XII[e] siècles (14). Hélas, le copiste du manuscrit de Paris avait substitué au nom du patriarche de Constantinople celui d'un pape Nicolas et réduit les noms de Manuel et Marie aux simples initiales M. et M., devenues par la suite N. & N. dans l'édition parisienne (15), ce qui n'en facilitait pas l'identification. L'édition princeps, par contre, a conservé intact le texte des diptyques et permet ainsi de dater avec précision le modèle grec utilisé par Léon Toscan. Nous donnons ci-dessous la liste des noms cités dans les diptyques originaux (16).

(10) *Liturgiae sive Missae Sanctorum Patrum*, Paris, 1560, p. 51.

(11) A. STRITTMATTER, *Notes on Leo Tuscus' Translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, dans *Didascaliae. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda...* edited by S. PRETE, New-York, 1961, p. 409-424.

(12) STRITTMATTER, *Notes*, p. 411-412.

(13) STRITTMATTER, *Notes*, p. 413.

(14) Discussion détaillée des dates proposées par Swainson et Brightman dans STRITTMATTER, *Notes*, p. 414-417.

(15) Texte dans STRITTMATTER, *Notes*, p. 415-416.

(16) Voir à ce propos STRITTMATTER, *Notes*, p. 418-421.

Michel III d'Anchialos, patriarche de Constantinople: janvier 1170-mars 1178.

Éleuthère, patriarche melkite d'Alexandrie: vers 1180.

Cyrille II, patriarche melkite d'Antioche: attesté sûrement pour la période de 1173-1179.

Léonce II, patriarche de Jérusalem: vers 1174 ou 1175-14 mai 1184 ou 1185.

Manuel Ier Comnène, empereur: 8 avril 1143-24 septembre 1180.

Marie d'Antioche, seconde femme de Manuel Ier: épousée le jour de Noël 1161.

Alexis Comnène, fils de Manuel Ier et de Marie: né le 10 septembre 1169 et associé au pouvoir le 4 mars 1171.

Si l'on admet que Léonce II a pu accéder au siège patriarcal de Jérusalem dans les derniers mois de 1173 (17), c'est entre la fin de cette année et 1178 qu'il faut placer l'original grec traduit par Léon Toscan. Ces dates viennent à leur tour confirmer l'hypothèse rapportée plus haut concernant la mission de Raymond de Montcada à Constantinople.

II. – Description des témoins

Il est évident que Raymond de Montcada a ramené dans son pays une copie de la traduction que Léon Toscan fit à son intention. Bien qu'aucun manuscrit de cette traduction n'ait été signalé jusqu'à présent en Espagne, l'éventualité de la découverte de l'exemplaire même de Raymond de Montcada ou de quelque copie secondaire ne doit pas être exclue a priori, les bibliothèques espagnoles étant loin, comme chacun sait, d'avoir livré leurs derniers secrets (18). En attendant d'hypothétiques trouvailles, force est de nous contenter des témoins connus à ce jour.

1. Admont 125 (fin XIIe siècle) = A

Ce témoin, le plus ancien et le plus important de la traduction de Léon Toscan, n'a encore fait l'objet d'aucune publication, si

(17) Cfr. Strittmatter, *Notes*, p. 419.

(18) Il faut signaler ici que le P. A. Dondaine a retrouvé à la Biblioteca Provincial de Tarragone le *De minoritate ac aequalitate Filii hominis*

l'on ne tient pas compte de la description de P. Buberl, qui se place au point de vue de l'histoire de l'art et ne signale pas la présence de la traduction de Léon Toscan ([19]). C'est au P. A. Strittmatter O.S.B. que nous devons de connaître l'existence de ce précieux codex ([20]); lui-même tenait ce renseignement du P. A. Dondaine O.P. Dom J. Hoeck, Révérendissime Abbé de Scheyern, a eu l'obligeance de mettre à notre disposition son propre microfilm des dix premiers feuillets du ms. d'Admont ainsi qu'une description dont nous reproduisons l'essentiel ci-dessous. Que les deux savants bénédictins veuillent bien trouver ici l'expression de notre plus vive gratitude.

Le cod. Admont 125 est composé de 160 feuillets de parchemin mesurant 312 × 210 mm. Le texte y est écrit à pleine page, à raison de 35 lignes par page pour les fol. 2^r-9^r. Plusieurs mains ont contribué à la réalisation du volume, dont les peintures et initiales ornées sont caractéristiques de l'école d'Admont ([21]). Le ms. a donc été copié à Admont même et peut être daté comme tel de la deuxième moitié du XIIe siècle. Il est ainsi contemporain, ou peu s'en faut, de l'époque de la traduction.

Le volume, qui porte le titre *S. Chrysostomi Liturgia. S. Augustini quaedam opera*, contient les pièces suivantes:

Fol. 2^r-9^r, l. 14: Incipit prologus Leonis Tusci (Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome traduite par Léon Toscan).

Fol. 9^{r-v}: Conductus cuiusdam scolastici (sur deux colonnes).

Fol. 10^r: S. Augustini contra Academicos libri tres.

Fol. 35^r: Eiusdem de ordine libri duo.

Fol. 54^v: Eiusdem de qualitate animae liber.

Fol. 61^r: Eiusdem de quantitate animae liber.

Fol. 83^r: Eiusdem de cura pro mortuis liber.

---

ad Deum Patrem de Hugues Éthérien, ainsi que la copie d'une lettre de ce dernier adressée à Pierre de Vienne (ms. 92, provenant de Santes Creus): voir A. Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166*, dans *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 77 (1957), p. 473-483.

([19]) P. Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark*. I. *Die Stiftsbibliotheken zu Admont und Vorau* (*Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, IV), Leipzig, 1911, p. 49-50.

([20]) Lettre du 29 novembre 1963.

([21]) La miniature du fol. 1^v et la lettrine du fol. 2^v sont reproduites dans Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, fig. 44, p. 49 et 45, p. 50.

Fol. 91r: Eiusdem contra Fulgentium Donatistam liber.
Fol. 96v: Eiusdem de praesentia dei.
Fol. 104r: Eiusdem de utilitate credendi liber.
Fol. 118r: Eiusdem epistola ad Valentinum.
Fol. 120r: Eiusdem de gratia et libero arbitrio liber.
Fol. 134v: Eiusdem de correptione et gratia liber.
Fol. 148v: Eiusdem quaestio de eo quod dicit apostolus.
Fol. 156r: Epistola Valentini ad S. Augustinum.
Fol. 157r: S. Augustini sermo de vita communi.

2. Karlsruhe Ettenheimmünster 6 (XIIIe siècle) = K

Le ms. conservé à la Badische Landesbibliothek de Karlsruhe est composé de 126 feuillets de parchemin mesurant 205 × 160 mm. Il s'agit d'un ms. bilingue, dont le texte grec est écrit sur la colonne de gauche (150 × 50 mm.) et le texte latin sur la colonne de droite, le nombre des lignes oscillant de 25 à 30 selon les pages. L'écriture grecque est caractéristique de la terre d'Otrante ([22]) et pourrait dater de la première moitié du XIIIe siècle.

Plusieurs descriptions ont déjà été données de ce ms.:

F. J. Mone, *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert*, Francfort-sur-le-Main, 1850, p. 138-147.

R. Engdahl, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der byzantinischen Liturgie. Texte und Studien* (*Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*, herausgegeben von N. Bonwetsch und R. Seeberg, 5), Berlin, 1908, p. 84-85.

K. Preisendanz, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe. IX. Die Handschriften des Klosters Ettenheim-Münster*, Karlsruhe, 1932, p. 9.

J. M. Hoeck et R. J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.* (*Studia patristica et byzantina*, 11), Ettal, 1965, pp. 77-81.

([22]) Sur les mss de la région d'Otrante, voir R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale* (*Histoire, classement, paléographie*) (*Studi e testi*, 183), Vatican, 1955, pp. 44-52; le type d'écriture de l'Ettenheimmünster 6 s'apparente assez bien à celui du Vat. gr. 1275, reproduit à la pl. VIIa (après la p. 50).

Le contenu du ms. est exposé de manière détaillée dans l'ouvrage de J. M. Hoeck et R. J. Loenertz, si bien qu'il nous suffira de rappeler brièvement ici les pièces dont il sera fait état dans la suite de cet article.

Fol. 2r-7r: Huit prières en relation avec la célébration eucharistique. L'incipit de la première est *Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, Κύριε, ποιητὰ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*, celui de la seconde *⟨Ὁ⟩ θεὸς ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσας*.

Fol. 8r-40r: Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome avec la traduction de Léon Toscan. Le prologue de Léon Toscan manque, de même que le titre, sans que cette double absence puisse s'expliquer par une lacune matérielle.

Fol. 40v-59v: Liturgie de saint Basile avec la traduction de Nicolas d'Otrante.

Fol. 60r-62r: La *Διάταξις τῆς Παναγίας* avec la traduction de Nicolas d'Otrante.

Fol. 62r-71v: Épîtres et évangiles.

Dans ses *Beiträge*, R. Engdahl a publié le texte grec des Liturgies de saint Jean Chrysostome et de saint Basile, ainsi que la *Διάταξις τῆς Παναγίας* avec sa traduction latine (23). De la traduction de Léon Toscan, Engdahl n'a publié que des extraits (fol. 8r, 16v-20r et 35v-40r) (24), ce qu'on n'a pas manqué de lui reprocher dans diverses recensions (25). De plus, Engdahl n'a pas songé à comparer la traduction de Léon Toscan, telle qu'elle se présente dans le ms. de Karlsruhe, avec le texte de l'édition parisienne, qu'il ne mentionne même pas dans son commentaire sur la proscomidie.

3. Paris latin 1002 (XIIIe-XIVe siècle) = P

Le Paris latin 1002 est un recueil composite de 79 feuillets. La première partie, qui seule nous intéresse ici (26), est formée de 25 feuillets de papier mesurant 205×145 mm.; le papier est

(23) Engdahl, *Beiträge*, p. 1-35, 43-77, 78-82.

(24) Engdahl, *Beiträge*, p. 35-42.

(25) Voir en particulier les recensions de J. von Dobschütz dans *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 29 (1909), col. 1412-1415 et de A. Baumstark dans *Literarische Rundschau für das katholische Deutschland*, 37 (1911), col. 386-388.

(26) Pour l'ensemble du ms., voir la description de Ph. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (Nos 1-1438), Paris, 1939, p. 357.

d'aspect ancien, épais et sans filigrane. Le texte est écrit à pleine page, à raison de 28 lignes par page, sur une surface écrite de 135 × 95 mm. en moyenne. L'ordre des feuillets a été complètement bouleversé et doit être rétabli de la manière suivante: 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 3, 4, 18, 20, 21, 19, 24, 22, 23, 25, 9-17. L'écriture peut être attribuée à la fin du XIIIe ou au début du XIVe siècle. L'ornementation des initiales pourrait indiquer une origine italienne, hypothèse confirmée par la présence d'incipit grecs, pour lesquels le copiste latin a généralement prévu des espaces appropriés. Avant d'entrer à la Bibliothèque du Roi, le ms. a fait partie de la collection de Claude Dupuy, dont le nom se lit au bas du fol. 1^r^. Il portait la cote 86 dans le Catalogue de P. et J. Dupuy [27] et la cote 4313, encore visible dans la marge supérieure du fol. 1^r^, dans le Catalogue de Nicolas Clément [28].

Le ms. contient les pièces suivantes:

Fol. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 3, 4, 18, 20, 21, 19, 24, 22^r^: Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome traduite par Léon Toscan, précédée du prologue du traducteur.

Fol. 22^v^, 23, 25, 9-16^v^, l. 6: Liturgie de saint Basile traduite par Nicolas d'Otrante.

Fol. 16^v^, l. 7-17^v^: Rituel de la Panagia traduit par Nicolas d'Otrante.

3a. Édition parisienne de 1560 = p

La traduction de Léon Toscan a été éditée d'après le Paris latin 1002 dans un ouvrage imprimé à Paris chez Morel en 1560 et intitulé:

LITVRGIAE / SIVE MISSAE SANCTO/RVM PATRVM:

Iacobi apostoli & fratris Domini.

Basilij magni, è vetusto codice Latinae tralationis.

Ioannis Chrysostomi, interprete Leone Thusco.

DE RITV MISSAE ET / EVCHARISTIA:

Ex libris B. Dionysij Areopagitae.

Iustini martyris. Gregorij Nysseni.

[27] H. Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, IV, Paris 1913, p. 195.

[28] H. Omont, *Anciens inventaires...*, III, Paris, 1910, p. 391.

Ioannis Damasceni. Nicolai Methonensis.
Samonae Gazae archiepiscopi.
Germani archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani.
Nicolai Cabasilae, Gentiano Herueto interprete.
Maximi Monachi B. Dionysij interpretis.
Bessarionis Cardinalis.
Proclus archiepiscopus Constantinopolitanus praefatur.

QVIBVS ACCESSIT AD CALCEM E LIBRIS

D. Ioan. Chrysostomi, locorum annotatio, & initio aliquot Capita, vnde Liturgica com/probantur, auctore F. Claudio De Sainctes, Theologo Parisiensi.

Δεύτεραι φροντίδες σοφώτεραι.

PARISIIS, M. D. LX.

Apud Guil. Morelium, in Graecis typographum Regium.

PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Ce volume in-folio constitue le pendant d'un recueil de Liturgies grecques en texte original, paru en 1560 également chez le même éditeur. Le texte grec de cette édition ne correspond pas à la traduction de Léon Toscan. Quant au volume latin, il fut réimprimé dans le courant de la même année chez Plantin à Anvers et deux ans plus tard chez Steelsius [29].

Dans l'ouvrage de Morel, la traduction de Léon Toscan occupe les p. 51-74; la responsabilité de l'édition incombe au chanoine parisien Jean de Saint-André, comme il ressort de la préface [30]. Son édition prête à confusion en ce sens que le désordre des feuillets du ms. s'y retrouve en partie. Pour corriger cette erreur, il faut lire l'édition parisienne dans l'ordre suivant: p. 52-54, l. 19, p. 58, l. 15-65, l. 3, p. 54, l. 20-58, l. 15, p. 65, l. 4-74 [31]. Cela revient à dire que Jean de Saint-André a gardé l'ordre du ms. pour les feuillets 1 à 8 au lieu de lire: 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 3, 4. D'autre part, les fautes de lecture sont assez fréquentes et les corrections peu heureuses, sans parler de quelques améliorations stylistiques. Voici quelques exemples:

nitentiores *P*; intentiores *p*
odoratum ire *P*; adoratum ire *p*

[29] Ces deux réimpressions sont des in-octavo.
[30] *Liturgiae sive Missae Sanctorum Patrum*, fol. a2-a3.
[31] Voir J. M. HANSSENS, *La messe de S. Jean Chrysostome dans la version de Leo Thuscus*, dans *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 37 (1933), p. 193-194.

postulasti a me quod *P*; postulasti a me ut *p*
protracti *P*; pertracti *p*
tempus faciendi domino *P*; tempus faciendi domine *p*
s(acerdos) *P*; sic *p*
natus est *P*; adeptus es *p* (bonne leçon: nactus es *A*)
presbytero *P*; presbyterio *p*
dicit archydiaconus diaconi accedamus *P*; iubet archidiaconus vt diaconi accedant *p*

La plupart des erreurs commises par Jean de Saint-André auraient pu être évitées s'il avait consulté l'édition princeps de Colmar, parue vingt ans auparavant, dont il ne paraît pas connaître l'existence.

4. Paris grec 323 (fin XIVe siècle) = N

Le Paris grec 323 (32) est un codex composé de 41 feuillets de papier mesurant 214 × 142 mm.; le fol. 2 est en parchemin et mesure 208 × 137 mm.; 6 feuillets sont blancs et non numérotés, 3 au début et 3 à la fin du ms. Il s'agit d'un ms. bilingue, comme le Karlsruhe Ettenheimmünster 6; le texte grec est écrit sur la colonne de gauche, le texte latin sur celle de droite, la surface écrite de l'ensemble étant de 165 × 110 mm., celle de chaque colonne d'environ 165 × 50 mm. Le nombre de lignes par page varie de 24 à 29. Un élément objectif de datation est fourni par le filigrane, qui est constitué de deux clés posées parallèlement et surmontées d'une croix de Lorraine; il s'agit du type le plus ancien de cette figure, où la tige de la clé est dessinée par un simple trait (nos 3808 à

(32) Plusieurs auteurs ont décrit, utilisé ou cité le Par. gr. 323 sans y reconnaître la traduction de Léon Toscan: cfr. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris 1886, p. 33; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. I. *Eastern Liturgies* Oxford, 1896, p. 546; Engdahl, *Beiträge*, p. 92 et suivantes (sous le sigle *P C 1*); L. H. Grondijs, *L'iconographie byzantine du crucifié mort sur la croix* (*Bibliotheca byzantina Bruxellensis*, 1), 2e éd., Bruxelles, 1947, p. 91; D. N. Moraites, *Οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐθνικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῶν Παρισίων ἑλληνικοὶ λειτουργικοὶ κώδικες*, dans *Θεολογία*, 24 (1953), p. 541-542 (l'auteur pense que l'époque de la traduction latine se situe sous le règne de Jean VIII Paléologue, 1425-1448!). Première identification explicite de la traduction de Léon Toscan du Par. gr. 323 dans Hoeck et Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, p. 79, note 55.

3823 de Briquet) (33); tous ces filigranes se situent au XIVe siècle; le no 3814, auquel le filigrane du Paris grec 323 ressemble le plus, est attesté pour les années 1357, 1378 et 1379/89. L'écriture grecque présente un aspect archaïque et certains de ses éléments, les initiales notamment, font penser au style de l'Ettenheimmünster 6. L'écriture latine peut être datée approximativement de la fin du XIVe ou du début du XVe siècle. Au fol. 40v, se trouve un inventaire rédigé dans un dialecte d'Italie méridionale et datant des premières années du XVe siècle (34). Tous ces éléments permettent de penser que le ms. a été copié dans le dernier quart du XIVe siècle.

Au fol. 2v, le copiste a écrit ce qui est sans doute la première marque d'appartenance du ms.: *Detur in manibus Comitis Nole. δοθήτω χερσὶ κόμητος νολε.* Le ms. a fait partie de la Bibliothèque de Colbert: dans le coin supérieur droit du fol. 2r, il porte la mention *Codex Colberti 4505*. En-dessous de cette cote, se lit la cote de la Bibliothèque Royale: *Regius 2899*; en-dessous de ce dernier chiffre, on trouve encore la cote *2.2.A.*, que nous n'avons pu identifier.

Le contenu du ms. est le suivant:

Fol. 3r-4r: Deux prières en relation avec la célébration eucharistique: *'Εξομολογοῦμαί σοι, Κύριε, ποιητὰ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς* et *'Ο θεὸς ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσας* (cfr. les deux premières prières de K).

Fol. 4v-37r: Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome avec la traduction de Léon Toscan, sans le prologue ni le titre (cfr. K).

Fol. 37v-40r: Épîtres et évangiles pour les fêtes de la Théotokos et du Saint-Esprit (cfr. les deux premiers *ἀποστολοευαγγέλια* de K).

Le texte grec de la prothèse a été édité par Brightman (35).

5. Édition Princeps: Colmar, 1540 = c

MISSA D. IOANNIS / CHRYSOSTOMI SECVNDVM VETE/REM VSVM ECCLESIAE CONSTANTINO/politanae, à forma illa quam Magnus Dio-

(33) C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier...*, II, 2e éd., Leipzig, 1923, p. 241.

(34) Nous devons ce renseignement à l'amabilité du Professeur G. Battelli, Directeur de l'École de Paléographie de la Bibliothèque Vaticane.

(35) Brightman, p. 545-546.

nysius depingit, / non ita multum euarians, insigne prorsus publici sacrificij / specimen, digna planè quam docti piique cognitam ac / perspectam habeant, à LEONE Tusco Emanuelis Impe/ratoris Constantinopolitani Ioannis F. Latinarum / epistolarum magistro, iam olim conuer/sa, regnante uidelicet FRIDE/RICHO Aug. huius / nominis pri/mo.

EADEM RECENTIVS AB ERAS/MO ROTERODAMO TRALATA, HIC AV/tem adiecta quod diuersum uterque exemplar Graecum / sit secutus, ne studiosus antiquitatis Chri/stianae quicquam de/sideret.

EXCVSVM. / COLMARIAE PER BARPTHO/lomeum Gryenin/gerum./ Anno M. D. / XL.

Ce petit volume in-octavo est folioté de (A) à (Miiij). La traduction de Léon Toscan y occupe les fol. C^{v}-Giiij^{r}; elle est précédée d'une lettre de Beatus Rhenanus à Jean Hoffmeister (36), prieur du couvent des Chanoines Réguliers (Augustins) de Marbach, près de Colmar, et suivie de la traduction de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome par Érasme, ainsi que d'un commentaire de Jean Hoffmeister.

Le ms. sur lequel est basée l'édition de Colmar n'a pas été retrouvé à ce jour; peut-être fut-il livré au pilon, sitôt le livre paru. Heureusement, la lettre de Beatus Rhenanus nous fournit un précieux renseignement sur la nature de ce ms.:

Cum nuper bibliothecam cœnobij tui publicam aggressus esses componere, diu neglectum uolumen incidit in manus tuas Hugonis Eteriani disputationes illas argutissimas, ac Missam Ioannis Chrysostomi Leone Tusco interprete continens, quorum uterque Constantinopoli uixit Emanuele Ioannis F. imperante (37).

Dans sa remarquable étude sur la vie et l'œuvre des deux frères pisans, A. Dondaine a identifié ces « disputationes illas argutissimas » au traité *De sancto et immortali Deo* composé par Hugues Éthérien (38). Ce détail se révélera d'une importance extrême

(34) Le P. A. Strittmatter prépare actuellement un commentaire détaillé de cette lettre; selon l'éminent liturgiste, l'édition de la traduction de Léon Toscan n'est pas due à Beatus Rhenanus lui-même (lettre du 5 décembre 1965).

(37) Édition de Colmar, fol. Aij^{r}.

(28) DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 101, note 1.

lorsqu'il s'agira de situer l'édition princeps dans la tradition manuscrite de la Liturgie traduite par Léon Toscan.

III. – Analyse de la tradition manuscrite

Pour tenter de dégager les rapports de parenté entre les cinq témoins de la traduction de Léon Toscan, il est nécessaire de tenir compte de plusieurs éléments. Cependant, un fait capital domine tous les autres: l'existence au sein même de la tradition de deux recensions distinctes.

A. – Recension constantinopolitaine et recension italo-grecque

Le texte original de la traduction de Léon Toscan est constantinopolitain et représenté par les témoins A c P. Il a été adapté en Italie méridionale, fort probablement en terre d'Otrante, et mis en harmonie avec le rite italo-grec de l'endroit (= K N). Les différences entre les deux recensions sont nombreuses mais d'inégale importance: nous donnons ci-dessous la liste des plus significatives, en désignant chacune des deux recensions par le sigle du témoin le plus ancien.

1. L'absence dans K du prologue de Léon Toscan et du titre de la Liturgie (39). Si l'absence du prologue peut s'expliquer par un scrupule du copiste à attribuer la paternité d'un texte fortement remanié à Léon Toscan (40), l'absence de titre s'explique plus difficilement puisqu'il suffisait à l'auteur de la recension italo-grecque de reprendre le titre du ms. grec qu'il devait avoir sous les yeux.

(39) Deux onglets après le fol. 7 semblent indiquer la disparition de deux feuillets, mais ceux-ci ne contenaient certainement pas le prologue de Léon Toscan ni le titre de la Liturgie, car le premier cahier commence au fol. 8 et les deux onglets en question font partie du cahier composé des fol. 1-7, qui a été ajouté après coup: cfr. Hoeck et Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, p. 79, note 54.

(40) Cfr. A. Strittmatter, « *Missa Grecorum* ». « *Missa Sancti Iohannis Crisostomi* ». *The Oldest Latin Version Known of the Byzantine Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom*, dans *Traditio*, 1 (1943), p. 137.

2. Alors que A prévoit une concélébration de plusieurs prêtres, K prévoit une célébration par un seul prêtre assisté d'un diacre (41). Voici deux exemples typiques de cette « réduction ».

Après la lecture de l'évangile, A prescrit la rubrique suivante, omise par K:

Finito euangelio, regreditur ad altare diaconus osculanturque in manibus diaconi sacerdotes sanctum euangelium.

Plus caractéristique encore est la rubrique de la Grande Entrée, où l'adaptation est particulièrement sensible:

A	K (42)
Cumque uentum est ad sanctas ianuas cancellorum, ingreditur archydiaconus et dato incenso sancto altari, dat et sacerdotibus per ordinem. Et depositis sanctis panibus super sacram mensam in crucis figuram, expanso desuper peplo et astantibus in circuitu sacerdotibus, dicit archypresbyter: Orate pro me, sacerdotes sancti.	Et cum uentum est ad sanctas ianuas cancellorum, ingreditur ante sacerdos et accepto thuribulo de manu diaconi incensat sancta dona et accepta deponit super sanctam mensam et expanso desuper sancto peplo dicit diacono et aliis circumstantibus: Orate pro me, fratres.

3. La prothèse de K est légèrement différente de celle de A et est précédée d'une prière de vestition (43).

4. La place de certaines parties chantées ou de certaines litanies diaconales diffère dans A et K. Il est évident que K suit dans ces cas l'ordre du ms. grec utilisé pour le remaniement. Ainsi, tandis que A place le *Μονογενής* après la prière *Ὁ τὰς κοινὰς ταύτας*, il se trouve avant la dite prière dans K (44). La litanie accompagnant la prière de la proscomidie est située entièrement avant la prière dans A; elle est au contraire scindée en deux parties dans K pour entourer la prière en question (45).

(41) Cfr. STRITTMATTER, *Missa Grecorum*, p. 136.
(42) Fol. 22r.
(43) Voir ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 1.
(44) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 7.
(45) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 20-21.

5. K omet la série des prokeimena (§ IX) tout en allongeant la rubrique introductrice ([48]).

6. K intercale une litanie entre les deux prières des fidèles ([47]).

7. K omet les diptyques de Constantinople.

8. Les rites de communion sont plus étoffés dans K, notamment par l'adjonction de plusieurs prières, comme la prière de préparation à la communion *Ὁ θεὸς ἄνες ἄφες* ([48]).

9. Alors que dans A le rite du zéon se trouve à sa place habituelle, c'est-à-dire juste après la fraction et l'immixtion, il a été déplacé dans K après la communion au pain ([49]).

10. K omet la finale de Léon Toscan concernant la célébration de la Liturgie des Présanctifiés pendant le Carême.

Pour ce qui est de la traduction des prières, K suit littéralement le texte de Léon Toscan, à quelques rares exceptions près.

La Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome, telle qu'elle nous est transmise dans K, étant l'aboutissement de la fusion de deux sources distinctes, il était fatal que la traduction de Toscan influence à son tour le texte grec. Ainsi, les rubriques de la traduction latine ont-elles dû être à nouveau retraduites en grec. Le cas est particulièrement flagrant lorsqu'il ne s'agissait plus de simples rubriques, mais d'explications ajoutées par Léon Toscan à l'intention du lecteur latin. En voici un exemple typique:

K latin ([50])

Et sciendum quod hiis absolutoriis eisdem diebus uespertinis horis utuntur. Sunt quoque et alia plura huiusmodi absolutoria apud Grecos, quibus utuntur in aliis festiuitatibus, quorum translatio necessaria mihi non est.

([48]) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 14.

([47]) Sur cette litanie, voir A. STRITTMATTER, *A Peculiarity of the Slavic Liturgy Found in Greek Euchologies*, dans *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, edited by K. WEITZMANN, Princeton (New Jersey), 1955, p. 197-203; IDEM, *Notes on the Byzantine Synapte*, dans *Traditio*, 10 (1954), p. 65-85.

([48]) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 30-32 (texte grec) et 38-40 (traduction latine).

([49]) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 32; cfr. STRITTMATTER, *Notes*, p. 417, note 22.

([50]) Fol. 20r.

K grec (51)

Εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι τούτων τῶν ἀπολυτικίων ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν ταῖς ἑσπεριναῖς ὥραις χρῶνται· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπολυτίκια ἐν τοῖς Γραικοῖς, ὧντινων χρῶνται ἐν ἑτέραις ἑορταῖς, ὧν ὁ ἐξελληνισμὸς ἀναγκαῖός μοι οὐκ ἔστι.

B. – Rapports entre K et N

Avant de parler de N, autre témoin de la recension italo-grecque de la traduction de Léon Toscan, et de définir sa place vis-à-vis de K, il importe de dire un mot de la traduction de la Liturgie de saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante, qui fait suite dans K (et P) à la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome.

1. – *La traduction de la Liturgie de saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante*

C'est à la demande de l'archevêque Guillaume d'Otrante que la Liturgie de saint Basile fut traduite en latin par Nicolas d'Otrante (52). Un passage du prologue du traducteur nous donne à ce propos quelques précisions intéressantes:

Idcirco pater et domine magister Guillelme, venerabilis Ydrontine archiepiscope, cum paratus tibi tamquam patri sim obedire, precepisti michi, ut beati magni Basilij missam a greca lingua uerbis diuulgarem latinis, et quia attuleras sancti Iohannis Chrysostomi missam, a Leone Tusco translatam, peroptimo quidem interprete Manuelis imperatoris Constantinopoleos, desiderio desiderasti et beati magni Basilij missam latina lingua pariter intendere (53).

Il ressort de cette phrase que l'archevêque d'Otrante avait rapporté, selon toute probabilité de Constantinople (54), une copie de la traduction de Léon Toscan. Il ne nous paraît pas téméraire de supposer que cette copie est à l'origine de toute la branche

(51) Engdahl, *Beiträge*, p. 12.

(52) Sur cette traduction, voir Hoeck et Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, p. 74.

(53) Engdahl, *Beiträge*, p. 43; Dondaine, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 121 (d'après le Par. lat. 1002, fol. 22v).

(54) Cfr. Hoeck et Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, p. 74.

italienne de la traduction de Léon Toscan, les trois témoins italo-grecs provenant directement ou indirectement de la terre d'Otrante.

La date à laquelle Guillaume devint archevêque d'Otrante n'est pas connue; on sait, par contre, qu'il n'était plus archevêque de cette ville au 30 décembre 1198 ([55]). La traduction de Nicolas d'Otrante a donc été composée entre 1174/78 (traduction de Léon Toscan) et 1198. Étroitement dépendante de celle de Léon Toscan, en ce sens qu'elle ne reprend pas intégralement les parties communes aux deux Liturgies ([56]), elle a donc dû lui être associée dans la tradition manuscrite; il en est effectivement bien ainsi dans les deux seuls témoins connus à ce jour (K et P).

En comparant le texte de ces deux témoins, on constate que K a été complété au moins sur un point: les quatre pétitions diaconales, connues sous le nom de « particularité slave », y ont été insérées entre les deux prières des fidèles ([57]), alors qu'elles sont absentes de P ([58]). Il est difficile de préciser dans quel milieu K a été copié. Le seul fait établi reste que la Grande Église d'Otrante ne connaissait certainement plus l'usage de la litanie diaconale entre les deux prières des fidèles en 1177, comme l'atteste l'Ottoboni grec 344 ([59]).

À la Liturgie de saint Basile, est jointe dans K et P une autre traduction de Nicolas d'Otrante, celle de l'*Ὕψωσις τῆς Παναγίας* ([60]).

([55]) DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 120, note 2; HOECK et LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, p. 77, note 42.

([56]) Cfr. le prologue de Nicolas d'Otrante: « ... ad opus iam uenio, incipiens, a quo et magister Leo incepit, omnia uero apolytikia scilicet absolutoria dimittens, et quedam, que ab illo in missa Chrisostomi sunt diuulgata, cum etiam et in missa sancti Basilij similiter dicantur, tamen incipiam, unde et predictus Leo incepit » (ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 43; DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 121). Nicolas d'Otrante se contente en général d'indiquer les incipit des pièces communes.

([57]) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 58.

([58]) Fol. 9ᵛ.

([59]) Fol. 149ᵛ-150ʳ (Chrysostome) et 23ʳ (Présanctifiés); sur cet euchologe, voir A. STRITTMATTER, *Liturgical Latinisms in a Twelfth-Century Euchology (Ottob. gr. 344)*, dans *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, III (*Studi e testi*, 123), Vatican, 1946, p. 41-64.

([60]) Texte grec et traduction latine dans ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 78-82.

2. – *Dépendance de N vis-à-vis de K*

Sous l'angle du contenu, N apparaît comme un abrégé de K: il reprend les deux premières des huit prières initiales de K, la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome et les deux premiers *ἀποστολοευαγγέλια.*

La Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome représente la même recension italo-grecque que celle de K, mais plusieurs passages sont omis. Il s'agit avant tout de la série des apolytikia, de la rubrique relative aux prokeimena et au rite du zéon; les autres omissions sont mineures et concernent principalement les doxologies ainsi qu'un certain nombre de rubriques ou formules courantes. Cela mis à part, le texte de N est pratiquement identique à celui de K; seule, l'orthographe varie ci et là. Même s'il n'existe aucune preuve matérielle que N ait été copié sur K, cela est cependant très probable [61]. De toute façon, le fait a peu d'importance en soi puisque N n'apporte aucun élément neuf au point de vue du texte et peut donc être négligé.

C. – Rapports entre A, c et P

Tant le contenu des mss que l'analyse du texte amènent à distinguer deux groupes, d'un côté A c, de l'autre P. C'est dans cet ordre que nous les étudierons ici.

1. – *Origine de A et de c*

Dans A, la traduction de Léon Toscan précède une série de traités de saint Augustin; dans le ms. perdu de Colmar, elle était associée à un traité théologique de son frère, le *De sancto et immortali Deo*. Par là, ces deux témoins occupent une place à part vis-à-vis de K P N, qui sont des recueils de pièces liturgiques. Comme A provient du scriptorium d'Admont, il en découle nécessairement qu'une copie de la traduction de Léon Toscan se trouvait en Styrie dès avant la fin du XIIe siècle. À la suite de quelles circonstances était-elle arrivée là? Grâce à l'étude du P. A. Dondaine sur les deux frères pisans, il est possible de donner une réponse satisfaisante à cette question décisive pour notre enquête.

[61] C'est l'opinion de Hoeck et Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, p. 79, note 55.

Hugues Éthérien entretenait des relations avec un certain Hugues de Honau, scolastique de l'abbaye de Honau en Alsace et diacre du Sacré Palais, auteur du *Liber de diversitate naturae et personae*, et c'est à sa demande qu'il écrivit le traité intitulé *De differentia naturae et personae* ([62]). Hugues de Honau rapporta un exemplaire de ce traité d'une légation accomplie à Constantinople en 1179 pour le compte de Frédéric Ier Barberousse ([63]); une copie, pour ainsi dire contemporaine, en est conservée à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Colmar sous la cote 188 et provient de Marbach ([64]).

On sait par ailleurs que Hugues de Honau avait également rapporté de Constantinople un exemplaire du *De sancto et immortali Deo* ([65]). Quand on songe que le ms. perdu de Colmar, contenant le *De sancto et immortali Deo* et la traduction de Léon Toscan, provenait lui aussi de Marbach, on ne peut s'empêcher d'y voir plus qu'une simple coïncidence: il s'agissait, selon toute vraisemblance, de la copie même de Hugues de Honau. C'est donc de cette époque, contemporaine de la traduction de Léon Toscan (1173/4-1178), que daterait le ms. perdu de Colmar, sur lequel est basée l'édition princeps.

Il est assez naturel de se demander ici si A ne dépend pas aussi de la copie rapportée de Constantinople par Hugues de Honau: il est peu probable, en effet, que de nombreux exemplaires de la traduction de Léon Toscan soient parvenus en cette partie de l'Europe quelques années à peine après qu'elle eut vu le jour dans la capitale byzantine. Sans être absolument décisif, l'examen du texte de A et de c apporte un argument supplémentaire au bien-fondé de cette hypothèse. Sur la plupart des points essentiels, comme le récit de l'institution à la deuxième personne ou les diptyques de Constantinople, A et c sont d'accord contre P; il en va

([62]) Sur Hugues de Honau, voir DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 89-90.

([63]) DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 89.

([64]) Cfr. DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 124, note 4: « Liber domus sancti Augustini in Marpach ordinis canonicorum regularium Basiliensis dyocesis ».

([65]) Cfr. DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 69 (Document I), 101, note 1, 120, note 1. Le *De sancto et immortali Deo* a été rapporté de Constantinople par Hugues de Honau en même temps que l'autre traité de Hugues Éthérien, le *De differentia naturae et personae*, soit en 1179: cfr. le texte de la préface de Hugues de Honau à son propre traité *De diversitate naturae et personae* dans DONDAINE, *Hugues Éthérien*, p. 75.

de même pour quelques omissions importantes, comme celle du *Gloria Patri* avant la répétition du Trisagion; l'une ou l'autre faute manifeste a même été conservée telle quelle dans l'édition de Colmar, où on lit par exemple, tout comme dans A, *Generationem eius quis enarrabitur* au lieu de *quis enarrabit.* Il y a donc de fortes raisons de penser que nous possédons avec A et c deux témoins directs de la copie de Hugues de Honau.

2. – *Place de P dans la recension constantinopolitaine*

Outre la traduction de Léon Toscan, P contient les traductions de la Liturgie de saint Basile et du Rituel de la Panagia par Nicolas d'Otrante et s'apparente ainsi dans une certaine mesure à K. Ce caractère tripartite de P suppose un intermédiaire également tripartite, postérieur à la copie de Guillaume d'Otrante, dont il a été question plus haut. L'existence d'incipit grecs dans P implique de plus qu'on disposait d'un exemplaire grec des deux Liturgies dans le scriptorium où il a été copié. Deux de ces incipit méritent d'être analysés de plus près.

Le premier est celui de l'anaphore: *Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον ὡς ἀληθῶς σὲ εὐλογεῖν σὲ ὑμνεῖν* (fol. 20r, l. 14-15). L'addition *ὡς ἀληθῶς* mise à part (66), le fait remarquable consiste dans l'inversion des verbes *εὐλογεῖν* et *ὑμνεῖν,* qu'on ne retrouve dans aucun autre ms. grec de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome. Or K omet *ὑμνεῖν* et commence également la série des verbes de louange par *εὐλογεῖν* (67); le même phénomène se constate dans P. Il faut donc supposer que le verbe *ὑμνεῖν* (*laudare*) (68) était absent du modèle constantinopolitain parvenu dans la région d'Otrante et, de plus, que le copiste grec de P avait sous les yeux un texte grec apparenté à celui de K: ayant d'abord écrit le verbe *εὐλογεῖν* — comme dans K —, il a comblé la lacune en insérant *ὑμνεῖν* en second lieu.

Le second incipit est celui de l'épiclèse: *Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι, Κύριε, τὴν λογικήν* (69). L'insertion de *Κύριε* n'est de nouveau

(66) Due sans doute à une influence de l'anaphore de la Liturgie de saint Basile (BRIGHTMAN, p. 322, l. 1).

(67) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 23, l. 30.

(68) Dans K latin, fol. 29v, l. 15, on trouve en second lieu le verbe *laudare*, mais il s'agit de la traduction du grec *αἰνεῖν* qu'on trouve également en seconde place dans K grec.

(69) ENGDAHL, *Beiträge*, p. 25, l. 21.

attestée que dans K, où sa présence s'explique sans doute par un parallélisme voulu avec le texte latin: *Adhuc obferimus tibi, domine, rationabile* [70]. Le mot *domine* faisant défaut dans P, l'origine de l'addition reste difficile à préciser.

Il a déjà été dit plus haut que, pour le texte, P s'oppose en gros à A c. Une partie des variantes de P provient d'une mauvaise lecture des abréviations latines (*feruenti quod* pour *feruentique*; *semper benedicte* pour *superbenedicte*) ou d'une banalisation du latin (*aures* pour *auras*). Cependant, lorsque des variantes de P sont des leçons acceptables, on constate qu'elles sont assez souvent identiques aux leçons équivalentes de K latin. En voici quelques exemples:

I, 3. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti *A c*; In nomine dei et saluatoris nostri ihesu christi qui inmolatus est pro mundi uita et salute *P*; In nomine domini et dei et saluatoris nostri ihesu christi qui immolatus est pro mundi uita et salute *K*.

I, 11. insignit *A c*; insignat *P*; signat *K*.

VI, 18. bonitatem *A c*; benignitatem *P K*.

VI, 20. presbyter *A c*; sacerdos *P K*

VII, 67. necessaria mihi uisa non est *A c*; necessaria mihi non est *P K*.

VIII, 1 et 4. sanctus et immortalis *A c*; sanctus immortalis *P K*.

IX, 21, 22. sancti euangelistę quem lecturus es *A c*; sancti apostoli et euangeliste *P K*.

X, 1. facto *A c*; finito *P K*.

X, 3. exitque cancellos *A c*; *om. P K*.

XIV, 6. ter sanctum *A* (tibi, sanctum *c*); trisagium *P K*.

XVII, 13. quoad *A c*; usquequo *K P*.

XVIII, 1. beatarum *A c*; beatorum *P K*

XVIII, 37. regni plenitudinem *A c*; regni celorum plenitudinem *P K*

XIX, 3. sanctissima... *A c*; sanctissime... *P K*.

XIX, 37. fructiferorum *A c*; fructiferum *P K*.

XX, 16. formidolosum *A c*; formidosum *P K*.

XXI, 5. ut bonus *A c*; in bonum *P K*.

XXI, 8. iter agentes *A c*; iter agentibus *P K*.

XXIII, 2. qui *A c*; quoniam et *P K*.

[70] Fol. 31v, l. 12.

Ces convergences peuvent remonter pour une part au modèle commun de P et K, mais certaines leçons (I, 3; IX, 21, 22) supposent des formules liturgiques différentes de celles de l'original constantinopolitain; d'autres semblent être le résultat d'une révision sur le grec (XXI, 5; XXIII, 2). De l'analyse des incipit grecs et des variantes de P, il ressort donc que le copiste de P a utilisé comme source secondaire un ms. bilingue du type K.

D. – Conclusions

Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, l'histoire de la tradition manuscrite de la traduction de Léon Toscan, peut se résumer comme suit.

1. *Le rameau germanique*

Un exemplaire de la traduction de Léon Toscan, rapporté de Constantinople par Hugues de Honau avant 1180, a été copié peu de temps après à l'abbaye d'Admont (A) et se trouve à la base de l'édition princeps de Colmar (c).

2. *Le rameau italien*

Il est possible que toute la tradition italienne remonte également à une seule copie, celle de l'archevêque Guillaume d'Otrante. La copie de Guillaume d'Otrante a donné naissance avant 1198 à un recueil composé au moins de la traduction de Léon Toscan et de la traduction de la Liturgie de saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante. De ce recueil dépendent K, adaptation résultant de la fusion des traductions précitées avec un ms. italo-grec de la terre d'Otrante, et P, qui a conservé la recension constantinopolitaine tout en subissant sur certains points l'influence d'un ms. du type K. Quant à N, il ne serait rien d'autre qu'une copie abrégée de K.

IV. – Édition du texte

Le texte de la recension constantinopolitaine que nous proposons ci-dessous n'est pas une reconstitution de l'archétype. Une pareille reconstitution, du reste toujours aléatoire, aurait pu se concevoir éventuellement si P n'avait pas été contaminé par la

tradition italo-grecque et si ses leçons avaient eu, en conséquence, la même valeur que celles de A et de c. La dépendance de P à l'égard de la recension italo-grecque ayant été établie avec certitude, notre but est uniquement de donner ici une image aussi fidèle que possible de la copie de Hugues de Honau, qui nous fait d'ailleurs remonter à l'époque même de l'original.

Le principe de base pour l'établissement du texte est évidemment l'accord de A et de c. Si ces deux témoins diffèrent, l'accord de l'un d'entre eux avec P fournit nécessairement la leçon correcte. Dans les quelques rares cas où A, c et P diffèrent, c'est la leçon de A qui est retenue.

Il a été dérogé à ces règles dans quelques cas seulement. Avant chaque pétition diaconale ou réponse du peuple, A place systématiquement les mots *diaconus* et *populus*, alors que c et P les omettent parfois de concert; par souci de présentation, nous avons gardé la leçon isolée de A.

A c présentent une leçon grammaticalement incorrecte (I, 6: *enarrabitur*): la leçon de P (*enarrabit*) a été retenue. — A, c, P diffèrent, mais la leçon de c est la seule bonne (VII, 56). — A, c, P diffèrent, mais la leçon de c est proche de celle de P (XIX, 34).

Le texte de la copie de Hugues de Honau contient plusieurs lacunes que l'original grec ne connaissait certainement pas. Il n'est sans doute pas inutile de signaler ici les principales:

V, 6: *factus homo* dans le texte du *Μονογενής*.
VIII, 3: *Gloria Patri* avant la répétition du Trisagion.
XVII, 14: *que nobis facta sunt* dans l'anaphore.
XVI, 4: *Ianuas ianuas in sapientia* avant le symbole.
XXIII, 7: *Cum dei timore* dans l'invitation à la communion des fidèles.

Deux de ces lacunes doivent remonter à l'original, car P les note dans la marge (V, 6 de seconde main; XVI, 4). Pour les autres, il n'est pas possible de déterminer exactement leur origine.

Sigles des témoins:

A = Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 125 (fin XIIe siècle).
P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 1002 (XIIIe-XIVe siècle).
c = Édition princeps: Colmar, 1540.

Incipit prologus Leonis Tusci imperialium epistolarum interpretis ad Raimundum de monte Catano.

Cum uenisses Constantinopolim, nobilis Raimunde[1] de monte Catano, uiso imperatore Emanuele[2], potestatum terrę pręstantissimo, nichil[3] tibi pocius[4] occurrit quam sanctę ac ineffabilis eucharistię consecrationis ordinem perdiscere. Nempe arbitratus es[5] mille flores colorum tarentino nitentiores murice ac sydereo cęlo simillimos per eiusmodi[4] agnitionem te ⌜odoratum iri[7]. Qua de re indomito feruentique[8] desiderio postulasti a me quod Gręcorum rituum non intellectas uoces, quibus sacra et cęlestia dona incruentę hostię significantur, in latinam ⌜uerterem tibi[9] orationem. Sed ad hoc opus, uirorum optime, dotatissimi[10] sapientia de nigris uillis candida facere scientes, penes quos papauera fęcunda fiunt, cum habeant auras[11] quas spiritus effundat, precibus sollicitandi fuerant et quidem prę omnibus frater et pręceptor meus Vgo Eterianus[12] sua[13] grauitate grauior. Nam is Gręcorum loquelę[14] perplexa[15] internodia olorum euincentia[16] melos uerborumque murmura, quę pene Maronis pectus fatigarent ac Ciceronis, intrepida excursione[17], inspectis narrationum radicibus mirifice discriminat. Ast ego albicola[18] cum sim salix nec ceratis harundinibus palmiferam[19] attingere queam Elim[20], difficile putauerim ęris adeo sonantis sistra[21] concrepare. Propterea utique pertimesco quod lacerti mei ad talia uideantur inbelles et protracti per dampnosas moras in spacium flatu minime secundo suum prodant agricolam. Rursus excogitata adiecit[22] ratiocinatio quod elegantiam et honestatem fugiat laudatissimum amici uotum sinere absque honoris effectu et decore gratię reuerti[23]. Igitur, saluatore Christo duce, ante nominati fratris pręceptorisque mei iudicium[24] et examen habiturus, ⌜Bootis yperbo-

Tit. LEONIS TVSCI LA/TINARVM EPISTOLARVM INTER/pretis apud Emanuelem Imperatorem / Constantinopolitanum, ad Rai/mundum de monte Ca/tano in sequentis / libelli uersio/nem pręfa/tio *c* Magistri Leonis tusci prologus ad factam grecorum missam ab eo uerbis Latinis diuulgatam ad quemdam Raynaldum *P*

1 Ramunde *A*, Raynaldus *P* 2 Manuel *A* 3 nil *P* 4 *sup. lin. A* 5 est *P* 6 huiusmodi *P* 7 oderatum iri *c*, odoratum ire *P* 8 feruenti quod *P* 9 tibi uerterem *c* 10 deo datissime *P* 11 aures *P* 12 ueteranus *A* 13 sana *A* 14 loquela *c* 15 perplexam *P*, -m *expuncto* 16 uincentia *c* 17 exursione *P* 18 alpicola *c* 19 palmiferum *P* 20 Chelim *A* 21 sistrum *P* 22 obiecit *P* 23 reuerenti *P* 24 indicium *P*

rei[25] pastoris omittens tarditatem, Olympi cacumen, quod uicinia coruscat[26] astrorum, scandere iam incipiam spectabili uiro satisfaciens loci et temporis commoditate. Deinde uerborum proram ex aduerso uenientem excipiam firmiter et cum diligentia, ut lateribus intelligentię quadratis ęqualiter atque distinctis subtilior[27] tua ratio quod latet perpendat libera estimatione[28].

Incipit institutio diuini ministerii edita a sancto patre nostro Iohanne Chrysostomo, Constantinopolitanę sedis episcopo, et a dicto Leone latinis uocibus diuulgata.

I. ⌈*Ordo propositionis panum secundum Gręcos*[1].

Diaconus igitur accipiens panem, si cum sacerdote missam celebraturus sit, seu et[2] *sacerdos sine diacono, facit in eo cum lanceola crucem dicens*: ⌈In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti[3].

Et incidens cum lanceola signaculum panis in quatuor partes in figuram crucis dicit hęc: Sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est et sicut agnus coram tondente se obmutescet[4], sic non aperiet os suum. In humilitate ⌈eius iudicium[5] sublatum est. Generationem eius quis enarrabit[6]?

Et sic tollit particulam illam, uidelicet signaculum cum sua medulla, et dicit: Quoniam tollitur[7] de terra uita eius. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto[8]. ⌈Sicut erat in principio et[9] nunc et semper ⌈et in sęcula sęculorum, amen[10].

Et ex tunc in inferiori signaculi parte insignit[11] *crucem*[12] *cum lanceola et dicit*: Immolatur agnus ⌈et uerbum dei[13] qui tollit ⌈mundi peccata[14]. *Et ponit eiusmodi partem in disco.*

25 bootiris yperberey *P* 26 corruscant *P* 27 subtiliter *P* 28 extimatione *c*, existimatione *P*

Tit. INSTITUTIO DIVI/NI MINISTERII AEDITA A SAN/CTO PATRE NOSTRO IO/anne Chrysostomo, & à Leo/ne Tusco Latinè / uersa *c*, Incipit misterium diuine eucharistie que edita est a beati patre beato iohanne chrisostomo et a leone tusco uerbis diuulgata latinis *P*, beati *expuncto*.

I. 1 ORDO PANVM PRO/positionis *c*, *om. P* 2 *om. c* 3 In nomine dei et saluatoris nostri ihesu christi qui inmolatus est pro mundi uita et salute *P* 4 omutescet *sic c* 5 iuditium eius *c* 6 enarrabitur *sic A c* 7 tolletur *A* 8 *om. P* 9 *om. A* 10 *om. P* 11 insignat *P* 12 *om. A* 13 *om. P* 14 peccata mundi *c*

Deinde facit commixtionem in calice[15] *mittens uinum et aquam et dicit*: Vnus militum latus eius aperuit[16] et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua. Et qui uidit testimonium perhibuit et[17] uerum est testimonium eius.

Et in dicendo quidem «Exiuit sanguis» infundit uinum[18], *in dicendo uero «Aqua»*[19] *effundit*[20] *aquam. Vbi hęc*[21] *fecerit, diaconus accipiens thuribulum et incensum dicit sacerdoti*: Benedic, domine, incensum[22] istud.

Et dicit sacerdos: Incensum tibi offerimus, Christe deus, in odorem suauitatis spiritualis. Mitte nobis gratiam spiritus sancti nunc et semper ⌈et in sęcula sęculorum[23], amen.

Diacono autem tenente thuribulum, sacerdos explicat super thuribulum sancta corporalia sacro calici superponenda. Quę dum fumi odore imbuuntur, dicit: Dominus regnauit, decorem indutus est. Indutus est dominus fortitudinem et pręcinxit se. Parata sedes tua nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum[24].

Deinde operit calicem et insuper dicit: Operuit cęlos uirtus eius et laudis eius plena est terra ⌈nunc et semper[25] ⌈et in[26] sęcula[27].

Deinde dicit diaconus: In propositione preciosorum donorum dominum deprecemur.

Et dicit sacerdos ⌈orationem hanc[28]: Deus deus noster, qui cęlestem panem alimentum totius mundi, dominum nostrum et deum Ihesum Christum misisti ⌈saluatorem et redemptorem[29] et benefactorem, benedicentem et sanctificantem nos, ipse benedic[30] propositionem hanc et suscipe illam in cęlesti altari tuo. Memor esto ut bonus et clemens illorum qui offerunt ⌈et propter quos offerunt[31], et nos innocentes conserua in sacramento diuinorum[32] mysteriorum tuorum. Quoniam sanctificatum est et glorificatum honorificentissimum et magnificentissimum nomen tuum patris[33] et filii et spiritus sancti nunc et semper ⌈et in sęcula sęculorum, amen[34].

II. *Et benedicti fumo incensi diffuso super sancta munera, proficiscitur ad sanctam mensam diaconus cum sacerdote et tribus uicibus*

15 calicem *P* 16 aperit *P* 17 scimus quia *add. c* 18 et *add. P* 19 aquam *P* 20 infundit *A* 21 hoc *A* 22 ✠ *suprapos. A* 23 &c. *c, om. p.* 24 Amen *add. c, om. P* 25 semper et nunc *A* 26 *om. P* 27 &c. Amen *add. c* 28 hanc orationem *A* 29 redemptorem & saluatorem *c* 30 ✠ *suprapos. A* 31 & propter quos efferunt *c*, et illorum propter quos offerunt *sec. man. in marg. P* 32 *om. A* 33 pa- *iterum scripsit in initio pag. sequentis P* 34 &c. *c*

simul inclinant[1], *et dicit diaconus sacerdoti*: Tempus faciendi domino. Domine, benedic[2].

Et dicit sacerdos remissa uoce: Benedictus deus[3] noster nunc et semper ⌈et in sęcula sęculorum[4], amen.

Et rursus dicit diaconus: Ora pro nobis, domine.

Et sacerdos: Prosperos faciat dominus deus gressus nostros[5] sua gratia nunc ⌈et semper[6] et in sęcula[7], amen[8].

Et rursus diaconus: Memento nostri, domine.

Et sacerdos: Memor nostrum[9] sit dominus deus in regno suo nunc et semper et in sęcula[10], amen[11].

Post hęc diaconus egreditur cancellos[12] *et stans coram sancto altari dicit*: Benedic, domine.

Et dicit in uoce sacerdos[13]: Benedictum regnum patris et filii et spiritus sancti et[14] nunc et semper ⌈et in sęcula sęculorum[15], amen[16].

Tunc dicit diaconus: Pro pace domino supplicemus[17].

Et[18] *clerus et populus*: Kyrieleyson.

Diaconus[19]: Pro[20] superna pace et salute animarum nostrarum dominum[21] deprecemur.

⌈*Clerus et populus*: Kyrieleyson[22].

Diaconus[23]: Pro pace totius mundi et bono statu sanctarum ecclesiarum et omnium concordia dominum rogemus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrieleyson.

Diaconus[24]: Pro sancta domo ista et his qui cum fidei reuerentia et timore dei sunt in ipsa dominum flagitemus.

⌈*Clerus et populus*[25]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[24]: Pro archyepiscopo nostro N. et reuerendo presbytero, Christo ministrantibus, toto clero et populo dominum exoremus.

⌈*Clerus et populus*[27]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[28]: Pro piissimis et cęlitus[29] custoditis imperatoribus nostris, toto palacio et exercitu eorum dominum deprecemur.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

II 1 inclinat *A* 2 ✠ *suprapos. A* 3 dominus *P* 4 &c. *c* 5 uestros *P* 6 *om. c* 7 seculorum *add. P* 8 *om. P* 9 nostri *P* 10 seculorum *add. P* 11 *om. P* 12 *om. P* 13 inicium sancte misse *add. in marg. P* 14 *om. A* 15 &c. *c* 16 *om. P* 17 supplicamus *A* 18 *om. A* 19 *om. c P* 20 *hanc petitionem diaconi om. P* 21 nostrum *add. c* 22 *om. P* 23 *om. c P* 24 *om. c P* 25 *om. P* 26 *om. c P* 27 *om. P* 28 *om. c P* 29 cœlitis *c*

Diaconus[30]: Vt expugnet et subiciat sub pedibus suis omnem[21] inimicum et aduersarium domino supplicemus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[32]: Pro ciuitate ista, omni ciuitate, regione et fidelibus habitantibus in eis dominum exoremus.

⌈*Clerus et populus*[33]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[24]: Pro temperantia aeris, habundantia frugum terrę et pacificis temporibus ⌈dominum flagitemus[35].

⌈*Clerus et populus*[28]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[37]: Pro nauigantibus, iter agentibus, egrotantibus, laborantibus, captiuis eorumque salute domino supplicemus.

⌈*Clerus et populus*[38]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[39]: Vt eruamur ab omni tribulatione, ira, periculo et angustia dominum rogemus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

III. *Dum uero diaconus facit peticiones has, continuatim dicit hanc orationem sacerdos intra se, quę oratio dicitur primę antiphonę*[1]: Domine deus noster, cuius potentia incomparabilis et gloria incomprehensibilis, cuius misericordia inmensa et clementia ineffabilis, ipse domine, per tuam pietatem respice super nos et super sanctam domum istam et fac nobiscum et cum coorantibus[2] nobis diuites misericordias et miserationes tuas.

Et diaconus: Opitulare, salua, miserere et conserua nos, deus[3], tua gratia.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[4]: Sanctissimę[5], intemeratę, superbenedictę[6] reginę nostrę, matris domini et semper uirginis Marię cum omnibus sanctis memoriam celebrando, nosmetipsos et ad inuicem omnem uitam nostram Christo deo commendemus.

Clerus et populus: Tibi domine.

30 *om. c P* 31 & *add. c* 32 *om. c P* 33 *om. P* 34 *om. c P* 35 domino supplicemus *A* 36 *om. P* 37 *om. c P* 38 *om. P* 39 *om. c P*

III. 1 proinestimabilis *add. P* 2 coronantibus *P*, -oron- *expuncto*, coorantibus *uero man. rec. sup. lin. scripto* 3 *om. P* 4 *om. c P* 5 & *add. c* 6 semper benedicte *P*

Sacerdotis[7] *cum uoce pronuntiatio*[8]: Quoniam decet te omnis gloria[9], honor et adoratio patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum.

⌜*Clerus et populus*[10]: Amen.

IV. *Oratio antiphonę secundę*[1]: Domine deus noster, saluum fac populum tuum et benedic hereditati tuę, plenitudinem ęcclesię tuę conserua, sanctifica illos qui diligunt decorem domus tuę et tu da eis gloriam diuina tua potentia et non derelinquas nos sperantes in te.

Post hęc dicunt lectores: Bonum est confiteri domino et psallere nomini tuo, altissime. Intercessionibus dei genitricis, saluator, salua nos.

Ad annuntiandum mane misericordiam tuam et ueritatem tuam per noctem. Intercessionibus dei genitricis, saluator[2], salua nos.

Quoniam rectus dominus deus noster et non est iniquitas in eo. Intercessionibus dei genitricis, ⌜saluator, salua nos[3].

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto et[4] nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum, amen. Interuentibus[5] dei genitricis, saluator, salua nos.

Et rursus diaconus dicit: Iterum et iterum pro pace deum[6] exoremus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrieleyson.

Diaconus[7]: Opitulare, saluum fac, miserere ac conserua nos, deus, tua gratia.

Clerus et populus: Kyrieleyson[8].

Sacerdotis cum uoce pronuntiatio: Quoniam tua est potentia et tuum est[9] regnum et uirtus et[10] gloria patris et filii et spiritus sancti[11].

Clerus et populus: Amen.

Tunc incipiunt lectores dicere: Dominus regnauit, decorem indutus est. Indutus est dominus uirtutem[12] et pręcinxit se. Interpellationibus sanctorum tuorum salua nos, domine.

7 sacerdos *P* 8 pronuntiet *P* 9 & *add. c* 10 *om. P*

IV. 1 secunda *c* 2 *om. P* 3 *om. P* 4 *om. P* 5 Interuentionibus *c*, intercessionibus *P* 6 dominum *P* 7 *om. c P* 8 *hic add. P*: Sanctissime intemerate semper benedicte regine nostre matris domini et semper uirginis marie cum omnibus sanctis memoriam celebrando nosmetipsos et ad inuicem omnem uitam nostram christo deo commendemus. clerus et populus tibi domine 9 *om. P* 10 *om. A* 11 amen *add. P* 12 fortitudinem *c*

Et rursus: Etenim firmauit orbem terrę qui non commouebitur. Interuentibus sanctorum tuorum salua[13] nos, domine.

Et iterum: Testimonia tua[14] credibilia facta sunt nimis. Domum[15] tuam decet sanctitudo, domine[16], in longitudine[17] dierum. Precibus sanctorum tuorum salua nos, domine.

Gloria patri et filio[18] et spiritui sancto ⌈nunc et semper[19] et in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

V. *Oratio antiphonę tercia, quam secum sacerdos dicit*[1], *hęc scilicet*: Deus, qui has communes[2] et consonas nobis largitus es orationes et duobus uel tribus congregatis in nomine tuo dare quę postulant polliceris, ipse nunc seruorum tuorum peticiones ad id quod conferat imple, largiendo nobis in pręsenti sęculo ueritatis agnitionem et in futuro uitam ęternam daturus.

Interim[3] *cantatur a lectoribus*: Vnigenitus filius et uerbum dei, cum sis inmortalis, dignatus es propter nostram salutem carnem sumere[4] de sancta dei genitrice, ⌈semper uirgine[5] Maria, inconuertibiliter[6]. Qui crucem subisti, Christe deus, morte conculcans mortem, unus existens sanctę trinitatis, conglorificatus[7] patri et spiritui sancto, saluos nos fac[8].

Post hęc dicit diaconus: Iterum et iterum pro pace deo[9] supplicemus.

Clerus[10] *et populus*: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[11]: Opitulare, salua, miserere et conserua nos, deus[12], tua gratia.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[13]: Sanctissimę, intemeratę, superbenedictę[14] reginę nostrę, matris domini et[15] semper uirginis Marię cum omnibus sanctis memoriam celebrando, nosmetipsos et ad inuicem omnem uitam nostram Christo deo[16] commendemus.

Clerus et populus: Tibi domine.

13 libera *c* 14 domine *add. P* 15 do *expunctum praem. P* 16 *om. A* 17 longitudinem *c* 18 &c. *add. c omittens reliqua usque ad* seculorum *incl.* 19 *om. P*

V. 1 *om. P* 2 *sup. lin. A* 3 Iterum *P* 4 assumere *c* 5 *om. A* 6 factus homo *in marg. sec. man. add. P* 7 cumglorificatus *P* 8 fao *sic P* 9 domino *P* 10 Et *praem. c* 11 *om. c P* 12 *om. P* 13 *om. c P* 14 semper benedicte *P* 15 *om. c* 16 domino *P*

Exclamat sacerdos: Quoniam benignus et clemens deus existis et tibi gloriam referimus patri et filio et spiritui sancto nunc et semper ⌈et in sęcula sęculorum[17], amen.

VI. *Postmodum uero accipiens diaconus sanctum euangelium egreditur cum sacerdote. Quibus stantibus ante altare, dicunt lectores*[1]: Venite, exultemus domino, iubilemus deo salutari nostro. Saluos nos fac, fili dei.

Et si fuerit ⌈*dominica dies*[2], *dicunt*: Qui resurrexisti a mortuis, tibi concinimus, alleluia.

⌈*Et rursus*[3]: Pręoccupemus faciem eius in confessione et in psalmis iubilemus ei. Saluos ⌈nos fac[4], fili dei, qui ⌈resurrexisti a mortuis *et cętera*[5].

⌈*Et rursus*[6]: Quoniam deus magnus dominus et rex magnus super ⌈omnem terram[7]. Saluos nos fac, fili dei, qui ⌈resurrexisti a mortuis *et quę secuntur*[8].

Deinde: Quia in manu eius sunt omnes[9] fines terrę et altitudines montium ipsius sunt. Saluos ⌈nos fac[10], fili dei.

⌈*Et iterum*[11]: Quoniam ipsius est mare et ipse fecit illud et aridam ⌈manus eius fundauerunt[12]. Saluos nos fac, fili dei[13].

Dum hęc cantantur a lectoribus, inclinat[14] *se diaconus a dextris* ⌈*stans sacerdotis*[15] *et dicit remissa uoce*: Dominum rogemus.

Et dicit sacerdos secum orationem introitus. Oratio introitus: Dominator domine deus noster, qui ordines et exercitus angelorum in cęlis constituisti archangelorumque in tuę glorię administrationem, fac cum ingressu nostro angelorum[16] accessum fieri, qui ⌈nobiscum ministrando[17] tuam bonitatem[18] conglorificent. Quoniam decet te omnis gloria[19], honor et magnificentia patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum.

Hac oratione completa, dicit diaconus sacerdoti: Benedic, domine, introitum.

Et dicit presbyter[20]: Benedictus introitus sanctorum tuorum, deus noster[21], nunc et semper ⌈et in[22] sęcula sęculorum.

17 &c. *c*

VI. 1 psalmus *add. P* 2 dies dominica *A* 3 psalmus *P* 4 fac nos *P* 5 *om. P* 6 *om. P* 7 omnes deos *A* 8 et cetera *P* 9 *om. c* 10 fac nos *P* 11 *om. P* 12 fundauerunt manus eius *P* 13 et cetera *add. P* 14 inclinante *P* 15 altaris stans *A* 16 sanctorum *praem. P* 17 nobis comministrando *A* 18 benignitatem *P* 19 et *add. P* 20 sacerdos *P* 21 & *add. c* 22 *om. P*

Et dicit diaconus post introitum: Sophya. Stantes sint pedes nostri[23].

Et lectores: Venite, adoremus et procidamus Christo. Saluos nos fac, fili dei, qui ⌜resurrexisti a mortuis[24].

VII. *Et ⌜ante ingreditur diaconus*[1] *cum euangelio et presbyter*[2] *retro sequitur. Vbi ingressus fuerit diaconus, sanctum euangelium deponit super sacrum*[3] *altare, quod sacerdos deosculatur. Quo stante iuxta ianuas cancellorum, dicunt lectores absolutorium, quod gręce dicitur apolytikyon*[4], *singulis diebus singula et dominico*[5] *quidem die hoc*[6]: Lapide signato a Iudęis militibusque custodientibus inmaculatum corpus[7], surrexisti tercia die saluator tribuens mundo uitam. Ideo uirtutes cęlorum clamabant ad te, uitę dator: Gloria resurrectioni[8] tuę, Christe[9], gloria regno tuo, gloria dispensationi tuę, o sole clemens.

Deinde in honorem[10] *dei genitricis*: Gabriel[11] dicente tibi uirgo «Ave», cum uoce incarnatus est omnium dominus[12] in te sacrosancta archa, ut dixit iustus Dauid; ostensa es latior cęlis, quę[13] tuum creatorem portasti. Gloria ei qui habitauit in te, ⌜gloria ei qui exiuit de te[14], gloria ei qui per tuum partum nos liberauit.

Secunda uero feria: Cęlestis militię princeps Michahel, rogamus te nunc indigni ut tuis intercessionibus munias nos, umbra alarum[15] ⌜tuę inmateriatę naturę[16] custodiens[17] nos. Procidimus et sine intermissione ad te clamamus: a periculis ⌜erue nos[18] ut uirtutum princeps cęlestium.

⌜*Sed in tercia feria*[19]: ⌜Iusti cum laude memoria[20]. Tibi autem sat[21] erit testimonium domini, pręcursor. Vere enim monstratus[22] es prophetis uenerabilior, quoniam et in fluentis[23] baptizare illum, qui prędicatus es[24], dignus ⌜inuentus es[25]. Vnde pro ueritate decertans exultando annuntiasti his qui in inferno[26] erant deum manifestatum in carne, qui tollit peccata mundi nobisque suam magnam largitur misericordiam.

23 uestri *P* 24 de uirgine natus es canentes tibi alleluia *sec. man. in marg. P*

VII. 1 ingreditur diaconus *A*, ingreditur diaconus ante *P* 2 sacerdos *A* 3 *om. P* 4 apolytyrion *sic P* 5 -co *sup. lin. A*, dominica *c* 6 hec *P*, *om. c* 7 tuum *add. P* 8 resurrectionis *A c* 9 *om. P* 10 honore *P* 11 Gabriele *P* 12 deus *P* 13 qui *sic c* 14 *om. A* 15 tuarum *add. P* 16 immateriatae naturae tuae *c*, inmateriate nature *P* 17 custodi *P* 18 nos erue *A* 19 in tercia in honorem sancti iohannis *P* 20 *verba haec titulo adscripta sunt in A c* 21 sic *P* 22 mostratus *P* 23 fluentibus *P* 24 est *c*; *legeris* quem prędicatus es 25 es inuentus A, es *sup. lin. scripto* 26 in- *om. P in initio lineae*

Rursus et[27] *in laudem*[28] *sanctę matris dei*[29]: Omnia exsuperant sensum, omnia sunt gloriosa in te, dei genitrix, mysteria castitate signata et[30] uirginitate custodita; mater cognita es sine fallacia, quę uerum[31] peperisti deum[32]; ipsi supplica ut animas nostras saluet.

At uero quarta feria: Saluum fac, domine, populum tuum et benedic hereditati tuę, qui uictorias[33] regibus[34] contra barbaros concedis et per crucem tuam ciues tuos custodis.

Iterum in laudem[35] *dei genitricis*: Tuam[36] opitulationem adepti, intemerata, et tuis intercessionibus a malis eruti et per crucem filii tui omnino protecti sub [37] ex debito pie te magnificamus.

Quinta autem feria dicunt[38]: Apostoli sancti, legatione fungimini apud misericordem deum ut peccatorum remissionem animabus nostris tribuat.

In laudem[39] *uero sancti Nykolai*: Regulam fidei, mansuetudinis imaginem, continentię magistrum monstrauit te tuo gregi rerum ueritas. Ideo ⌜nactus es[40] in humilitate sublimia, in paupertate quę sunt opulenta. Pater Nykolae, fungere legatione apud ⌜Christum deum[41] ut animę nostrę salutem consequantur.

In laudem[42] *uero uirginis*: Quoniam omnibus facturis pręstantior existis[43], collaudare te digne non ualentes, dei genitrix, gratis flagitamus te, miserere nostri.

Sexta autem feria dicunt[44]: Apostoli, martyres et prophetę, sacerdotes, confessores et iusti[45], qui bene certamen consummastis et fidem seruastis, fiduciam seruantes ad saluatorem, pro nobis ipsis orate saluari animas nostras.

Et pro dormientibus in Christo: Memento, domine, ut bonus seruorum tuorum et quęcumque[46] in uita deliquerunt ignosce. Nemo enim sine peccato nisi tu, domine, qui potes migrantibus dare quietem.

Amplius autem et in laudem uirginis: Mater sancta ineffabilis luminis, angelicis te ymnis honorantes magnificamus.

Sabbato uero: Quando descendisti ad mortem, uita inmortalis, tunc infernum notificasti[47] coruscatione[48] diuinitatis. Cum uero mor-

27 *om. P* 28 laude *P* 29 domini *P* 30 *om. c* 31 uere *c* 32 Dominum *c* 33 uictoriam *P* 34 *om. A* 35 laude *P* 36 Qui *praem. P* 37 *om. P* 38 *om. P* 39 laude *cP* 40 natus est *P* 41 Dominum Christum *c* 42 laude *P* 43 excisistis *P*, -cis- *expuncto* 44 de omnibus sanctis *add. P* 45 cum mulieribus sanctis *sec. man. in marg. add. P* 46 quidquid *A* 47 mortificasti *P* 48 corruscationem *P*, -m *expuncto*

tuos ab inferis excitasti, omnes uirtutes cęlorum tibi[49] acclamabant, uitę dator, Christe deus, gloria tibi[50].

Et in laudem ⌜*gloriosę uirginis*[51] *dicunt*: Mysterium a diebus ęternitatis tacitum et angelis ignotum per te, dei genitrix, his qui in terra sunt manifestum factum est. Deus ⌜unione inconfusa[52] incarnatus crucem ⌜sponte pro nobis[53] subiit, per quam resuscitauit prothoplastum et a morte animas nostras saluauit.

In die quoque Natiuitatis dicunt huiusmodi absolutorium[54]: Natiuitas tua, Christe deus noster, oriri fecit mundo lucem[55] cognitionis. In ipsa enim syderibus obsequentes a stella edocebantur te adorare solem iusticię et te ex alto orientem cognoscere, domine, tibi gloria.

Pręterea canunt quoddam[56], *quod cum gręce dicatur contakyon*[57], *latine abbreuiatum dici potest, ueluti*[58]: Virgo supersubstantialem[59] hodie parit et terra speluncam inaccessibili exhibet, angeli cum pastoribus glorificant et magi stella duce iter agunt: nam propter nos natus est puer qui est ante sęcula deus.

In festo Epyphaniorum hoc utuntur absolutorio[60]: In Iordane te baptizato, domine, trinitatis apparuit adoratio: nam patris uox tibi attestabatur dilectum te filium nominando et spiritus in specie columbę rei ueritatem confirmabat. Qui[61] apparuisti, Christe deus, et mundum illuminasti, gloria tibi.

Sequitur contakyon[62]: Illuxisti hodie orbi et lumen tuum, domine, super nos signatum est in agnitione laudantes te, uenisti, illuxisti, lux inacessibilis.

Festum uero magnorum[63] *apostolorum Petri et Pauli huiusmodi decorant fine*[64]: Qui primas inter apostolos habetis sedes orbisque didascali, apud omnium dominum legatione fungimini ut pax mundo donetur et animabus nostris magna misericordia.

Et attendendum[65] *quod his eisdem absolutoriis*[66] *uespertinis horis utuntur. Sunt quoque et alia plura huiusmodi apud Gręcos, quibus utuntur in aliis festiuitatibus, quorum translatio necessaria mihi uisa*[67] *non est.*

VIII. *His ita peractis, signum dat diaconus cum orarii sui stola lectoribus, qui mox psallere incipiunt*:

49 *om. P* 50 &c. *add. c* 51 uirginis marie *P* 52 inconfusa unione *P* 53 pro nobis sponte *c* 54 absolytorium *P*, u *sup.* -y- *scripto* 55 lumen *A* 56 quiddam *A*, quidam *P* 57 contation *P* 58 *om. P* 59 semper substantialem *P* 60 absolitorio *P* 61 quia *A* 62 condakyon *P* 63 sanctorum *P* 64 finem *P* 65 est *add. A* 66 absolitoriis *P* 67 *om. P*

Sanctus deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et[1] inmortalis, miserere nobis.

⌈*Et dicunt tribus uicibus*[2]. *Deinde*[3]: Sanctus inmortalis, miserere nobis. Sanctus deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et[4] inmortalis, miserere nobis.

Dum hęc decantantur, dicit sacerdos orationem hanc sedatissima uoce: Deus sanctus[5], qui in sanctis quiescis et trisagia uoce a seraphyn laudaris et a cherubin glorificaris[6] et ab omni cęlesti uirtute adoraris, qui de non esse ad esse duxisti omnia et creasti hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam et multa gratia insignisti, qui das petenti sapientiam et intellectum, qui non despicis peccantem sed ponis in salute pęnitentiam, qui dignatus es nos humiles et indignos seruos tuos in hac hora stare in conspectu glorię sancti altaris tui et debitum tibi obsequium et glorificationem offerre, tu, domine, suscipe ex ore nostro qui in te peccauimus trisagium ymnum et uisita nos in bonitate tua, remitte nobis omnem noxam inuitam et uoluntariam, sanctifica cum corporibus et animas nostras et da nobis in sanctitate seruire tibi omnibus diebus uitę nostrę, intercessionibus sanctę[7] reginę nostrę matris dei et omnium sanctorum qui a sęculo tibi[8] placuerunt. Quoniam sanctus es, deus noster, et tibi gloriam reddimus patri et filio et spiritui sancto nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum, amen[9].

IX. *His dictis, dicit diaconus*: Attenti simus.

Sacerdos: Pax omnibus[1].

Clerus et populus: Et cum spiritu tuo.

Diaconus: Sophya.

Tunc lector cantat « *Psalmus*[2] *Dauid* ».

Diaconus iterum: Attenti simus.

Deinde sequitur prokymenon, quod latine uidetur sonare uaticinium prophetę de Christo, et dominicis quidem diebus: Dominus regnauit, decorem indutus est. Indutus est dominus fortitudinem et pręcinxit se.

In secundis feriis: Dominus exaudiet me cum clamauero ad eum. Cum[3] inuocarem te[4], exaudisti me, deus.

VIII. 1 *om. P* 2 *verba haec et sequentia usque ad sec.* misere nobis *om. c* 3 *hic add. P*: Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum amen 4 *om. P* 5 *om. c* 6 gl(ori)ariaficaris *P, secundo* -a- *expuncto* 7 *om. P* 8 *sup. lin. A* 9 *om. P*

IX. 1 uobis *P* 2 Psalmum *A* 3 psalmus *praem. P* 4 *om. P*

Terciis feriis[5]: Misericordia tua, domine, sequatur[6] me omnibus diebus uitę meę. Dominus[7] regit me et nichil mihi deerit.

In sequentibus[8] *uero feriis.* ⌈*Quarta feria hoc dicunt*[9]: Deus[10], in nomine tuo saluum me fac et in uirtute tua iudica me. Deus, exaudi orationem meam.

Die Iouis[11]: Auxilium meum a domino qui fecit cęlum et terram. Leuaui[12] oculos meos ⌈in montes[13].

In Parasceue: Deus susceptor meus es, misericordia tua pręueniat me. Erue[14] me de inimicis meis, deus meus.

Sabbato, quod ⌈*diei dominicę destinatum est*[15]. *Quę omnia sub dulce melos efferunt.*

Expleto hoc, dicit ⌈*rursus diaconus*[16]: Sophya.

Et lector dicit inscriptionem[17] *apostoli.*

Et diaconus rursus[18]: ⌈Attenti simus[19].

Expleta epistola, cantatur Alleluia.

Deinde dicit diaconus ad sacerdotem: Domine, benedic euangelistam[20].

Ad quem sacerdos: Deus per intercessionem sancti[21] euangelistę ⌈quem lecturus es[22] det uerbum tibi[23] euangelizanti uirtute multa, rex uirtutum dilecti semper et[24] nunc et in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

Tunc uadit et cum inclinauerit sancto altari atque ipsum deosculatus fuerit, accepto euangelio egreditur et stat in pulpito.

Et Alleluia pręcantato, dicit sacerdos: Sophya. Stantes audiamus sanctum euangelium.

Post quem archydiaconus: Attenti simus.

Et statim diaconus incipit et dicit: Secundum Lucam sancti euangelii lectio[25], *uel* Secundum Iohannem, *et sic de*[26] *cęteris.*

Et omnes respondent: Gloria tibi, domine.

Finito euangelio, regreditur ad altare diaconus osculanturque in manibus diaconi sacerdotes sanctum euangelium.

5 psalmus *add. P* 6 subsequatur *P* 7 psalmus *praem. P* 8 quartis *P* 9 *om. P* 10 psalmus *praem. P* 11 psalmus *add. P* 12 psalmus *praem. P* 13 ad montem unde ueniet auxilium mihi *P* 14 psalmus *praem. P* 15 est diei dominicę destinatum *A*, die dominice destinatum est *sic P* 16 diaconus rursus *P* 17 inscriptione *P* 18 rursum *c* 19 atrentissimus *sic P* 20 euangelium *P* 21 apostoli et *add. P* 22 *om. P* 23 tidi *sic c* 24 *om. P* 25 &c. *add. c* 26 Dei *sic c*

X. *Quo facto*[1], *librum*[2] *seorsum deponit* ⌜*exitque cancellos*[3] *et stans ante sanctum altare pronuntiat*[4]: Dicamus[5] omnes.

⌜*Clerus et populus*[6]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[7]: Ex tota anima et ex tota mente.

⌜*Clerus et populus*[8]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[9]: Domine deus omnipotens, deus patrum nostrorum, rogamus te, audi nos et miserere nostri.

⌜*Clerus et populus*[10]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[11]: Pro sancta domo ista et pro his qui cum fidei reuerentia et timore dei ingrediuntur in eam deum[12] exoremus.

⌜*Clerus et populus*[13]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[14]: Vt eruamur ab omni tribulatione, ira et necessitate dominum deprecemur.

⌜*Clerus et populus*[15]: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[16]: Miserere nostri[17], deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, te rogamus[18], exaudi nos[19].

Dum hęc dicuntur, sacerdos ⌜*orationem hanc*[20] *dicit*: Domine deus noster, continuam hanc supplicationem[21] suscipe a seruis tuis et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum miserere nobis et miserationes tuas mitte super nos et super omnem populum tuum, qui expectat tuam diuitem misericordiam.

Diaconus[22]: Pro piissimis et diuinitus custoditis imperatoribus nostris exoremus omnes ut ⌜deus et dominus[23] det eis uictoriam, perseuerantiam, pacem, sanitatem atque salutem et in amplitudinem cooperetur eis et omnia prospera faciat[24] et omnem inimicum et aduersarium sub pedibus eorum[25] subiciat.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Et signat presbyter[26] *populum tercio et populus dicit « Kyrie eleyson » ter*[27].

Post[28] *hęc pronuntiat sacerdos cum uoce*: Quoniam misericors et clemens deus existis et tibi gloriam reddimus patri et filio et spiritui sancto nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

X. 1 finito *P* 2 libro *sic c* 3 *om. P* 4 diaconus *add. P* 5 sapientia recta *praem. P* 6 *om. c* 7 *om. c P* 8 *om. c P* 9 *om. c P* 10 *om. c P* 11 *om. c P* 12 dominum *P* 13 *om. c P* 14 *om. c P* 15 *om. P* 16 *om. c P* 17 *om. A* 18 rogemus *P* 19 Kyrie eleison *add. c* 20 hanc, orationem *c* 21 susplicationem *A* 22 pronuntiat *add. P, om. c* 23 dominus deus *P* 24 faciet *sic c* 25 eius *c* 26 *in marg. A* 27 *om. c P* 28 Tunc *praem. c*

XI. *Rursus*[1] *diaconus*: Orate catechumini.

Et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[2]: Qui fideles sumus, pro cathecuminis deprecemur ut dominus eorum misereatur.

Instruat eos uerbum ueritatis.

Reuelet eis euangelium iusticię.

Associet eos sanctę suę katholicę et apostolicę ęcclesię.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[3]: Salua, miserere ac custodi nos, deus, tua gratia.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[4]: Catechumini, capita ⌈nostra inclinemus[5] deo.

Clerus et populus: ⌈Tibi domine[6].

Oratio pro cathecuminis coram sancta oblatione sancti Iohannis Crisostomi: Domine deus noster, qui in altis habitas et humilia respicis, qui salutem humano generi filium tuum, deum ⌈et dominum[7] nostrum Ihesum Christum misisti, respice super seruos tuos cathecuminos inclinantes tibi ⌈ceruicem suam[8] et fac eos dignos in oportuno tempore lauacro regenerationis et remissione peccatorum[9] et indumento incorruptionis. Associa eos sanctę, catholicę ⌈et apostolicę[10] ęcclesię et connumera[11] eos electo gregi tuo. *Exclamat sacerdos*: Vt[12] ipsi nobiscum[13] glorificent honorificentissimum ⌈et magnificentissimum[14] nomen tuum patris et filii et spiritus sancti nunc ⌈et semper et in sęcula sęculorum, amen[15].

Hac expleta, dicit diaconus qui facit postulationes: Quicumque cathecumini recedite, *tribus uicibus*.

Deinde extra cancellos dicit: Nullus cathecuminorum sed soli fideles remaneant.

Iterum et iterum pro pace deum[16] exoremus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[17]: Opitulare, salua, miserere ac conserua nos, deus, tua gratia.

⌈*Clerus et populus*: Kyrie eleyson[18].

XI. 1 rursum *A* 2 *om. c P* 3 *om. c P* 4 *om. c P* 5 uestra inchinetis *P* 6 kyrieleison *P* 7 *om. P* 8 ceruices suas *A* 9 is *delendum add. P* 10 *om. P* 11 communera *sic c* 12 & *add. c* 13 *in marg. A* 14 *om. P* 15 et cetera *P* 16 dominum *P* 17 *om. c P* 18 *om. A*

XII. *Vbi uero hęc dicta*[1] *fuerint*[2], *diaconi explicant corporale et sacerdos hanc dicit orationem ⌈quę dicitur fidelium prima post explicationem*[3] *corporalis*: Gratias ⌈agimus tibi[4], domine deus uirtutum, qui dignatus es nos nunc assistere tuo sancto altari ac procidere miserationibus tuis pro nostris peccatis et populi ignorantiis. Suscipe, domine deus, supplicationem nostram, fac nos dignos offerendo tibi preces et hostiam incruentam pro uniuerso populo tuo et pręsta nobis copiam, quos posuisti in administratione[5] hac in uirtute tui sancti spiritus, ut inreprehensibiliter[6] et sine offensa, puro conscientię nostrę testimonio, inuocemus te in[7] omni tempore et loco, quatenus exaudiens nos propicius sis nobis in multitudine tuę bonitatis. *Et tunc pronunciat cum uoce sacerdos*: Quoniam te decet omnis gloria, honor et adoratio patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

XIII. *Postquam dictum fuerit « Te*[1] *decet », dicit sacerdos hanc orationem, quę dicitur fidelium secunda*: Rursus et multociens tibi procidimus et te rogamus, qui es bonus et misericors, ut respiciens[2] orationem nostram[3] emundes[4] animas nostras et corpora ab omni contagio carnis et spiritus et des nobis absque noxa et sine condempnatione assistere sancto altari tuo. Concede quoque, deus, et his qui nobiscum orant uitę ac fidei processum cum spirituali intellectu, da eis semper cum timore ac dilectione cultum exhibentibus tibi innocenter et indempniter participare tui sancti mysterii et dignos fieri tuo cęlesti regno. *Eleuatio uocis*: Vt sub potentia tua custoditi semper tibi gloriam referamus patri et filio ⌈et spiritui sancto[5], amen.

XIV. *Dum oratio fit pro cathecuminis, itur ad propositos panes, quos*[1] *deferunt*[2] *ad sanctum altare, pręeunte archydiacono cum thuribulo et sancto peplo*[3], *quem secuntur diaconi discos cum panibus*[4] *sanctis portantes, primus qui dixit euangelium, secundus qui fecit orationem sine intermissione, tercius qui postulauit pro cathecuminis, et ex ordine reliqui portantes sanctos*[5] *calices. Hii autem omnes hunc ymnum concinunt*:

XII. 1 *sup. lin. A* 2 sunt *P* 3 *om. P* 4 tibi agimus *c* 5 admiratione *A* 6 inreprehensibiles *P* 7 o *expunctum praem. P*
XIII. 1 quoniam *praem. P* 2 respicies *P* 3 meam *A* 4 et mundes *P* 5 &c. *c*
XIV. 1 quoque *P* 2 referunt *P* 3 pleplo *P, primo* -l- *expuncto, sec. uero sup. lin. scripto* 4 patribus *sic c* 5 *om. P*

Qui cherubym mystice imaginamur et uiuificę trinitati ⌈ter sanctum[6] ymnum canimus, omnem sęcularem sollicitudinem abiciamus ut regem omnium suscepturi angelicis inuisibiliter stipatum agminibus, alleluia.

Cumque[7] *uentum est ad sanctas ianuas cancellorum, ingreditur archydiaconus et dato incenso sancto altari,* ⌈*dat et*[8] *sacerdotibus per ordinem. Et depositis sanctis panibus super sacram mensam in crucis figuram, expanso desuper peplo et astantibus in circuitu sacerdotibus, dicit archypresbyter*: Orate pro me, sacerdotes sancti.

Qui respondent: Spiritus sanctus[9] superueniat[10] in te et uirtus altissimi obumbret tibi.

Et rursus[11] *illi dicunt ad eum*: Memento nostri, domine.

Et ipse respondet: Memor sit nostri[12] dominus deus in regno suo.

Tunc secedunt ⌈*et stantes*[13] *pro ianuis cancellorum a dextris et a sinistris, unusquisque dicit orationes mysteriorum in silentio intuentes*[14] *ad sanctam mensam.*

Oratio[15] *quam facit pro se sacerdos, dum cherubicus*[16] *ymnus*[17] *a populo decantatur, secreta*[18]: Nullus[19] carnalibus concupiscentiis et desideriis irretitus dignus est accedere aut appropinquare[20] seu ministrare tibi, rex glorię. Nam ministrare tibi magnum et formidabile et ipsis cęlestibus inaccessibile uirtutibus. Verumtamen[21] propter infinitam clementiam tuam inconuertibiliter et inalterabiliter homo factus es et pontifex noster extitisti et mysterii huius ac incruentę hostię sacramentum nobis tradidisti ut omnium deus[22]. Tu enim dominaris cęlestium et terrestrium, qui super cherubicum[23] thronum sedes, seraphym dominus et rex Israel, qui solus sanctus es et in sanctis requiescis. Te deprecor, qui solus bonus es et facilis ad exorandum, respice super me peccatorem et inutilem seruum tuum[24] et sancti tui spiritus uirtute fac me dignum, ut sacerdotii gratia indutum, assistere sanctę huic tuę mensę ac consecrare sanctum corpus tuum et preciosum sanguinem. Tibi enim ceruicem meam inclino teque precor, ne auertas faciem tuam a me nec reprobes me a pueris tuis, sed concede a me peccatore et indigno famulo tuo offerri[25] tibi hęc sacramenta. Tu enim

6 tibi, sanctum *c*, trisagium *P* 7 et cum *P* 8 et dat etiam *P* 9 *om. c* 10 superueniet *P* 11 rursum *A* 12 uestri A 13 astantes *P* 14 introeuntes *P* 15 Secreta *praem. c* 16 cherubim *P* 17 yhm *cancellatum praem. P* 18 *om. c P* 19 Nullis *c* 20 propinquare *A* 21 uerum tu *c* 22 dominus *c* 23 cherubim cum *sic P* 24 *hic add. P*: et munda animam meam et cor a mala conscientia 25 *post corr. ex* offeŕre *P*

es offerens et oblatus, suscipiens et distributus, Christe deus noster, et tibi gloriam referimus cum anarcho patre et sanctissimo et bono et uiuifico spiritu tuo nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

XV. *Quo peracto, dicit diaconus, stantibus singulis presbyteris in locis suis*: Impleamus orationem nostram deo.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[1]: Pro appositis preciosis donis[2] dominum deprecemur.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[3]: Pro sancta domo hac et pro his qui cum pia fide ingrediuntur eam dominum rogemus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[4]: Vt eruamur[5] ab omni[6] tribulatione, ira, periculo et angustia dominum exoremus.

Opitulare, salua, miserere et[7] conserua nos, deus, tua gratia.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[8]: Diem totam perfectam, sanctam, pacificam et sine peccato a domino deposcamus.

Clerus et populus: ⌜Pręsta domine[9].

Diaconus[10]: Angelum[11] pacis, fidelem ductorem[12], custodem animarum et corporum nostrorum a domino petamus.

Clerus et populus: ⌜Pręsta domine[13].

Diaconus[14]: Veniam et[15] remissionem peccatorum et delictorum nostrorum a domino petamus.

Clerus et populus: ⌜Concede domine[16].

Diaconus[17]: Bona et conferentia animabus nostris et pacem mundo a domino petamus.

Clerus et populus: ⌜Concede domine[18].

Diaconus[19]: Vt reliquum tempus uitę nostrę in pace et sanitate expleatur a domino deposcamus.

Clerus et populus: ⌜Pręsta domine[20].

Diaconus[21]: Bonum finem uitę nostrę, inlamentabilem, inconfusum[22] et bonam responsionem ante formidolosum[33] tribunal a domino petamus.

XV. 1 *om. c P* 2 *om. A* 3 *om. c P* 4 *om. c P* 5 nos *add. P* 6 omnium *c* 7 ac *A* 8 *om. c P* 9 kyrieleison *P* 10 *om. c P* 11 Presta domine *praem. P* 12 -torem *in marg. A* 13 *om. P* 14 *om. c P* 15 *sup. lin. A* 16 kyrieleison *P* 17 *om. c P* 18 kyrieleison *P* 19 *om. c P* 20 *om. P* 21 *om. c P* 22 et confusum *P* 23 formidosum *P*

⌜*Clerus et populus*: Concede domine[24]

Diaconus[25]: Sanctissimę, intemeratę, superbenedictę[26] reginę nostrę, matris domini et ⌜semper uirginis Marię[27] cum omnibus sanctis memoriam celebrantes, nosmetipsos et ad inuicem omnem uitam nostram Christo deo commendemus.

Clerus et populus: Tibi domine.

Oratio post sacramentorum oblationem depositionemque in sancto altari: Domine deus omnipotens, solus sanctus, qui suscipis hostiam laudis ab his qui te[28] inuocant in toto corde, suscipe preces nostras ⌜et offer[29] sancto altari tuo et fac nos dignos offerre tibi dona et sacrificium spirituale pro nostris peccatis atque[30] ignorantiis populi et pręsta ut inueniamus gratiam in conspectu tuo, ut fiat acceptabile sacrificium nostrum et inhabitet spiritus gratię tuę bonus super nos et super hęc[31] apposita sacramenta et super omnem[32] populum tuum[33].

Exclamatio[34]: Per miserationem unigeniti filii tui cum quo benedictus es cum sancto et benefico et uiuifico spiritu tuo[35] nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum[36].

Clerus et populus: Amen.

XVI. *Sacerdos*: Pax omnibus.

Clerus et populus: Et cum spiritu tuo.

Diaconus: Diligamus ad inuicem.

Et sacerdos deosculatur sanctum altare et reliqui similiter accedentes deosculantur ⌜sanctam mensam[1] et[2] sacerdotem[3] et diaconi osculantur se inuicem.

Et post datum pacis osculum innuit archydiaconus extra stanti diacono ut introitus cancellorum ianuas claudat, et dicit[4]: Attenti simus[5].

Et clerus et populus dicunt[6]: Credo in unum deum, patrem omnipotentem.

Quo completo, dicit diaconus: Stemus honeste, stemus cum timore[7], intentionem pręstemus diuinis mysteriis et in pace offeramus.

24 Clerus, Concede domine *c, om. P* 25 *om. c P* 26 superbenictae *sic c*, semper benedicte *P* 27 *verba haec et sequentia usque ad* commendemus *incl. om. P* 28 *sup. lin. A* 29 *om. A* 30 et *A* 31 *om. A* 32 *sup. lin. A* 33 *om. P* 34 uocis *add. P* 35 sancto *A* 36 amen *add. P*

XVI. 1 sanctum altare *P* 2 *bis scripsit P* 3 sacerdos *P* 4 ianuas ianuas in sapientia *in marg. sup. add. P* 5 sumus *P* 6 *om. P* 7 -ore *inf. lin. A*

Clerus et populus: Misericordiam pacis, sacrificium laudis.

Quo dicto, sacerdos qui solus assistit[8] *diuinę mensę et qui*[9] *secus*[10] *illam diaconi contingentes uenerabile peplum subleuant sedatissima uoce dicentes*: Sanctus deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et[11] inmortalis, miserere nobis.

⌈*Et omnino tollunt*[12].

XVII. *Post hęc* ⌈*cum uoce sacerdos*[1] *pronuntiat*: Gratia domini nostri[2] Ihesu Christi et caritas dei patris et communicatio sancti spiritus sit cum omnibus nobis.

Clerus et populus: ⌈Et cum spiritu tuo[3].

Sacerdos: Sursum corda.

Clerus et populus: Habemus ad dominum.

Sacerdos: Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.

Clerus et populus: Dignum et iustum est.

Sacerdos pronus[4] *orat*: Vere dignum[5] et iustum est ⌈te laudare[6], te benedicere, tibi gratias agere, te adorare in omni loco dominationis tuę. Tu enim es deus ineffabilis, ignotus[7], inuisibilis, incomprehensibilis, semper ens[8], similiter existens, tu et unigenitus filius[9] tuus[10], spiritus sanctus. Tu ⌈de non esse[11] ad esse produxisti nos et lapsos erexisti rursus[12] et non destitisti omnia faciens, quoad[13] in cęlum reduxisti nos et regnum futurum donasti. Pro his omnibus gratias agimus tibi et unigenito filio tuo et spiritui sancto, pro quibus scimus et pro quibus nescimus, beneficiis manifestis et non manifestis[14]. Gratias quoque agimus tibi et pro sacramento isto quod ex manibus nostris suscipere dignaris[15], quamuis tibi assistant archangelorum et angelorum milia milium, cherubym quoque et[16] seraphym agmina sex alas habentium et multos oculos et eleuatorum et pennatorum. *Hic exaltat uocem*: Cantantium[17], clamantium et sine fine[18] ymnum pro[19] uictoria dicentium.

Clerus et populus: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.

8 assisti *sic P* 9 *om. P* 10 secum *A* 11 *om. P* 12 *om. A*

XVII. 1 sacerdos cum uoce *P* 2 *om. A* 3 *om. P* 4 protinus *A* 5 diguum *sic c* 6 *om. P* 7 & *add. c* 8 es *P* 9 *om. A* 10 et *add. A* 11 non de esse *A* 12 rursum *P* 13 usquequo *P* 14 manifestetis (*sic*) que nobis facta sunt *P* 15 digneris *P* 16 ac *c* 17 & *add. c* 18 hii *delendum add. P* 19 prę *A*.

XVIII. *His ita pronuntiatis, dicunt subdiaconi*: Quicumque estis fideles, orate.

Sacerdos rursus orat: Cum his et nos beatarum[1] uirtutum agminibus, clemens dominator, clamamus et dicimus: Sanctus es et sanctissimus et[2] unigenitus filius tuus cum sancto spiritu, et magnificentissima gloria tua, ⌈qui adeo[3] mundum dilexisti ut filium tuum unigenitum dares, ut omnis qui credit in illum non pereat sed habeat uitam ęternam. Qui ueniens, completo omni pro nobis mysterio, nocte qua tradebaris[4], magis autem ⌈tradebas te[5] ipsum pro mundi uita, panem accipiens cum sanctis tuis[6] et inmaculatis et impollutis manibus, cum gratias egisses[7], benedixisti[8] sanctificans et frangens[9], sanctis tuis[10] discipulis et apostolis tribuisti[11] dicens.

Exaltat uocem: Accipite et comedite, hoc est[12] corpus meum quod pro uobis tradetur in remissionem peccatorum.

Clerus et populus: Amen.

Sacerdos: Similiter autem et calicem postquam cenauit dicens.

Exaltat uocem: Bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est[13] ⌈sanguis meus[14] noui testamenti qui pro uobis[15] et pluribus effundetur[16] in remissionem[17] peccatorum.

Clerus et populus: Amen[18].

Sacerdos pronus: Memores igitur salutaris huius mandati et omnium eorum quę pro nobis facta sunt, crucis, sepulchri[19], resurrectionis triduanę, ad cęlos ascensionis, sessionis ad dexteram, secundi et gloriosi rursus aduentus.

Eleuatio uocis: Tua ex tuis tibi offerentes per omnia et[20] in omnibus.

Clerus et populus: Te laudamus, te benedicimus, tibi agimus gratias, ⌈domine, et exoramus te[21], deus noster.

Sacerdos: Adhuc[22] offerimus tibi rationabile ac incruentum hoc obsequium et precamur[23] et supplicamus et deposcimus[24] ut mittas spiritum ⌈sanctum tuum[25] super nos et super hęc apposita munera.

XVIII. 1 beatorum *P* 2 est *c*, tu et *P* 3 quando *P* 4 tradebatur *P* 5 tradebat se *P* 6 suis *P* 7 egisset *P* 8 benedixit *P* 9 fragens *P* 10 suis *P* 11 tribuit *P* 12 enim *add. A* 13 *om. c*, enim *add. P* 14 meus sanguis *c* 15 nobis *c* 16 effunditur *c* 17 remissione *P* 18 *om. P* 19 Sepulturae *c* 20 *om. P* 21 et exoramus te domine *A* 22 ad hoc *A* 23 precamus *P*, -s *expuncto et sup. lin. correcto* 24 *post corr. e* deposcamus *P* 25 tuum sanctum *c*

Et erigens se et tercio consignans sancta munera dicit: Et fac panem istum quidem preciosum corpus Christi tui.

Diaconus assistens[26]: Amen[27].

Sacerdos[28]: Et quod est in calice isto preciosum sanguinem Christi tui.

Diaconus[29]: Amen.

Sacerdos[30]: Permuta[31] sancto spiritu tuo.

Diaconus: Amen.

Sacerdos ⸢*rursus orat*[32]: Vt[33] fiat communicantibus in emundationem[34] animę, in remissionem[35] peccatorum, in communicationem[36] sancti spiritus, in regni[37] plenitudinem, in fiduciam ad te, non in[38] iudicium neque in condempnationem.

XIX. Adhuc offerimus tibi rationabile hoc obsequium pro fideliter dormientibus, pro patribus et proauis[1] nostris, interuenientibus[2] patriarchis, prophetis, apostolis, martyribus, confessoribus et omnibus sanctis.

Exaltat uocem: Pręcipue autem ⸢sanctissima, intemerata, superbenedicta regina nostra, dei genitrice et semper uirgine Maria[3].

Hic autem qui stat in choro post sanctum altare diaconus, qui fecerat continuatam orationem, pronuntiat: Et pro uniuersorum cogitationibus ut deo[4] placeant exoremus.

Clerus et populus: Et pro omnium[5] et uniuersorum.

Diaconus interea suggerit ut pro defunctis fiat oratio.

Sacerdos: Sancti Iohannis baptistę, prophetę et pręcursoris, sanctorum et nominatissimorum apostolorum et ⸢sancti huius[6], cuius memoriam agimus, et omnium sanctorum supplicationibus uisita nos, deus, et memor esto omnium in domino dormientium[7] in spe resurrec-

26 *om. P* 27 -m(en) *post corr. P* 28 *om. c P* 29 et diaconus assistens rursus dicit *P* 30 *om. c P* 31 *vel fortasse* permitta *sic A*, Permutatis *c*, permittas *P* 32 *om. P* 33 *om. P* 34 emundatione *A* 35 remissioncm *sic c* 36 communitionem *c* 37 celorum *add. P* 38 *om. P*

XIX. 1 pro auis *c P* 2 interuentibus *c* 3 sanctissime intemerate semper benedicte regine nostre dei genitricis semper uirginis marie *P* 4 domino *P* 5 salute *praem. c* 6 huius sancti *A* 7 morientium, & *c*

tionis ⸢uitę eternę[8] ac requiem pręsta eis ubi lumen uultus tui superintendit.

Et adhuc precamur te, memento, domine, omnium orthodoxorum episcoporum[9], recte tractantium uerbum ueritatis tuę et omnium presbyterorum, Christo ministrantium et omnis sacerdotalis ordinis.

Amplius obtulimus tibi hanc ⸢rationabilem hostiam[10] pro orbe, pro sancta katholica et apostolica dei ęcclesia et his qui casta in conuersatione ac sobria degunt, pro fidelissimis et deo dilectis[11] imperatoribus nostris et toto palatio et omni exercitu eorum. Da eis, domine, pacificum imperium ut et[12] nos in tranquillitate eorum quietam et tranquillam uitam ducamus[13] in omni dei cultu et sobrietate[14].

Exaltat uocem: In primis memento, domine, archyepiscopi ⸢nostri *talis*[15], quem concede ⸢sanctis tuis[16] ęcclesiis in pace saluum, honorabilem, sanum, in longitudinem[17] dierum et recte tractantem uerbum ueritatis tuę.

Post hanc sacerdotis pronuntiationem diaconus qui sanctum euangelium dixit, acutiori uoce profert hęc[18], *si fuerit aliqua magna festiuitas*[19]:

Michahel[20] sanctissimi et uniuersalis patriarchę[21] longa sint tempora, Eleutherii[22] Alexandrię, Cyrilli Antiochię, Leontii Ierosolimorum longa sint tempora. Et pro offerente sancta munera hęc[23] domino deo nostro[24] sacerdote, uenerabilis[25] presbyterii[26] eius, quę in Christo est ministrationis, et omni sacerdotali ordine. Et[27] pro imperio, uictoria[28] et persuerantia piissimorum et in[29] Christo dilectorum imperatorum nostrorum[30] ⸢Manuel et Marię[31], Alexii[32] magni imperatoris et Porphyrogeniti. Et pro pace et bono statu totius mundi et sanctarum ęcclesiarum et pro redemptione fratrum nostrorum captiuorum et pro ea quę Christum diligit milicia et pro circumstante populo et pro uniuersis fidelibus deum[33] deprecemur.

Et populus ⸢*id idem*[34] *acclamat.*

Sacerdos[35] *orat*: Memento, domine, ciuitatis in qua habitamus et omnis ciuitatis et[36] regionis et eorum qui fideliter inhabitant eas.

8 aeternae uitae *c* 9 *om. P* 10 hostiam rationabilem *A*, *litt.* b *sup.* hostiam *scripta* 11 dilectissimis *c* 12 *om. P* 13 dicamus *sic c* 14 sanctitate *A* 15 N. *A* 16 tuis sanctis *A* 17 longintudine *sic P* 18 *om. P* 19 fectiuitas *sic c* 20 Michaelis *c*, Nicolay *P* 21 Patriaichae *sic c*, pape *P* 22 Euletherii *P* 23 haee *sic c* 24 *om. P* 25 uenerabili *P* 26 presbyteri *c* 27 *om. A* 28 in *praem. P* 29 *om. c* 30 *om. c* 31 EMANVELIS ET MARIAE *c*, m. et m. *P* 32 et *praem. A* 33 dominum *P* 34 ad id *A*, ibidem *P* 35 uero *add. A* 36 *om. P*

Memento, domine, nauigantium, ⌈iter agentium, egrotantium[37], laborantium, captiuorum et salutis eorum. Memento, domine, fructiferorum[38] et bene operantium in sanctis tuis ęcclesiis et eorum qui pauperum curam agunt et super nos[39] omnes misericordiam tuam transmitte.

Exaltatio uocis: Et da nobis uno ore et uno corde glorificare et laudare honorificentissimum[40] et magnificentissimum nomen tuum patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

Clerus et populus: Amen.

Sacerdos: Et sit[41] super nos misericordia magni[42] dei et saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi.

Et[43] *clerus et populus*: Et cum spiritu tuo.

Deinde facit crucem super populum.

XX. *Et diaconus*: Omnium sanctorum memoriam facientes iterum et iterum pro pace domino supplicemus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[1]: Pro oblatis et sanctificatis preciosis donis dominum deprecemur.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[2]: Vt clemens deus, qui suscepit ea in sancto et cęlesti et[3] intelligibili[4] altari suo, mittat nobis propterea gratiam et donum sancti spiritus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson[5].

Diaconus[6]: Opitulare, salua ⌈et custodi nos, deus, tua gratia[7].
Diem omnem[8] perfectam, sanctam[9], pacificam et sine peccato a domino deposcamus.

Clerus et populus: Pręsta domine.

Diaconus[10]: Angelum pacis, fidelem ductorem, custodem animarum et corporum nostrorum a domino petamus.

Clerus et populus: Pręsta domine.

Diaconus[11]: Veniam et remissionem peccatorum nostrorum a domino petamus.

37 *om. P* 38 fructiferum *P* 39 uos *sic c* 40 -ficenti- *bis scripsit A* 41 sic *sic c* 42 magna *c* 43 *om. A*

XX. 1 *om. c P* 2 *om. c P* 3 *om. P* 4 intelligibilt *sic c* 5 *hic add. P*: ut eruamur ab omni tribulatione clerus et populus kyrieleison 6 *om. c P* 7 *om. P* 8 omuem *sic c* 9 et *add. P* 10 *om. c P* 11 *om. c P*

Clerus et populus: Concede domine.

Diaconus[12]: Bona et conferentia animabus nostris et pacem mundo a domino petamus.

Clerus et populus: Concede domine.

Diaconus[13]: Vt reliquum tempus uitę nostrę in pace et sanitate expleamus a domino deposcamus.

Clerus et populus: Pręsta domine.

Diaconus[14]: Bonum finem uitę nostrę, inlamentabilem, inconfusum et congruam responsionem[15] ante formidolosum[16] tribunal a domino petamus.

Clerus et populus: Concede domine.

Diaconus[17]: Vnitatem fidei et communicationem sancti spiritus petentes nobismetipsis et ad inuicem omnem uitam nostram deo[18] commendemus.

Clerus et populus: Tibi domine.

Interea dicitur hęc oratio a sacerdote: Tibi commendamus omnem uitam nostram[19] et spem, dominator[20] clementissime[21], et precamur et supplicamus ut mereamur communicare cęlestia et terribilia mysteria tua huius sanctę et spiritualis mensę in pura conscientia, in remissionem[22] peccatorum, in ueniam delictorum, in spiritus sancti[33] communicationem, in regni cęlorum hereditatem, non in iudicium uel in condempnationem.

Et[24] dignos nos fac, domine, ut cum fiducia indempniter[25] audeamus inuocare te cęlestem deum[26] patrem et dicere.

Clerus et populus: Pater noster, qui es[27] in cęlis[28].

Sacerdos[29]: Quoniam tuum est regnum et uirtus et[30] gloria patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

Clerus et populus: Amen.

XXI. *Sacerdos*. Pax omnibus.

Clerus et populus: Et cum spiritu tuo.

Diaconus: Humiliemus capita nostra deo[1].

12 *om. c P* 13 *om. c P* 14 *om. c P* 15 tesponsionem *sic c* 16 formidosum *P* 17 *om. c P* 18 domino *P* 19 *om. A* 20 domina- *delendum praem. in lin. praec. A* 21 clementie *P* 22 remissione *P* 23 santi *sic c* 24 eleuatio uocis *praem. P* 25 *om. A* 26 dominum *P* 27 *om. c* 28 cœlis &c. *c*, celo *P* 29 *om. c* 30 *om. A*

XXI. 1 domino *P*

Orat sacerdos: Gratias agimus tibi, rex inuisibilis, qui tua inmensa potentia omnia condidisti et multitudine[2] misericordię tuę quę non erant ad esse conduxisti. Tu ergo, ipse[3] de cęlis respice super eos qui ceruices tibi suas inclinauerunt. Non enim inclinauerunt carni et sanguini sed tibi terribili deo[4]. Tu igitur, domine, nobis omnibus inminentia ⌈ut bonus[5] explana[6] prout cuique utile est. Nauigantibus connauiga[7], iter agentes[8] comitare, egros sana, qui es medicus animarum et corporum. *Exaltat uocem*: Gratia et[9] miserationibus et clementia unigeniti filii tui cum quo benedictus es cum sancto, bono et uiuifico spiritu nunc[10] et semper et in sęcula sęculorum.

Clerus et populus: Amen.

Sacerdos rursus[11]: Respice, domine Ihesu Christe deus noster, de sancto habitaculo tuo et de sede glorię regni tui et ueni ad sanctificandum nos, qui sursum[12] cum patre sedes et deorsum nobis inuisibiliter assistis, et dignare tua potenti manu tribuere nobis inmaculatum corpus tuum et preciosum sanguinem et per nos omni populo.

XXII. *Hac oratione dicta, dicit diaconus*: Attenti[1] simus.

Et sacerdos ter[2] *inclinans suscipit portionem quę est in sancta patena et modicum sustollens dicit*: ⌈Sancta sanctis[3].

Clerus et populus: Vnus sanctus, unus dominus ⌈Ihesus Christus[4] in gloria dei patris, amen.

Deinde accedunt diaconi, qui sanctum euangelium dixit et qui continuatam[5] *orationem, et apprehensis labiis calicum*[6] *cum duobus digitis, dicunt ad sacerdotem*: Expleto, domine.

At ille ⌈*partitur portionem sanctam*[7] *in quatuor partes, ponens eas in modum crucis super patenam, et unam quidem partium mittit in calicem dicens*: Plenitudo spiritus sancti, amen.

Similiter[8] *fit et penes alium calicem si fuerit.*

Quo peracto, accipiunt diaconi sacros calices prestolantes cum feruente aqua uenientem subdiaconum, qui et dicit: Benedicito, domine[9], hoc feruidum.

2 multitudinem *A* 3 dominator *P* 4 domino *P* 5 in bonum *P* 6 explica *c* 7 cum nauiga *P* 8 agentibus *P* 9 *sup. lin. A* 10 no *cancellatum praem. P* 11 orat *add. P* 12 seorsum *c*

XXII. 1 AENI *sic c* 2 tunc *c* 3 Sanctus, Sanctus *c* 4 *om. P* 5 continuam *c* 6 calicem *P* 7 sacram partitur portionem *A*, partiter (*sic*) portionem sanctam *c* 8 Simrliter *sic c* 9 *om. A*

At ille respondet: Benedictus deus noster nunc et semper et in sęcula ⸢sęculorum, amen[10].

Tunc infundit aquam calidam quantum[11] sufficit[12]. Deinde sumit corpus dominicum[13] si ⸢solus fuerit[14]. Cum uero plures fuerint sacerdotes, primus inter eos accepta communione porrigit reliquis deosculantibus manus eius et genam, et ipse similiter ab aliquo eorum suscipit eucharistiam. Et hoc modo pariter inclinantes sancto altari susceptam domini carnem manducant. Similiter et calicem mutuo inter se porrigunt ut sanguinem domini bibant. Vbi uero sacerdotes, ut dictum est, perfecerint[15], dicit archydiaconus: Diaconi accedamus.

Et accedentes suscipiunt ut fecerunt sacerdotes. Deinde unusquisque sacerdotis maxillam deosculatur.

XXIII. *Post communionem dicit sacerdos[1] orationem hanc*: Gratias tibi agimus, clementissime dominator, redemptor animarum nostrarum, qui[2] pręsenti hac die cęlestibus et inmortalibus mysteriis nos[3] dignos fecisti. Tu dirige uiam nostram, serua[4] nos in timore tuo, tuere uitam nostram, gressus nostros[5] firma, orationibus et intercessionibus sanctę et gloriosę dei genitricis et semper uirginis Marię. *Eleuatio uocis*: Exaltare super cęlos, deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum[6], amen.

Sed qui postremo communicauit diaconus reportat super altare calicem et operit et dicit populo: Accedite[7].

Populus respondet: Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini, deus ⸢dominus et[8] illuxit nobis.

Tunc sacerdos populum benedicit et incensum, cuius fumus per diaconum sancto calici porrigitur. Et sic ⸢ad locum feruntur[9] sancta[10] mysteria ubi populus debet communicare et sacerdos dicit: Nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

Et populus: Repleatur os nostrum[11] laude ut cantemus tibi gloriam tuam, quoniam fecisti nos dignos sanctorum tuorum mysteriorum. In tua sanctitudine serua nos, deus, tota die meditantes iusticiam tuam, alleluia.

10 *om. P* 11 quantam *c* 12 *prim.* -i- *omissum vel male impressum c* 13 domini *A* 14 plures fuerint *c* 15 perfecerunt *P*

XXIII. 1 *om. P* 2 quoniam et *P* 3 *om. c* 4 salua *A* 5 nostras *sic c* 6 &c. *c* 7 cum dei timore *praem. P* 8 & dominus *c* 9 feruntur *A*, feruntur ad locum *P* 10 *om. P* 11 meum *P*

Et egressus de choro diaconus dicit: Qui[12] communicauimus diuina, inmaculata, inmortalia et[13] cęlestia mysteria, stantes[14] agamus gratias domino.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Diaconus[15]: Opitulare, salua, miserere ac custodi nos, ⸢deus, tua gratia[16].

⸢*Clerus et populus*: Kyrie eleyson[17].

Diaconus[18]: Diem omnem perfectam, sanctam, pacificam et absque noxa ⸢deposcamus a domino[19].

Clerus et populus: Concede domine[20].

Sacerdos: Quoniam tu es sanctificatio nostra et tibi gloriam referimus patri et filio et spiritui sancto nunc et semper ⸢et in sęcula sęculorum, amen[21].

XXIV. *Diaconus*: In pace discedamus.

Et populus: In nomine domini.

Et diaconus: Dominum exoremus.

Clerus et populus: Kyrie eleyson.

Tunc ⸢*dicit sacerdos*[1] *orationem hanc ante cancellos*: Deus qui benedicis benedicentes te et sanctificas in te sperantes, saluum fac populum tuum et benedic hereditati tuę. Plenitudinem ęcclesię tuę custodi, sanctifica diligentes[2] decorem domus tuę. Tu eos glorifica diuina potentia tua et ne derelinquas nos in te sperantes[3]. Pacem mundo tribue, ęcclesiis tuis, sacerdotibus, imperatoribus nostris, milicię ac omni populo. Quoniam omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum[4] desursum est descendens ex te[5] patre luminum et tibi gloriam et gratiarum actionem, honorem et adorationem referimus patri et filio et spiritui sancto nunc et semper et[6] in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

Populus autem ⸢*dicit ter*[7]: Sit nomen domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in sęculum. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto[8].

Et ⸢*populus ter dicit*[9] « *Kyrie el⟨e⟩yson* » *et* « *Domine*[10] *benedic* ».

12 stantes *praem. P* 13 *om. P* 14 *om. P* 15 *om. c P* 16 *om. P* 17 *om. P* 18 *om. c P* 19 a domino deposcamus *P* 20 nobis *c* 21 *om. P*

XXIV. 1 sacerdos dicit *A* 2 *bis scripsit A* 3 spersntes *sic c* 4 perfectam *sic c* 5 *om. P* 6 *om. P* 7 ter dicit *A*, dicit tunc *c* 8 &c. Amen *add. c*, nunc et semper et in secula seculorum amen *add. P* 9 tunc dicit *c*, ter dictum *P* 10 dominine *sic c*

⌜*Et sacerdos*[11]: Benedictio domini super uos[12] semper[13] nunc et in sęcula sęculorum, amen.

Et populus: Benedicam dominum in omni tempore.

Quo peracto, dicit sacerdos rursum[14]: Benedictio domini super uos[15].

Et hoc: Domine Ihesu Christe deus noster, miserere nobis[16].

Et in his missa terminatur. Vbi ⌜*regressus fuerit sacerdos*[17] *in secretarium, dicit orationem hanc*: Plenitudo legis et prophetarum tu existis, Christe deus noster, qui adimplesti[18] omnem patris dispensationem, reple nos sancto[19] spiritu tuo nunc et semper et in sęcula sęculorum[20], amen[21].

Finis sacrę missę sancti Iohannis Chrisostomi. Pręterea dignum scitu[22] *est quod quadragesimali tempore Gręci missarum sollempnia, exceptis sabbato et dominica, non*[23] *celebrant sed pręsanctificatis, sicut nos in* ⌜*die sancta*[24] *Parasceue, utuntur.*

André Jacob

11 *om. P* 12 nos *P* 13 & *add. c* 14 rursus *A* 15 nos *P* 16 nostri *A* 17 Sacerdos regressus fuerit *c*, regressus fuit sacerdos *P* 18 implesti *c* 19 *om. A* 20 saeculorrm *sic c* 21 *om. P* 22 scitum *sic P* 23 minime *P* 24 sancta die *P*

Some Forgotten Articles of Vladimir Soloviev

In the late Eighteen-eighties Vladimir Soloviev became a regular contributor of the *Vestnik Evropy*, the leading monthly of liberal persuasion. Since that time he used to publish his articles of general character, as well as his poetry, mainly in this magazine. Most of them are included in the edition of his ' Collected Works '. But his occasional book-reviews in the same magazine somehow escaped the attention of the editors and, in fact, remained unknown to the students of Soloviev's thought and life. They are, however, of considerable interest and value in many ways, just as his letters are. One finds here penetrating observations, critical comments and suggestions, caustic remarks, and also characteristic sparkles of Soloviev's distinctive wit and humour.

Four book-reviews appeared in the *Vestnik Evropy* in 1897, under Soloviev's usual abridged signature: *Bl. C.* — We are reprinting them now with short explanatory notes.

I.

The most interesting and important is the long review of the well-known book of Soloviev's close and intimate friend, Prince Eugene N. Trubetskoy (1863-1920) — *Religiozno-obshchestvennyi ideal Zapadnago Christianstva v XI-m veke: Ideja Bozheskago Tsarstva v tvorenijakh Grigorija VII i publitsistov ego sovremennikov,* Kiev 1897 (= ' The religious social ideal of Western Christianity in the XI century: The Idea of the Kingdom of God in the writings of Gregory VII and the publicists of his time '). Strangely enough, Trubetskoy seems to have forgotten that review: he never quoted or referred to it. Nor was it noticed by any other student of Soloviev.

In his admirable memoirs, written in the very last years of his life and unfinished, E. Trubetskoy describes his first personal

contacts with Soloviev during the winter of 1886-1887, in Moscow, in the house of their common friend, Lev M. Lopatin, Soloviev's close companion since childhood. Trubetskoy was already well acquainted with Soloviev's writings and deeply impressed by his thoughts: in his own words, 'all my intellectual life was connected with Soloviev'. But there was a radical disagreement at one crucial point: Trubetskoy could not accept Soloviev's leaning toward the Roman Church and Papacy. Accordingly, their first conversation began with a violent and passionate argument. Yet, it was a disagreement within a common frame-work: both partners were sharing the same Messianic conception and hope — the Kingdom of God will be realized in history by Russia. They only disagreed concerning the means and ways by which this providential vocation of Russia could be accomplished (1). In order to strengthen and clarify his own critical position Trubetskoy, who specialized in the history of political doctrines, decided to undertake a systematic study of Western Theocracy, in its historical development. Two monographs were actually written and published: on St. Augustine in 1892 (2) and on Gregory VII and his time in 1897. Now, at the time when the latter book was published Soloviev had already moved far away from his optimistic expectations and hopes of the Eighties. His response to Trubetskoy's book was characteristic of his new attitude and position. It was a new link in the dialogue which had begun between them ten years earlier.

In his monumental study of Soloviev's *Weltanschauung* (3) E. Trubetskoy discusses and interprets at full length that ' Crisis of Theocracy ' in Soloviev's thought and life which was so conspicuous in his later period. It was a period of disillusionment and lost hopes, but also of continuing quest and search. It was a period of growing eschatological apprehension and anxiety, of apocalyptic alarm and forebodings, which finally found such vigorous and plastic expression in Soloviev's last major work, *The Story of the Antichrist.* Soloviev's vision of history had been radically changed. In his own words, 'the historic drama has been played to the end

(1) Е. Трубецкой, Воспоминания, София, 1921, с. 191-195.

(2) Е. Трубецкой, *Религиозно-общественный идеал Западнаго Христианства в у веке.* Часть 1, Миросозерцание Блаженнаго Августина, Москва, 1892.

(3) *Миросозерцание Владимира Сергеевича Соловьева,* 2 тома, Москва, 1913.

and there remains but an epilogue which, however, may, as in Ibsen, be extended in five acts'. Soloviev's 'last philosophy' can be described precisely as a 'Philosophy of the End'.

The masterly description of Soloviev's intellectual and religious itinerary or evolution given by E. Trubetskoy is, on the whole, undoubtedly correct. The later monographs, by D. Stremooukhov (1) and C. Mochulsky (2), only confirmed his findings. We have now at our disposal some new material which was not yet available to Trubetskoy. It appears that Soloviev's disappointment or disillusionment began much earlier than it was assumed by Trubetskoy, probably even before his French book, *La Russie et l'Eglise Universelle,* had been completed. In a sense, the book itself was already a disappointment, since it could be published only in an 'edited' version and Soloviev was obliged to omit certain topics which he regarded himself as important. In any case, he seems to have lost interest in the book already before it appeared or, at least, soon after (3). On the other hand, it is significant that already in July of 1888 Soloviev would write to his good friend, Eugene Tavernier: 'je regarde plus ou moins toute chose *sub specie aeternitatis,* ou au moins *sub specie antechristi venturi*' (4). It is the first time that Soloviev mentions the Antichrist! (5). Indeed, in spite of his disappointment, Soloviev continued to believe in the 'Eternal Rome', as the 'legitimate' and providential centre of the Christian Universe, and his conception of the Church Universal remained ever the same. Only, in the light of his new vision

(1) *D. Stremooukhoff, Vladimir Soloviev et son œuvre messianique,* Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strassbourg, fasc. 69, 1935.

(2) К. В. Мочульский, Владимир Соловьев, Жизнь и учение, Париж 1936.

(3) Вл. Соловьев, *Письма,* IV, Петроград, 1923, с. 44 — М.М. Стасюлевичу, 27-VII-1889: « французская книга хотя и вышла .... но это меня мало радует в виду того, как они ее обработали »; срв. с. 6, Л. П. Никифорову, без даты: « О французских своих книгах не могу Вам ничего сообщить. Их судьба меня мало интересует. Хотя в них нет ничего противнаго об'ективной истине, но то суб'ективное настроение, те чувства и чаяния, с которыми я их писал, мною уже пережиты ».

(4) *Письма,* IV, с. 184.

(5) One finds a good selection of Soloviev's sayings on the Antichrist, arranged in chronological order, in *Wladimir Solowjew, Übermensch und Antichrist, Über das Ende der Weltgeschichte,* edited by Ludolf Müller, Herder-Bücherei, 1958.

of human history, his understanding of the task and prospect of the Church in history underwent a radical and profound change [1]. In this respect a letter of Soloviev to Tavernier, dated May-June 1896, is especially characteristic and significant. Soloviev begins with three theses derived from the Scripture. (1) The Gospel will be preached everywhere on earth, that is, the Truth will be offered to all nations, to the whole of mankind. (2) The Son of Man will find, at His second coming, but a small band of true believers, while the majority takes the side of the Antichrist. Soloviev strongly insisted on this point. (3) Yet, after a short but violent clash and struggle the power of Evil will be destroyed and true believers will win. On the basis of these presuppositions Soloviev develops now his new plan of ' Christian Politics ' — *je déduis tout le plan de la politique chrétienne.* It should be noted that Soloviev is still using his old slogan — *Christian Politics,* although in a totally new sense. The first task of Christians in the present situation is to offer the Truth in such a manner that no room for misunderstanding or misapprehension is left. *Il faut que la question d'être ou de ne pas être vrai-croyant ne dépend plus des circonstances secondaires et des conditions accidentelles, mais qu'elle soit réduite à ces termes définitifs et inconditionnés, qu'elle puisse être décidée par un pur acte volitif ou par une détermination complète de soi-même, absolument morale, ou absolument immorale.* Soloviev had in view actually *une instauration générale de la philosophie chrétienne, sans quoi la prédication de l'Evangile ne peut pas être effectuée.* It may be suggested at this point that this new task was no less utopian and unreal than Soloviev's earlier theocratic dreams. Is such a definitive and ' absolute ' Christian Philosophy possible at all, and should the decisive *acte volitif* depend upon intellectual evidence? It seems that Soloviev himself had changed his mind at the time he was writing his Story of the Antichrist. There decision is reduced to the pure act of faith, recognizing Jesus Christ as the Divine Redeemer. Moreover, in his letter to Tavernier, Soloviev admits that this complete and definitive presentation of the Christian Truth will actually fail to convince, since only a tiny minority will accept it. And it is for that very reason, anticipating the Christian unsuccess on the larger scale,

(1) I am discussing the ' Ecumenical Vision " of Soloviev in another article, scheduled to appear shortly in the *Eastern Churches Review.*

that Soloviev discarded external Theocracy, in power and splendour, as a direct and immediate objective of his new 'Christian Politics'. The State fades now completely from his scheme. He is pleading now for active cooperation of individual believers with Christ Jesus — *une collaboration positive avec Jésus Christ.* Indeed, they must rally themselves around the only legitimate centre of unity — *un seul centre d'unité légitime et traditionelle,* which is, of course, the Holy See. He does not speak now of any plan of Reunion on the institutional level (1).

In the *Story of the Antichrist* Soloviev's historical, or rather eschatological, forecast is desperate and grim. Corruption finds room also within the Church. Almost all princes of the Catholic Church, cardinals and bishops, the majority of lay people, and one half of the religious, take the side of the Antichrist and leave the Pope, Peter II, almost alone. The same happens with the Orthodox: the majority of the hierarchs of the North and the East, more than half of the clergy, monks and laity do the same. On the Protestant side more than half of the 'learned theologians' go over to the Antichrist. Almost the whole hierarchy of the West and East joins him. One cannot be more pessimistic. It does not matter whether Soloviev was right or wrong in his prophetic calculations. What is significant is that he held such a desperate point of view. Indeed, the true believers are reunited in faith at this last moment and gather together around the Pope. But it is, in Soloviev's presentation, a trans-historical event, a prelude to the Millennium of the Book of Revelation.

The review of Trubetskoy's book was written by Soloviev in the period between his letter to Tavernier (1896) and the *Story of the Antichrist* (1899). He agrees with the historical part of the book. He only takes exception to Trubetskoy's general evaluation of Medieval Theocracy. And at this point he goes very far. In fact, he simply denies that Christians can have any historical 'ideal'. The Christian aim is totally beyond history, beyond all conditions of life on earth. History is, as it were, a realm of relat-

(1) Letters to Tavernier were first published in Tavernier's introduction to his translation of Soloviev's *Three Conversations — Trois Entretiens sur la guerre, la morale, et la religion,* Paris, 1916, and then reprinted, with Russian translation, in the IV volume of his *Letters,* 1923. — The letter used in the text is on pp. LXXIV-LXXXI of the original edition and in *Письма,* pp. 196-200.

ivity. Christians of the XI century, in Soloviev's opinion, had no historical purpose, and could not have any, since they lived in the atmosphere of intense apocalyptic expectation. It is irrelevant, whether Soloviev was right in his *historical* interpretation of the epoch. What is significant is his *sharp emphasis on the beyond.* Accordingly, he stresses the radical difference, and even a potential discrepancy, between the two dimensions: *religious* in proper sense and *ecclesiastical* — the interests of personal piety and the public tasks of Theocracy do not necessarily coincide in his interpretation. It remains rather unclear, how these two dimensions were actually correlated in Soloviev's vision. In the conclusion he refers to the third ' organ of Theocracy ', borrowing the phrase from Trubetskoy, but does not develop this interesting theme, as it had not been treated in the book. No doubt, he had in view the Christian People, or Laity, the believers themselves, represented probably by the Prophetic office, as it has been suggested already in the French book. It is probably what he meant writing to Tavernier about ' cooperation with Christ '. The tragedy of the Medieval West was precisely in the absence of this third element, he concludes.

The casual book-review offers us some new hints to the understanding of the ' last philosophy ' of Vladimir Soloviev.

Princeton University.

GEORGES FLOROVSKY

Вестник Европы. 1897, - Книга 4-я (апрель) С. 836-841.
Литературное обозрение. 1 апреля 1897.

— Кн. Евгений Трубецкой. Религиозно-общественный идеал западного христианства в XI-м веке. — Идея Божеского царства в творениях Григория VII-го и публицистов его современников. Киев, 1897.

Новый труд даровитого ученого, как по руководящей мысли, так и по заглавию, связан с вышедшим пять лет тому назад его же сочинением: « Религиозго-общественный идеал западного христианства в V веке. Миросозерцание блаженного Августина». Можно пожалеть, что автор из V века прямо перешел в XI-й, от блаженного Августина к Григорию VII-му, — минуя таких

важных и во многих отношениях итересных созидателей западной теократии, как папы Лев Великий, Григорий Великий, Николай I. Скажем, впрочем, спасибо и за то, что нам дают. Книга кн. Трубецкого посвящена Борису Николаевичу Чичерину, как « воспитателю молодого поколения русских государствоведов », — и на ней действительно отразилось влияние этого глубоко-серьёзного, много-объемлющего и возвышенного ума. Излагая во всей подробности и со всем подобающим ученым аппаратом историческую деятельность Григория VII, наш автор не упускает из виду общий смысл этой деятельности, то, что дает ей настоящую важность, и все частные факты в сочинении являются как подтверждения и иллюстрации его основной идеи. Имя самого энергичного и воинствующего из пап связано главным образом с троякою борьбою: против женитьбы духовенства, против симонии и против инвеституры. Особенно важно и интересно то, что наш автор говорит относительно последнего пункта. Обыкновенно борьба Григория VII против Генриха представляется как типичный пример антагонизма между духовною властью и властью светскою. Весьма убедительные соображения и дововы кн. Трубецкого должны в корне изменить такой взгляд. Светской власти в нашем теперешнем смысле в средние века вообще не было, а германская империя менее всякого другого учреждения могла соответствовать такому понятию. — Власть церковная и власть государственная одинаково имеют священный характер и вместе с тем у обеих духовная сторона неразрывно связана с материальною. Территориальные и имущественные права церковных предстоятелей суть непременная принадлежность самого их сана, и в этом смысле духовные, как такие, обладают светскою властью; но как раз вследствие этого тот верховный властитель, от которого они зависят с мирской стороны, т.-е. император, оказывается распорядителем и духовной власти. И в этом именно пункте возникает роковой вопрос об его отношении к главе священства. « В основе произведения публицистов клерикального и императорского лагеря, — пишет кн. Трубецкой, — лежит общее обеим партиям теократическое мировоззрение, общий обеим идеал божеского царства. . . Обеим партиям чуждо понимание государства, его самостоятельных задач и целей. Обе видят в нем лишь проявление, *часть* церкви. Империалисты так же далеки от мысли о секуляризации государства, как и их противники — клерикалы; различие между ними заключается лишь в том, что одни видят в царе власть *над церковью,* другие видят в нем

подчиненное должностное лицо *в церкви*. Для обеих партий « царствовать над христианами » и « управлять церковью », хотя бы частью или одною стороной церкви, суть понятия синонимические » (стр. 92).

Здесь было, значит, противоположение не между церковью и государством, или между духовною властью и светскою, а между двумя высшими духовно-светскими властями в самой церкви. « Спор об инвеституре, — продолжает кн. Трубецкой, — не есть борьба между церковью и государством, а столкновение двух форм, двух органов теократии — борьба между царственным священством и святительским царством. В этом всего более убеждает нас самая история спора. — Церковный спор XI-го и начала XII-го века есть преимущественно спор между папством и империей, именно потому, что священная римская империя представляет собою наиболее законченный тип, классическое олицетворение царской теократической идеи. В Германии и в Италии, в занимающую нас эпоху, король и император может править своим царством лишь в качестве венчанного святителя — главы иерархии. Власть государя над епископатом здесь составляла особую привилегию монарха, его отличие от прочих мирян, в том числе герцогов, князей, графов. Только в силу этой исключительной привилегии, связанной с его саном, он может держать в страхе своих алчных, честолюбивых светских вассалов и принуждать их к повиновению. » (стр. 94). — « Вопрос об инвеституре был прежде всего вопросом о взаимном отношении двух глав теократии — о правах святительской власти над царством и о святительских полномочиях царской власти » (стр. 96-97).

Взгляды автора в первых четырех главах его труда доказываются исторически и едва ли могут вызывать серьёзные возражения. Спорными, а иногда и явно ошибочными следует признать некоторые обобщения в двух последних главах, где автор хочет дать окончательную оценку теократическому « идеалу » XI-го в. Прежде всего возбуждают недоумение самые слова « религиозно-общественный идеал » и вообще « идеал », играющие столь важную роль в обоих сочинениях кн. Трубецкого. Я имею в виду не тот факт, что таких слов не существовало в средневековой терминологии. Это бы еще не беда, если бы существовали в то время соответствующие им близкие понятия. Но их не было и не могло быть. Общественный идеал есть представление о наилучшем устройстве человеческого общежития, а когда в основу этого

представления кладутся известные истины веры, то получается идеал религиозно-общественный. Но при этом всегда разумеется наилучшее устройство общежития в пределах нашего земного, или точнее природного существования. Представление о блаженстве безгрешных духов под кущами райских садов никто не решится назвать « религиозно-общественным идеалом ». Но ведь по вере христианской истинный порядок жизни, или то ее устройство, которое безусловно *должно* быть, находится именно лишь за пределами земного существования. Конечно, у христиан новых времен, хоть бы и верующих в будущее блаженство, но не занятых всецело мыслию о нем, может быть представление об *относительно*-лучшем общественном порядке и на этой земле. Но у христиан XI-го века не могло быть и такого относительного и провизорного « идеала », по причинам, о которых обстоятельно говорит и наш автор в своей последней главе, а именно потому, что эти христиане, не исключая и Григория VII, непрестанно ждали кончины мира и страшного суда. Психологически невозможно при таком ожидании, — серьезный характер которого вполне признается нашим автором, — думать и действовать для осуществления на земле какого-нибудь нормального порядка, когда не нынче-завтра эта « земля и все дела на ней » должны сгореть. На взгляд людей XI-го века последние времена уже наступили, всеобшая катастрофа уже началась. Но кто же, видя начавшийся пожар в своем доме, станет думать о приведении этого дома в порядок, о его наилучшем убранстве и украшении? Чем же, однако, объяснить в таком случае неустанную и необъятную деятельность Григория VII-го на пользу всего христианского мира? Он сам дает объяснение в тех библейских словах, в которых он перед смертью выразил смысл своей жизни: « Я возлюбил правду и возненавидел беззаконие, сего ради умираю в изгнании ». Он действовал не для осуществления какого-нибудь идеала, а *потому*, что возлюбил правду и возненавидел беззаконие. Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem — вот достаточный мотив для деятельности такого человека. Правда не теряет своей силы и накануне страшного суда, когда ни о каком здешнем идеале не может быть речи. В самом конце апокалипсиса читаем: и « праведный да творит правду еще, и святый да святится еще ». Средневековый мир чувствовал себя глубоко лежашим в крайнем зле, и борьба с этим злом была не « идеалом », а просто нравственною обязанностью всех христиан. Объем же и характер борьбы определялся провиденциально личным положением каж-

дого. Назначенный, как он верил, по особой воле Божией быть верховным предстоятелем всего христианского мира в эти наихудшие времена, Григорий VII должен был отстаивать правду во всей вселенной, повинуясь данному ему свыше поручению, и, конечно, не ожидая действительного осуществления идеального порядка на той земле, которая была для него вдвойне землею изгнания, но которая, по его убеждению, не надолго должна была пережить его самого. Говорить при этом об идеале Григория VII или других представителей средневекового мировоззрения можно только принимая « идеал » за синоним нравственного мотива вообще, что едва ли основательно.

Излагая по письмам Григория VII средневековые идеи о папской власти, об апостоле Петре и т.д., наш автор впадает в ту ошибку, что совсем не различает собственно-религиозную и собственно-церковную стороны дела, — интерес личного благочестия и интерес публичных задач теократии. Между тем, при всей их связи в общем, эти две стороны не могут совпадать в частностях. Кн. Трубецкой утверждает, например, что для средневековых верующих ап. Петр как бы заслоняет собою Христа. Это может быть справедливо относительно публичной стороны церкви; здесь Христос заслоняется Петром так же, как и Петр в свою очередь заслоняется папой. Но так ли это для религиозной души — личной и народной? Конечно, наш автор не станет спорить, что с этой собственно-религиозной стороны рядом с Христом стоит в средние века не Петр и не папа, а только Богородица. Вот замечательный и решающий факт: в « законническом » строе средневековой теократии для Мадонны нет места, и наш автор не упоминает о ней, кажется, ни одним словом, а в действительной средневековой религии Она, бесспорно, первенствует!

Средневековые понятия о папской власти излагаются автором без достаточной богословской точности. Так, он настаивает на существовавшем и существующем будто бы у западных христиан представлении о *святости* пап ex officio, то-есть будто бы самый сан папы делает своего носителя святым человеком. Насколько это неосновательно, явствует уже из того, что католическая церковь в средние века, как и теперь, признавала *некоторых* пап святыми, следовательно тем самым объявляла остальных пап *не-святыми.*

Главная ошибка автора резко выражается в той общей оценке средневекового миросозерцания, или « идеала », которою он закан-

чивает свою книгу. « Поскольку Григорий VII и другие учители средних веков требуют, чтобы правовой порядок господствовал не только внутри отдельных государств, но и в международной сфере, поскольку они хотят, чтобы все народы сложились в " мирное сообщество правды ", — они несомненно стоят на почве универсальных христианских начал. Но поскольку господство единой власти, единого закона над человечеством служит для них *высшею целью,* поскольку они отождествляют "божеское царство" с внешнею иерархическою организацией и смешивают порядок правовой с порядком благодатным, — их христианство есть христианство одностороннее, " законническое " » (стр. 363).

Что историческое христианство в средние века, а отчасти и после них, было односторонним — в этом нельзя сомневаться. Оно было таким у Григория VII и Иннокентия III, как и у Иосифа Волоцкого, или Стефана Яворского, у св. Доминика, как и у Кальвина, у Генриха IV, как и у Ивана IV. Но то определение односторонности собственно средневекового западного христианства, какое дает наш автор, поражает всоею странностью. Каким образом Григорий VII и другие учители средних веков могли считать папскую монархию *высшею целью?* Разве они отрекались от христианского догмата о втором пришествии Христа и о жизни будущего века, где никакой другой власти, кроме Божией, не будет, и эта Божия власть совпадает с любовью? Мы знаем, напротив, что если они чем-нибудь погрешали на этот счет, то лишь преждевременным ожиданием кончины мира и, следовательно, осуществления высшей цели, ничего общего с законничеством не имеющей. А практическая деятельность Григория VII и его единомышленников имела, конечно, законнический характер, но это относилось не к высшей цели, а к низшим потребностям повседневной общественной жизни. Среди средневекового хаоса, в царстве насилия и безправия, церковная власть в достойных своих представителях *должна* была принять законнический характер. Принципиальный недостаток средневековой системы заключался не в этом, а в безысходном столкновении двух верховных властей — в том бедствии, на которое указывает неизвестный стихотворец конца XI-го века: « Папа желает лишить короля королевства, король, напротив того, стремится отнять у папы папство. О, еслибы был между ними судья, который мог бы решить спор так, чтобы король сохранил королевство, а папа — папство! Это было бы великим счастьем и спасением от двоякого

зла ». В средневековой системе не хватало такой третьей власти, такого третьего « ограна теократии », по выражению нашего автора. Но этот предмет, которого не коснулась разбираемая книга, не входит и в задачу настоящей рецензии. В заключение я должен сказать, что указанные изъяны в исследовании кн. Е. Н. Трубецкого решительно отступают на задний план перед положительными достоинствами этого превосходного сочинения, составляющего одно из редких приобретений нашей исторической литературы за последнее время. — Вл. С.

The Messenger of Europe. Number 4 (April) pp. 836-841.
Literary Survey. 1, April 1897.

— Prince Eugene Trubetskoy. The Religious Social Ideal of Western Christianity in the XI century. — The Idea of the Kingdom of God in the Writings of Gregory VII and Contemporary Publicists. Kiev, 1897.

The new work of this talented scholar both in its basic idea and in its very title is linked with his book which appeared five years ago: " The Religious-Social Ideal of Western Christianity in the V century. The World-view of St. Augustine ". One may regret that the author passed directly from the V to the XI century, from St. Augustine to Gregory VII, skipping over such important and in many respects interesting creators of western theocracy as the Popes Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I. However, we should be grateful for what we have been given. Prince Trubetskoy's book is dedicated to Boris Nikolaevich Chicherin, " the tutor of the younger generation of Russian scholars of political science ", — as a matter of fact one feels strongly in the book the influence of this profoundly serious, manysided and elevated mind. In his completely detailed and scholarly documented presentation of the historical role of Gregory VII, the author never loses sight of the general significance of that role, or of what gives it its true importance; and the individual facts in the study only serve to confirm and illustrate its basic idea. The name of the most energetic and warlike of the Popes is connected for the most part with a threefold struggle: against the marriage of the clergy, against simony, and against investiture. What the author has to say regarding the last is particularly important and interesting. Usually the struggle of Gregory VII against Henry is interpreted

as a typical instance of the antagonism between spiritual and secular power. Prince Trubetskoy's considerations and conclusions are altogether convincing and they are bound to effect a radical change in this view. Secular power as we understand it today did not exist in the middle ages and the German Empire less so than other institutions can be construed to correspond to such a concept. — Ecclesiastical power and governmental power alike possess a sacred character and at the same time in each of them the spiritual aspect is inextricably involved with the material. The territorial and property rights of the ecclesiastical leaders are an inevitable perquisite of their very rank and in this sense clerical figures, as such, wield secular power; but it is just in virtue of this fact that the supreme ruler on whom they depend from the secular point of view, i.e. the emperor, also possesses spiritual powers. And it is precisely at this point that there arises the fatal question about his relation to the head of the clergy. " The works of publicists of the clerical and imperial camps ", writes Prince Trubetskoy " are based on a theocratic world view which is common to both parties and on the ideal of the Kingdom of God which is common to both... The concept of the state and of its independent tasks and goals is alien to both parties. Both regard it as nothing more than a manifestation, an *integral part* of the church. The imperialists are just as far from the idea of the secularization of the state as are their opponents — the clericals; the difference between them lies in the fact that the former see in the emperor a power *over the church*, the latter see in him a subordinate although responsible figure *in the church*. For both parties ' to reign over Christians ' and ' to rule the church ', even if only a part or one aspect of the church, are synonymous concepts ". (p. 92)

Consequently, this involved an opposition not between church and state or between spiritual and secular power but between two higher clerical-lay powers in the same church. " The quarrel about investiture", Prince Trubetskoy continues, "is not a struggle between the church and the state but the clash of two forms, of two organs, of theocracy — the struggle between a royal priesthood and a priestly kingship. The very history of the controversy is the most convincing proof of this — the ecclesiastical controversy of the XI and the early XII century is for the most part a quarrel between the papacy and the empire precisely because the Holy Roman Empire is the most perfected type, the classical personifi-

cation of the imperial theocratic idea. In Germany and in Italy, at the time under consideration, the king and the emperor are enabled to rule their domains only in their capacity as crowned hierarchs — the heads of the hierarchy. The power of the emperor over the episcopacy constituted the special privilege of the monarch, which distinguished him from all other laymen including dukes, princes and counts. Only in virtue of this exclusive privilege which is closely linked with his office, is he able to hold in awe his predatory, ambitious lay vassals and to exact obedience from them" (p. 94). "... The question of investiture was above all a question of the mutual relationship of two heads of a theocracy — of the rights of priestly power over the empire and of the priestly authority of the imperial power" (pp. 96-97).

The views of the author in the first four chapters are demonstrated historically and will scarcely elicit any serious objections. Certain generalizations in the last two chapters are to be regarded as questionable and in some instances as patently erroneous, when the author attempts to give his final evaluation of the theocratic "ideal" of the XII century. In the first place the very words "religious social ideal" and even "ideal" itself which play so important a role in both of Prince Trubetskoy's books give rise to a serious misunderstanding. I do not allude to the fact that such words did not exist in medieval terminology. This would cause no great harm if corresponding or approximate concepts existed at the time. But they did not and could not exist. A social ideal is a conception of the best possible arrangement of man's social existence, and when certain truths of faith are posited as the basis of this concept, then a religious social ideal is evolved. At the same time the best arrangement of social existence is always understood within the limits of our earthly, or more precisely, natural existence. The concept of the bliss of sinless souls 'neath the groves of Paradise'[1] will never be called by anyone a "religious social ideal". Yet, according to the Christian faith the true ordering of life or that arrangement of it, which *must* be, is found precisely only beyond the limits of earthly existence. Of course Christians of modern times even if they believe in the joys of the after life, but are not necessarily exclusively preoccupied with it, may have an

(1) Soloviev is quoting a verse from Lermontov's popular lyric, *Angel*.

idea of the *relatively* best social order on earth as well. But Christians of the XI century could not have had even such a relative and provisional " ideal " for reasons which are discussed in great detail by our author in his last chapter, that is because these Christians, and Gregory VII among them, were in constant expectation of the end of the world and the last judgment. It is psychologically impossible in view of such expectations, — the serious character of which are fully admitted by our author — to think and act toward the realization on earth of any type of normal order when, if not today then tomorrow, this " earth and all that is done upon it " must go up in flames. In the view of Christians of the XI century the last days of the world had already arrived. The universal cataclysm was already under way. Now, who would even think of putting his house in order or of the best way of furnishing and decorating it when he has discovered that his house is on fire. Still, how can one then explain the tireless and tremendous activities undertaken by Gregory VII for the benefit of the whole Christian world? He provides his own explanation in the words from the Bible, with which on his deathbed he expressed the meaning of his life: — " I have loved justice and hated iniquity, because of this I die in exile". He acted not for the realization of any ideal but *because* he loved justice and hated iniquity. *Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem,* — this is sufficient motivation for the activities of such a man. Truth and justice do not lose their power even on the eve of the last judgment when there can be no thought of any earthly ideal. At the very end of the book of Revelations we read: — and " he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still ". The medieval world felt itself lying deep in the ultimate of evil and the struggle with this evil was not an " ideal " but simply the moral duty of all Christians. The scope and character of the struggle was providentially determined by the personal status of each person. Called, as he thought himself, by the very will of God to be the supreme ruler of the whole Christian world in its very worst times, Gregory VII had to defend truth and justice in the whole universe following a command imposed upon him from above, and of course, without any expectation of the realization of an ideal order on an earth, which was for him doubly the land of exile, but which according to his convictions would not survive him for long. Hence one may speak of the ideal of Gregory VII

and of the other representatives of the medieval world view only if one understands "ideal" as a synonym for moral motivation in general, which can hardly be substantiated.

In his presentation of medieval ideas about papal power, the Apostle Peter, etc. on the basis of the letters of Gregory VII, our author succumbs to the fallacy which fails to distinguish the specifically religious and specifically ecclesiastical aspects of the problem — the interests of personal piety and the interests of the external aims of theocracy. Despite the bond and interconnection between them, these two aspects cannot coincide in specific detail. Prince Trubetskoy asserts for example that for the faithful of the middle ages the Apostle Peter somehow overshadows Christ himself. This may be true as far as the external aspect of the church is concerned: here Christ is overshadowed just as Peter in turn is overshadowed by the Pope. But is this true for the religious soul whether the soul of the individual or the soul of the people as a whole? Of course our author will not argue that, in this specifically religious aspect, it is not Peter and not the Pope who in the middle ages stood along side Christ but only His Mother. What is remarkable and decisive, is the fact that in the "legalistic" structure of medieval theocracy there is no place for the Madonna and, it would appear, our author does not say one word about Her, while in the true religion of the middle ages She without doubt occupies the dominant position.

Medieval conceptions about papal power are presented by the author without sufficient theological exactitude. Thus it is that he insists that there existed among Western Christians a belief in the sanctity of the Pope *ex officio*, that is, that the very rank of pope itself makes the man who bears it a holy person. That this is wholly unfounded is clear from the fact that the Catholic Church in the middle ages, as it does today, recognized *some* popes as saints, consequently by this very fact proclaimed all the other popes *non-saints*.

The principal error of our author is strikingly apparent in his general evaluation of the medieval world view or "ideal", with which he concludes his book. "In so far as Gregory VII and the other teachers of the middle ages demand that an order of right [1] should prevail not only within individual states but also in the

[1] Trubetskoy alludes to the Russian rendering of *Rechtsstaat*.

whole international scheme, in so far as they wish that all peoples fuse into a 'peaceful society of truth and justice' — they undoubtedly are firmly based on universal Christian principles. However in so far as the domination of a single power, of a single law over humanity is for them the *highest goal*, in so far as they identify 'the Kingdom of God' with an external hierarchical organization and confuse an order of right with an order of grace — their Christianity is a one-sided, 'legalistic' Christianity" (p. 363).

That historical Christianity in the middle ages and in part at a later date, was one-sided — there can be no doubt. It was so in Gregory VII and in Innocent III just as it was in Joseph Volotsky or Stefan Yavorsky, in St. Dominic as in Calvin, in Henry IV as in Ivan IV. But the characterization of that one-sidedness, peculiar to medieval Western Christianity, which is presented by our author, is altogether strange. In what way could Gregory VII and the other teachers of the middle ages consider papal monarchy as the *highest goal*? Did they reject the Christian dogma of the second coming of Christ and of the after life where there will be no other power but God's and where this Divine power coincides with love? We know on the contrary that if they erred in this respect, it was only through a premature anticipation of the end of the world and consequently of the realization of the highest goal which had nothing in common with legalism. The practical activities of Gregory VII and of those who shared his views of course bore a legalistic character but this was in no way related to the highest goal but rather to the lower demands of daily social life. In the midst of the chaos of the middle ages, in a realm of violence and injustice, the power of the church in its worthy representatives *had* to assume a legalistic character. The essential failing of the medieval system was not to be seen in this but rather in the perpetual clash of two superior powers — in that calamity which is described by an unknown versifier of the end of the XI century: "The pope wishes to deprive the king of his kingdom, the king on the other hand strives to take the papacy from the pope. Oh, if only there could be a judge between them who could decide their quarrel so that the king might maintain his kingdom and the pope his papacy. This would be a great joy and a salvation from a twofold evil". The medieval system lacked just such a third power, such a third "organ of theocracy" to use the expression of our author. But this subject which is not touched upon in the book under discus-

sion does not fall within the scope of the present review. In conclusion I must say that the defects which have been pointed out in Prince E. N. Trubetskoy's study definitely fade into the background in view of the very positive merits of this excellent work which is one of the rare achievements of our historical literature of recent years. — Vl. S.

(Translated by Dr. R. T. Burgi, Professor of Slavic languages and literatures, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.).

L'opera della Chiesa ortodossa romena nella creazione della lingua letteraria nazionale

1. – Le prime traduzioni del Salterio e degli Atti degli Apostoli.

È noto che i primi testi scritti in romeno appaiono soltanto nel secolo XVI e sono traduzioni di parti della Bibbia. Di essi tre sono copie di più antichi manoscritti di parziali versioni del libro sacro. Il *Codice Voronețean* (ms. rom. n. 448 della biblioteca dell'Accademia della Repubblica Socialista Romena), rinvenuto nel 1871 nel monastero di Voroneț in Moldavia, mutilo dei primi 12 fascicoli, di quattro carte intermedie e delle tre finali, contiene una traduzione parziale degli Atti degli Apostoli, l'epistola dell'Apostolo Giacomo e le due di S. Pietro, la seconda incompleta [1]. *Psaltirea Scheiană* (ms. rom. n. 449 della stessa biblioteca) proveniente dalla biblioteca privata di D. C. Sturdza-Scheianul, contiene oltre la traduzione dell'intero libro dei Salmi, una miscellanea di canti: quello di Mose e degli Ebrei all'uscita dall'Egitto « Cantemus Domino » riferita dal capitolo 15 dell'Esodo; l'altro canto di Mosè « Audite coeli quae loquor » dal cap. 32 del Deuteronomio, di cui però manca la fine, così come manca l'inizio del canto di S. Anna madre di Samuele riferite nel cap. 2 del primo libro dei Re, « Exultavit cor meum in Domino »; l'« Oratio Habacuc prophetae pro ignorantiis »; il canto-preghiera di Isaia, cap. 21, « Urbs fortitudinis nostrae Sion »; la preghiera di Giona, cap. 2 « Clamavi de tribulatione mea ad Dominum, et

[1] I capp. restanti degli *Atti degli Apostoli* sono: 18, dalla metà del v. 14 al 21, e poi dal cap. 20 al 28. Fu pubblicato dal prof. Ion al lui Gh. Sbiera, *Codicele Voronețean*, Cernăuți, 1885; per la descrizione del ms. cf. I. Bianu și R. Caracas, *Catalogul manuscriptelor romînești*, II, București, 1913, pp. 170-71.

exaudivit me »; il canto di Azarie e quello dei tre fanciulli gettati nella fornace per ordine di Nabucodonosor, « Benedictus es, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum » riferito dal capitolo terzo delle profezie di Daniele, il « Magnificat anima mea Dominum » seguito dal canto profetico di Zaccaria, « Benedictus Dominus, Deus Israel », ambedue in Luca, 1; segue infine il Simbolo atanasiano (1). La terza delle traduzioni è la cosidetta *Psaltirea Voronețeană* (ms. rom. n. 693 della suddetta biblioteca, donata nel 1893 da D. A. Sturdza) scoperta nel 1882 nel monastero di Voroneț, importante perché frase dopo frase la traduzione romena segue il testo slavone; si tratta di un testo mutilo, poiché ci sono rimasti del Salterio soltanto i Salmi 77,78, 81-85, 89-91, 95-101, 103, 106-108, 110-23, 125-27, 129-51; segue poi la stessa miscellanea di canti che si trova nella *Psaltire Scheiană*, e che si aggiungevano di solito alla fine dei Salteri, evidentemente per un identico bisogno liturgico (2).

Esiste infine, un testo ancora inedito, *Psaltirea Hurmuzachi* (ms. rom. n. 3077 della sunnominata biblioteca) che prende il nome del donatore Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi che lo regalò all'Accademia il 7 luglio 1904); contiene la traduzione, nel testo originale del traduttore, dei Salmi di David dal primo al centocinquantesimo; del centocinquantunesimo è tradotta solo una parte del titolo (3).

I dati paleografici rivelano che *Psaltirea Voronețeană*, per la scrittura semiunciale a caratteri minuti usati solo nei mss.

(1) Pubblicato per la prima volta da I. Bianu, *Psaltirea Scheiană*, I°, București 1889, e poi da I. A. Candrea, *Psaltirea Scheiană comparată cu celelalte psaltiri din sec. XVI și XVII*, voll. 2, București, 1916; la descrizione del ms. è in Bianu și Caracas, *o.c.*, II, pp. 171-72.

(2) Il ms., la cui descrizione si trova in Bianu și Caracas, *o.c.*, II, pp. 442-44, fu pubblicato da G. Giuglea, *Psaltirea Voronețeană*, nella *Revista pentru Istorie, Arheologie și Filologie*, XI, 1910, pp. 251-61, e XII, 1911, pp. 194-209 e 475-87; C. Galușca ripubblicò il testo con il titolo *Slawisch-rumänisches Psalterbruchstück*, Halle, 1913, raffrontandolo con le traduzioni di *Psaltirea Scheiană* e della *Psaltirea slavo-romînă* edita dal diacono Coresi nel 1577.

(3) Il Salterio è compreso tra le carte 1-125r; 125v è bianca. Nelle carte 126r-134v è trascritto, con altro mano e in lingua slavone, l'elenco dei testi del Vangelo che si devono leggere nelle domeniche. La numerazione delle carte è dell'Accademia; il testo è acefalo; cf. Candrea, *Psaltirea Scheiană*, I, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

slavi copiati in Moldavia nel secolo XVI, fu copiata in quella regione forse nella seconda metà del secolo; *Psaltirea Scheiană* e *Codicele Voronețean*, che sono trascritti in semiunciale con influssi del corsivo, appartengono alla serie dei mss. copiati in Transilvania nella seconda metà dello stesso secolo, mentre *Psaltirea Hurmuzachi*, per le caratteristiche delle filigrane e per quelle paleografiche che la differiscono dagli altri tre mss., è da attribuire alla tradizione scritta slava dei piccoli monasteri della Transilvania settentrionale e del Maramureş (1).

Tutti e quattro i mss. presentano fenomeni fonetici eguali, come p. es., la rotacizzazione di *-n-* intervocalica notata con *-r-* o *-nr-* (*ura* per *ună*, *adurară-se* per *adunară-se*, *pănre* per *pîine*, *închinră* per *închină*, *înrima* per *inima*, ecc.), sì da essere denominati comunemente anche testi rotacizzanti; il fonetismo *-dz-* al posto di *-z-* (*audzişi* per *auzişi*, *dumnedzei* per *dumņezei*, *dzi* per *zi*, ecc.); la sopravvivenza di forme antiche, ora scomparse (*ai fap*t (lat. FACTUM) ora *ai facut*, *voiu i* (lat. IRE), ora *voi merge*, *e* (lat. ET) ora *şi*, ecc.); la presenza di alcuni termini ungheresi di ristretta circolazione nei soli testi rotacizzanti nonché di altri slavi di origine ucraina e polacca. Questa costatazione porta alla conclusione, fatta dallo storico P. P. Panaitescu, che le traduzioni dovettero esser fatte in una regione nella quale il dialetto presentava tutti questi fenomeni, e precisamente nel Maramureş e nelle limitrofe zone della Transilvania settentrionale (2). Ma viene naturale domandarci come mai si sentisse il bisogno di tradurre in romeno dei testi religiosi nei secoli XV e XVI, in una epoca in cui la chiesa riconosceva solo al latino, al greco e allo slavone la dignità di lingua liturgica, e nei paesi di lingua romena soltanto lo slavone, che era anche la lingua degli atti ufficiali nei voevodati di Muntenia e di Moldavia, mentre in Transilvania lo era la lingua latina.

A questa domanda gli storici e i filologi romeni hanno tentato di dare una esauriente risposta, cercando in genere la spiegazione del fenomeno, invero particolare nei secoli XV e XVI,

(1) CANDREA, *o.c.*, I, pp. L-LIII; Al ROSETTI, *Limba romînă în secolele al XIII-lea - XVI-lea*, Bucureşti, 1956, p. 53.

(2) Per questo si vedano: ROSETTI, *o.c.*, pp. 192-94; P. P. PANAITESCU, *Inceputurile scrisului în limba romînă*, in *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie*, IV, 1960, pp. 124-25.

sia in fattori esterni che interni, i quali avrebbero dovuto giustificare il bisogno di mettere nelle mani del popolo i testi liturgici tradotti nella sua lingua d'uso.

Il primo che si occupò della questione fu il prof. Ilie Bărbulescu, che pensò ad un influsso cattolico, il quale tuttavia non poté certamente prender forma nel Maramureş, anche perché la Chiesa cattolica era sfavorevole all'uso liturgico della lingua del popolo; adduceva il Bărbulescu anche la presenza della formula *filioque* nel Simbolo degli Apostoli, non accettata dalla Chiesa Ortodossa; ma è facile provare che la formula è accettata anche dalla Riforma e pertanto non è esclusiva della Chiesa Cattolica (1).

Nel 1904 il noto storico Nicolae Iorga formulò la teoria dell'influsso ussita, che ebbe poi eminenti sostenitori in Sextil Puşcariu, I. A. Candrea, Alex Procopovici e Nicolae Drăgan; ma fu facile dimostrare che l'eresia di Hus non penetrò mai nel Maramureş, dato il carattere rurale del paese, mentre è noto che la riforma ussita ebbe fortuna solo nelle città (2).

La teoria dell'influsso luterano fu formulata da Ovid Densuşianu ed ha ora come maggior assertore l'accademico Alex Rosetti; ma anche per essa si può affermare che, mentre si hanno dati certi della penetrazione della riforma luterana in Transilvania fin dal 1530, non se ne hanno per il Maramureş, la cui storia è tutt'altro che sconosciuta (3).

Lo storico P. P. Panaitescu ha rilevato con ragione che in nessun paese si è verificato il fatto che l'inizio della letteratura religiosa abbia avuto origine da fattori esterni alla storia poli-

(1) I. BĂRBULESCU, *Studii provitoare la limba şi istoria Romînilor*, Bucureşti, 1902; la teoria dell'influsso cattolico fu poi ancora da lui ribadita nell'opera *Curentele literare la Romînii în perioada slavonismului cultural*, Bucureşti, 1928, pp. 45-90.

(2) N. IORGA, *Istoria literaturii religioase a Romînilor pînă la 1688*, Bucureşti, 1904, pp. XIX-XX; ID., *Istoria literaturii romîneşti*, ed. 2-a, vol. I°, Bucureşti, 1925, pp. 103-110; S. PUŞCARIU, *Istoria literaturii romîne. Perioada veche*, Sibiu, 1930, p. 66; I. A. CANDREA, *o.c.*, I, pp. XCVI-XCVII; Al. PROCOPOVICI, *Arhetipul husit al catehismelor noastre luterane*, in riv. *Făt Frumos*, Suceava, 1927, pp. 72-80 e 104-11.

(3) O. DENSUŞIANU, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, vol. II, Paris, 1926, pp. 3 segg., Al. ROSETTI, *Cele mai vechi traduceri romîneşti de cărţi religioase*, in *Revista Istorică Romînă*, XIV, 1944, pp. 1 segg., ripubblicato in *Limba romînă*, cit., pp. 191-204.

tica e religiosa del paese stesso: così è stato per la liturgia in lingua slava di Cirillo e Metodio, nata dai bisogni dei Moravi in lotta contro il feudalesimo germanico allora favorito dalla Chiesa cattolica, così è per le riforme di Hus, Lutero e Calvino; così fu anche in terra romena, dove la definitiva introduzione della lingua del popolo, attuata dai metropoliti Dosoftei e Varlaam, si dovette a ragioni interne, senza alcun influsso esterno (1).

Naturalmente vi furono degli storici che postularono l'origine interna della necessità delle traduzioni dei primi testi romeni, quali T. Palade nel 1915, Milan Şeşan nel 1939 e ancora posteriormente, Ştefan Cioban nel 1941, ma le affermazioni di costoro non potevano basarsi su avvenimenti storici di supposti momenti favorevoli allo sviluppo della lingua e della letteratura romena nei secoli XV e XVI, e non avevano l'appoggio di alcun documento storico a comprova delle loro asserzioni (2).

Ultimamente lo storico e filologo P. P. Panaitescu dopo aver constatato, come è già stato accennato, che tutti i fenomeni fonetici e morfologici che differenziano il dialetto dei quattro mss. da quelli delle altre regioni romene appaiono congiunti solo nel dialetto del Maramureş, studiando i non scarsi documenti che ci rimangono sugli avvenimenti successi in quella regione tra gli ultimi decenni del secolo XV e la metà circa del XVI, rilevò che la chiesa ortodossa romena del Maramureş, che era espressione della piccola nobiltà romena della regione, i cosiddetti *cneji*, la quale forniva sia il capitale necessario per la fondazione delle chiese e dei monasteri, esigendone poi le decime, sia i sacerdoti, molto probabilmente reclutandoli tra i figli cadetti, era cano-

(1) P. P. PANAITESCU, *Inceputurile scrisului*, cit., p. 123; ID., *Les débuts de l'emploi du roumain comme langue écrite. Nouvelles contributions*, in *Studii şi Cercetări de bibliologie*, V, 1963, pp. 107-34; si veda ora: Id., *Inceputurile şi biruinţa scrisului în limba română*, Bucureşti, 1965.

(2) T. PALADE, *Cînd s-a scris întâi romîneşte*, in riv. *Arhiva*, XXVI, Iaşi, 1915, pp. 187 segg. e 235 segg.; M. SEŞAN, *Originea şi timpul primelor traduceri romîneşti ale Sf. Scripturi*, in riv. *Candela*, L, 1939, p. 131; ID., *Introducerea limbii romîne în biserica*, in riv. *Mitropolia Ardealului*, Sibiu, 1957, pp. 818-35, e in uno studio dello stesso titolo in *Studii Teologice*, XI, 1959, pp. 57-60; Şt. CIOBAN, *Inceputurile scrisului în limba romînească*, in *An. Acad. Romînă, Mem. Secţ. Liter.*, s. III, vol. X, 1941, p. 31 e 32. Un ottimo riassunto di tutta la questione è stato fatto da DAN SIMONESCU, *Problema originii limbii literare romîne şi cărţile bisericeşti*, in *Studii Teologice*, 1961, pp. 552-65.

nicamente quasi indipendente, in quanto all'egumeno del monastero S. Michele di Peri, il maggiore e più rinomato della regione, con il conferimento al monastero stesso della dignità di stavropigia patriarcale, erano stati conferiti, con la nomina ad esarca, diritti quasi episcopali sugli altri monasteri dal patriarca di Costantinopoli Antonio fin dal 1391 (1); la penetrazione cattolica nella regione, favorita dai re d'Ungheria fin dal secolo precedente, che potrebbe spiegare la presenza della formula « Filioque » nel Simbolo atanasiano riportato in *Psaltirea Scheiana* non aveva raggiunto grandi risultati. Ma quando nel 1491 viene riconosciuto al vescovo ortodosso ruteno di Muncaci, oggi Mucačevo in Ucraina, il diritto di esigere decime dai monasteri maramuresciani, togliendo così a *cneji* molta parte dei loro redditi, la lotta per la conservazione della indipendenza della chiesa si accende violenta e, in base ad un documento reale del 1494, che sottoponeva spiritualmente la chiesa del Maramureş anche al vescovo cattolico di Transilvania, cioè a quello di Alba Iulia, in romeno allora Bălgrad, i romeni ortodossi del Maramureş, pur restando nella loro fede ortodossa, si appoggiano alla gerarchia cattolica di Transilvania per liberarsi dalla soggezione al vescovato di Muncaci, verso la quale l'avversione era tale che ci si rifiutava persino di comperare nelle città episcopali i testi liturgici in slavone, perché quest'atto poteva essere interpretato come accettazione di una non voluta supremazia.

E poiché la lingua della chiesa cattolica in Transilvania era la latina, non quindi utilizzabile per il rito ortodosso che usava lo slavone, e il monastero di S. Michele di Peri ed altri minori erano i centri della cultura nel Maramureş per la formazione dei sacerdoti, il Panaitescu emette l'ipotesi, più che giustificata, che nei monasteri stessi dovevano esistere dei copisti per la scritturazione delle copie dei manoscritti liturgici, i quali, conoscendo

(1) *Istoria bisericii romîne. Manual pentru Institutele Teologice*, Bucureşti, 1957, vol. I, pp. 196-97; I. Mihalyi, *Diplome maramureşene din sec. XIV şi XV*, Sighet, 1900; T. Bud, *Date istorice despre protopopiatele, parohiile şi mînăstirile din Maramureş*, Gherla, 1911; Gr. Nandriş, *Despre mînăstirea Peri*, in riv. *Graiul Romînesc*, II, 1928; S. Dragomir, *Cîteva contribuţi la istoria mînăstirii din Perii Maramureşului*, in *Inchinare lui N. Iorga*, Cluj, 1931, pp. 338 segg.; I. Rafiroiu, *Mînăstirea Peri*, Oradea, 1934; A. Filipaşcu, *Voevodatul Maramureşului*, Sibiu, 1945.

la lingua del popolo, che era la loro stessa, potevano averli tradotti, almeno in parte, in romeno per un atto di voluta autonomia dalla chiesa di Muncaci. Certo, se fu così, e l'ipotesi è tutt'altro che avventata, le copie delle traduzioni dovettero essere molte e scritte in breve tempo e le quattro giunte fino a noi non sarebbero che i resti di quelli la cui sparizione fu dovuta al tempo, all'usura e anche all'incuria umana.

Certamente i copisti dei monasteri del Maramureş, monasteri poveri con scarse rendite, erano ben lontani dal poter competere per eleganza di scrittura, per l'ornamentazione dei manoscritti slavi con i colleghi del tempo dei più celebri monasteri di Muntenia e di Moldavia (1); ce lo testimoniano i quattro mss. giunti fino a noi, che rivelano la povertà dei monasteri maramuresciani, senza dedica, incipit ed explicit, destinati ad uso locale, scritti in dialetto, senza che i copisti abbiano rivelato la propria identità (2).

I quattro mss., abbiamo visto, contengono parte degli Atti degli Apostoli, la lettera dell'Apostolo Giacomo e le due di S. Pietro, i Salmi o parte di essi, alcuni canti scritturali e il Simbolo Atanasiano; si tratta quindi più che di testi per il servizio liturgico, di testi di lettura, di meditazioni, forse di guida al canto corale, compresa la professione di fede.

Può quindi darsi che il servizio divino vero e proprio, quello officiato dai sacerdoti, continuasse ad essere recitato in slavone.

La lingua di queste prime traduzioni non è facile da intendersi oggi senza l'ausilio di un glossario e di nozioni di grammatica storica della lingua romena. La ragione sta nel fatto che i traduttori rimasero fedeli all'originale slavone dal quale traducevano fino a seguirne servilmente l'ordine delle parole e la sintassi, spesso senza preoccuparsi di dare un senso logico al testo romeno.

(1) Per essi cf.: G. Strempel, *Copişti de manuscrise romîneşti pînă la 1800*, I, Bucureşti, 1959.

(2) La teoria del Panaitescu è stata riconosciuta valida e adottata ufficialmente nel II° vol. dell'opera collettiva *Istoria Romîniei*, Bucureşti, s.d. (ma 1962) pp. 705-708 e 1039-45, nonché nell'opera collettiva *Din Istoria Transilvaniei*, ed. II, vol. I, Bucureşti, 1960, p. 150, e nell'opera, sempre collettiva, *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, Bucureşti, 1964, p. 305.

Si veda a mo' d'esempio la traduzione del Salmo 19,2-8 nelle traduzioni di *Psaltirea Scheiană*, di *Psaltirea Hurmuzachi* e della moderna traduzione di Gala Galaction e Vasile Radu [1].

Ps. Hurmuzachi

Ascultă-te domnulu în dzi de grije, scuti-te numele domnului a lui Iacov. Tremease-ți agiutoru de la svăntul și de Sion sprejenite. Pomenit-au toată jrătva ta și toate arsele tale grasu-i fie. Dați-va domnulu după înrima ta și tot sfatul tău împlu. Bucurămu-ne de ispăsenia ta și în numele domnului Dumnedzeului nostru mări-ne-vom. Împlu domnulu toată cererea ta; acmu cunoscoi că au scos domnulu Hristosului său, audzi-l-va deîn ceriu sfatul tău, în puterea scoateriei derepteci lui. Aceste pre cărruțe și aceia pre cai.

Ps. Scheiană

Audzi-te domnul în dzi de grije, apără-te numele dzeului lui Iacov. Tremease-ți agiutoru de sfăntu și din Sionu apără-te. Pomenească toate cumăndarea ta și toate arsele tale grase fie. Deați domnul după înrema ta și tot sveatul tău împlă. Bucurămu-nă de spăsenia ta și în numele domnului Dumnedzeului nostru mărimu-nă. Împlă domnul toată cearerea ta; și acmu cunoscu că spăsit-au domnul Hristosul său, aude el din cer sfăntul său, întru sile spăsenie dereapta lui. Cești în roate, și ceia călarii.

Traduzione Galaction-Radu

(București, 1938, p. 561)

Domnul să te auză în ziua de restriște; numele dumnezeului lui Iacob să te ocrotească. Trimită-ți ție ajutor din sfînt locașul său și din Sion să-ți fie ție sprijin. Aducă-și aminte de toate prinoasele tale și arderea de tot a ta să-i fie prea plăcută. Dăruiască-ți ție după dorința inimii tale și toate cîte ți-ai-pus în minte să le împlinească. Să tresăltăm de bucurie pentru ajutorul de care ai avut parte și întru numele dumnezeului nostru să desfășurăm flamura noastră. Domnul să împlinească toate cererele tale. Acum cunosc că domnul a izbăvit pe unsul său și, din cerurile sale sfinte, i-a răspuns prin faptele mîntuitoare ale dreptei sale. Unii se bizuiesc în carele de război, alții în caii lor...

[1] Prendo gli esempi da: Al. ROSETTI-B. CAZACU, *Istoria limbii romîne literare*, București, 1961, p. 45; aggiungo per la migliore intelligenza il testo latino nell'edizione di mons. Gramatica, Milano, 1922. Per le caratteristiche fonetiche, morfologiche e sintattiche della lingua delle prime traduzioni di testi religiosi, rinvio, poiché qui non interessano, a ROSETTI-CAZACU, *o.c.*, pp. 45-56.

Exaudiat te Dominus in die tribulationis,
protegat te nomen dei Iacob.
Mittat tibi auxilium de sancto
et de Sion tueatur te;
memor sit omnis sacrificii tui
et holocaustum tuum pingue fiat.
Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum
et omne consilium tuum confirmet.
Laetabimur in salutari tuo
et in nomine Dei nostri magnificabimur.
Impleat Dominus omnes petitiones tuas.
Nunc cognovi quoniam salvus fecit Dominus christum suum;
exaudiet illum de caelo sancto suo,
in potentatibus salus dexterae eius.
Hi in curribus et hi in equis ...

Rimane, tuttavia, almeno agli effetti delle prime attestazioni scritte in romeno, sia pure dialettale, il merito della Chiesa ortodossa del Maramureş d'aver dato la prima traduzione di testi religiosi, che come vedremo, staranno poi più tardi alle basi delle prime edizioni a stampa.

* * *

2. – Il diacono Coresi. I primi testi a stampa.

Se è doveroso riconoscere l'origine autoctona delle prime traduzioni di testi religiosi, ma purtroppo rimasti a lungo per secoli allo stato di manoscritti, giunti a noi ancora in copia unica, per i quali non possiamo avanzare alcuna induzione sulla fortuna avuta e nella loro importanza nello sviluppo della lingua romena, dobbiamo invece riconoscere l'indubbio influsso protestante sull'inizio delle prime traduzioni religiose a stampa nel secolo XVI ad opera del diacono Coresi.

Troviamo Coresi a Braşov definitivamente nel 1558, proveniente dalla capitale del voevodato di Muntenia, allora Tîrgovişte, dove aveva importato il mestiere di tipografo. Il suo trasferimento in Transilvania era certo dovuto al suo intuito editoriale: Braşov era un grande centro commerciale con ampie relazioni con tutte le terre romene, con la Germania, la Polonia, ecc., centro quindi ideale per lo smercio delle sue pubblicazioni. Come diacono aveva interesse a pubblicare testi religiosi, i soli

che potevano andare in una zona culturalmente povera, e in una città in cui luterani e calvinisti davano l'esempio di testi religiosi tradotti nella lingua del popolo, il quale a Braşov era in gran parte di origine sassone. E Coresi sapeva che nel Maramureş, nella Transilvania, nella stessa chiesa degli Schei dei romeni di Braşov, e anche nei due voevodati munteno e moldavo si trovavano testi religiosi tradotti e rimasti allo stato di manoscritto. Li cercò e li utilizzò. Dei testi da lui pubblicati, infatti, per il *Tetraevangheliar* del 1561 fu utilizzata una traduzione anteriore, sia pur quasi contemporanea, compiuta forse in Muntenia o in Moldavia o nel sud della Transilvania al tempo del vescovo Sava, che nel 1558 aveva fondato un monastero a Lancrăm, vicino a Alba Iulia (1); per la *Pravila sfinţilor apostoli* del 1570-80 servì un manoscritto moldavo, mentre per *Lucrul Apostolesc* del 1563 la versione è identica per la gran parte a quella del *Codice Voroneţean*, mentre per *Psaltirea* del 1570 fu utilizzata una copia di *Psaltirea Scheiană* (2).

Non ci interessano ai fini del presente lavoro le opere che Coresi dovette stampare sotto l'influsso protestante, quasi cer-

(1) *Istoria bisericii romîne*, cit., I, p. 356; FLORICA DUMITRESCU, *Tetravanghelul tipărit de Coresi, Braşov 1560-61, comparat cu Evangheliarul lui Radu de la Măniceşti, 1574*. Bucureşti, 1963, p. 22.

(2) Fl. DUMITRESCU, *o.c.*, p. 18; I. IORDAN, *Crestomatie romanică*, Bucureşti, 1962, pp. 178 e 182; *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, p. 308; per i rapporti tra il Codice Voroneţean e Lucrul Apostolesc di Coresi si veda: Al. ROSETTI, *Lexicul Apostolului lui Coresi comparat cu al Codicele Voroneţean*, in riv. *Grai şi Suflet*, I, 1923-24, pp. 100-106; Şt. PAŞCA, *Probleme în legătură cu începutul scrisului romînesc. Raporturile dintre « Codicele Voroneţean » şi « Lucrul Apostolesc » al lui Coresi*, in *Cercetări de lingvistică*, Cluj, II, 1957, pp. 47-97; Al. ROSETTI, *Limba romînă*, cit., pp. 205-206, il quale ritorna sull'argomento in *Despre raportul dintre Codicele Voroneţean şi Apostolul diaconului Coresi*, in *Omagiu lui Iorgu Iordan*, Bucureşti, 1958, pp. 745-51; sulla polemica che si è accesa tra il Rosetti e N. Corlăteanu, cf.: N. CORLATEANU, *In jurul unei controverse filologice (Raporturile dintre « Codicele Voroneţean » şi « Lucrul Apostolesc » al lui Coresi)*, in *Studii şi Cercetări lingvistice*, X, 1960, pp. 443-57; Al. ROSETTI, *Din nou despre raporturile dintre Codicele Voroneţean şi Apostolul diaconului Coresi*, nella riv. *Limba Romînă*, X, 1961, pp. 133-34; N. CORLATEANU, *Despre aceeaşi controversă filologică (Raporturile dintre « Codicele Voroneţean » şi « Lucrul Apostolesc » al lui Coresi*, in *Limba Romînă*, XII, 1963, pp. 177-85; Al. ROSETTI, *In controvers asupra raporturilor dintre Codicele Voroneţean şi Apostolul diaconului Coresi*, in *Limba Romînă*, XII, pp. 352-59.

tamente per imposizione delle autorità cittadine di Braşov, e più precisamente il catechismo noto con il nome di *Intrebare creştinească* del 1559 di evidente influsso luterano, per quanto appaia posto sotto l'egida del metropolita Efrem di Tîrgovişte in Muntenia, il *Tîlcul evanghelei*, cioè il Vangelo spiegato, dal 1564 e il *Molitvenic*, rituale contenente le preghiere comuni, dello stesso anno, ambedue di influsso calvinista; neppure ci interessano i testi stampati in slavone. Ci interessano soltanto i libri stampati ad uso della Chiesa ortodossa in romeno, che sono: il *Tetraevanghelul*, i quattro vangeli, del 1560-61, il *Lucrul Apostolesc*, gli Atti degli Apostoli, del 1563, il *Liturghier*, il messale, del 1570, la *Psaltire*, il libro dei Salmi, dello stesso anno, la *Psaltire slavoromînă* del 1577, la *Pravila sfinților oțeti* o *Pravila sfinților Apostoli*, il canone dei Santi Apostoli, nota anche come *Monocanon*, che non ha data di pubblicazione ma deve collocarsi fra il 1570 e il 1580, e infine l'*Evanghelia cu învățătură*, brani del Vangelo domenicale con la spiegazione, del 1581.

Per capire come si svolge il processo dell'introduzione del romeno nella liturgia, bisogna pensare alle tre parti del servizio divino della chiesa ortodossa: quella officiata direttamente all'altare dal pope, la lettura del Vangelo e degli Atti degli Apostoli fatta da diacono o, in sua assenza, dal pope, e infine la lettura della *Cazanie*, il sermone scritto a spiegazione del Vangelo, fatta dal cantore. È evidente che quest'ultima parte, per esser capita dal popolo doveva esser detta nella lingua del popolo e non in quella d'uso ecclesiastico, lo slavone; ciò da origine alle traduzioni dallo slavone di questo tipo di sermone già predisposto ad uso delle spiegazioni del Vangelo per tutto l'anno.

Quindi, lo scopo di queste pubblicazioni, pur non distaccandosi il Coresi dalla fede ortodossa, era quello di far partecipare per diretta conoscenza sacerdoti e popolo, che non conoscevano più o ignoravano totalmente la lingua ufficiale della Chiesa ortodossa, lo slavone, alle preghiere e agli atti del servizio religioso in un paese dove i protestanti seguivano gli atti del culto nella propria lingua; ciò appare evidente da quanto il Coresi scrisse nell'epilogo dei *Tetraenvangheliar*: « Am scrisŭ aĉeşte sfente cărți de învățătură să fie popilor rumâneşti să înțĕlegă să învețe rumânii cine-sŭ creştini, cum grâiaşte şi sfântulŭ Pavelŭ Apostolŭ cătrâ Corintĕni. 14 capete: în sfânta besĕrecă mai bine e a grâi ĉinĉi cuvinte cu înțelesŭ decâtŭ 10000 mïe de cuvinte neînțĕlese

în limbâ strîinâ » [1]; diceva anche nell'epilogo della *Psaltire slavo-romînă* del 1577: « eu diaconŭ Coresi, dĕca vezuĭu că mai toate limbile au cuvântulŭ lu Dumnezeu în limba (lor), numai noi, Rumânii n'avămŭ ... dereptŭ aĉeia, fraţĭi mĭei preuţilorŭ, scrisuvamŭ aĉĕste Psaltiri cu otvĕt dĕmŭ scosu deîn psaltirĕ srŭbĕscâ pre limba rumâneascâ să vâ fie de înţelêgaturâ » [2].

Era naturale che le opere pubblicate dal Coresi avessero molta fortuna anche nei voevodati romeni, oltre che in Transilvania. È noto che già nei tempi del Coresi, grazie alla rete di affari che gravitavano intorno a Braşov, venivano alla città transilvana rappresentanti dei voevodi di Muntenia e di Moldavia e di prelati dei due voevodati per acquistare merci e libri. Una attestazione diretta l'abbiamo dal giudice di Braşov Luca Hirschel, che aveva finanziato la stampa della *Evanghelie cu învăţătură* del 1581, il quale scriveva che ad essa « şi au dat aprobarea şi acordul şi domnii din Moldova şi din Ţara Romînească şi au poruncit să se cumpere multe exemplare, care să fie introduse în ţările lor, pentru a fi explicate şi predicate oamenilor săraci » [3] cioè a tutti coloro che ignoravano lo slavone.

Si sa che anche i monasteri comperavano i libri stampati dal Coresi p. es. quello di Bistriţa in Oltenia [4]; una copia dell'*Evanghelie cu învăţătură* nel 1581 fu ritrovato nella primavera del 1795 nella chiesa del villaggio di Liteni nella Moldavia setten-

(1) « Ho scritto questi santi libri perché siano d'insegnamento ai popi romeni, capiscano e imparino i Romeni che sono cristiani, come dice anche S. Paolo apostolo ai Corinzi, 14° capitolo: — Nella santa chiesa è meglio dire cinque parole che si capiscano che diecimila migliaia di parole che non si capiscono, in lingua straniera — »; riporto da Fl. DUMITRESCU, *o.c.*, p. 10.

(2) « Io, diacono Coresi, poiché vidi che quasi tutti i popoli hanno la parola di Dio nelle lingua (*loro*), solo noi Romeni non l'abbiamo ... per questo, fratelli miei sacerdoti, ho scritto per voi questo Salterio con testo corrispondente e l'ho tradotto dal Salterio serbo (= *slavone*) in lingua romena, perché vi sia possibile capirlo »; cf. BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *Bibliografia romînească veche*, I, Bucureşti, 1903, p. 64.

(3) « Hanno dato l'approvazione e il consenso anche i principi di Moldavia e di Muntenia, e hanno comandato di comperare molti esemplari da introdurre nelle loro terre per essere spiegati e predicati ai poveri »; cf. HURMUZACHI, *Documente privitoare la istoria Romînilor*, XI, p. 653, cit. da *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, pp. 318-19.

(4) Al. PROCOPOVICI, *De la Coresi diaconul la Teofil, Mitropolitul lui Matei Basarab*, in *Omagiu I. Bianu*, Bucureşti, 1927, pp. 296-97.

trionale ([1]); nel Maramureş a Ieud si è trovata la *Pravila Sfinţilor Apostoli*, mentre una copia del *Lucrul Apostolesc*, ora in possesso dell'Accademia della R.S.R. era già in mano dell'Atamano Gavril, fratello del voevoda di Moldavia Vasile Lupu, già nello stesso anno di apparizione; anche nel monastero di Vălenii-de-Munte fu trovato una copia del *Evangelie cu învăţătură*, mentre una copia di *Psaltirea romînească* fu rinvenuta nella chiesa del villaggio di Ortiteag nel Bihor ([2]) e altri libri stampati dal Coresi furono trovati nel monastero di Ciolanul vicino a Buzău ([3]). La biblioteca dell'Accademia della R.S.R. possiede quattro copie del *Tetraevanghelul*, un'altra copia si trova nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Cluj e un'altra ancora nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Budapest ([4]); la stessa opera fu copiata nel 1574 da Radu din Măniceşti, vicino al villaggio di Ruşi, sul torrente Vedei, per ordine del futuro voevoda munteno Petru Cercel, che possedette anche una copia del *Praxiul* o *Lucrul Apostolesc* e i due Salteri, *Psaltirea romînească* del 1570 e *Psaltirea slavo-romînă* del 1577.

Si tratta di una fortuna non indifferente, ma non bisogna esagerarla; il numero delle copie a stampa era allora limitato, neanche lontanamente paragonabile alle più modeste tirature attuali, anche perché allora mancava la clientela popolare e la vendita dei libri era circoscritta a monasteri, chiese, a corti voevodali e a taluni boiari.

Il merito di Coresi nelle sue pubblicazioni è di aver revisionato i testi maramuresciani, sottoponendoli anche ad una accurata ripulitura linguistica, per sostituire tutti gli elementi dialettali fonetici e lessicali, che vi pullulavano, con la lingua parlata a cavaliere dei Carpazi nella Muntenia settentrionale, a Tîrgovişte, da cui Coresi proveniva, e nella Transilvania sud-orientale, a Braşov, in cui trascorse la sua operosa vita di tipografo. Con questa sua revisione linguistica e con la diffusione che ebbero le sue pubblicazioni, che, non dimentichiamolo, furono le prime diffuse a stampa in romeno nel mondo ortodosso della Transilvania e dei due voevodati di Muntenia e Moldavia, egli pose le basi della lingua romena letteraria.

([1]) Procopovici, *o.c.*, p. 296.

([2]) G. Giuglea, *Cazania protopopului Popa Pătru din Tinăud (Bihor), manuscris*, in *Dacoromania*, I, p. 356.

([3]) Iorga, *Istoria literaturii religioase*, cit. pp. 106-107.

([4]) Fl. Dumitrescu, *o.c.*, p. 29.

Abbiamo già ricordato che si valse di testi anteriori provenienti da tutte le regioni abitate dai Romeni, testi manoscritti riflettenti, tutti, aspetti dialettali della lingua parlata dal popolo, in un momento nel quale nessuna autorità poteva pensare di imporre regole fonetiche, lessicali e sintattiche valevoli per tutti; questo compito di unificazione se lo assunse Coresi, correggendo la lingua dei manoscritti utilizzati affinché i suoi libri potessero portare a tutti i Romeni una lingua a tutti comprensibile, senza preoccuparsi di correggere gli errori di traduzione dal testo slavone, talvolta anzi aggiungendone alcuni alterando, certo in buona fede, il senso originale delle parole del contesto. Ma, sia pure con questi errori, i libri pubblicati da Coresi rappresentano sempre un inizio, quello, come già detto, dell'imposizione di una lingua letteraria per mezzo della diffusione con la stampa (1).

A testimoniare questa opera di revisione linguistica fatta dal Coresi i cui meriti possiamo riassumere nei progressi ottenuti con l'eliminazione del rotacismo, con l'uso di forme morfologiche più semplici e quello di parole conosciute su più larga scala territoriale, nonché sul minor uso della sintassi dell'originale slavo, riporto la traduzione del cap. 20,7-12 degli Atti degli Apostoli del *Codice Voronețean* e del *Lucrul Apostolesc* del 1563 (2):

Cod. Voronețean	*Apostolul Coresi*
Întru ura de sămbăte adurară-se ucenicii să frăngă pănre și Pavel grăia cătră ei că demăreața vrea să iasă, și tinse cuvăntu pănră la miadză-noapte. Era lumănrari multe întru comarnicu, iuo era adurați. Și ședea lăngă o zăbleală un giurelu ce-i era numele Evtih, acela purtatu cu somnu adăncatu; și grăindu Pavelu de multe, plecă-se giurele de somnu și cădzu din comarnicu dinr-al treile podu giosu. Deaci luară elu mortu. Deștinse Pavelu și cădzu spr-insu de-lu cupriense	Întru una de sămbăte adunară-se ucenicii a frînge pîine. Pavel grăi cătr-înșii: vreare-ș să es de demîneață, să tinz cuvînt pînă în miază-noapte. Era lumînări multe în gorniță, unde eram adunați. Ce ședea un june în nume Evtih lîngă ocnă, somnoros cu somnu adîncat, grăia Pavel de multe; plecă-se de somn și căzu de la al treilea acoperămînt jos, și-l luară el mort. Deștinse Pavel, căzu spr-insul și-l cuprinse el, zise: nu voroviți, ca sufletul lui întru el iaste. Așezară-se și

(1) *Istoria literaturii romîne,* I, p. 308.

(2) Riporto da ROSETTI-CAZACU, *o.c.*, pp. 56-57, aggiungendo il testo latino.

și dzise: nu vorovireți, că sufletul lui întru elu iaste. Deaci se sui de frănse pănre și gustă, și băsădui de biu pănră la zori. Așa eși. Și aduseră pruncul viu și fu măngăiare nu puțină.

frîmse pîine și-i îmbucă, pînă la destul besedui pînă la zori. Așa eși, aduse feciorul viu și mîngîiară-se nu puțin.

Una autem sabbati, cum convenissemus ad frangendum panem, Paulus disputabat cum eis profecturus in crastinum protraxitque sermonem usque in mediam noctem. Erant autem lampades copiosae in cenaculo ubi eramus congregati. Sedens autem quidam adulescens nomine Eutychus super fenestram, cum mergeretur somno gravi, disputante diu Paulo, ductus somno cecidit de tertio cenaculo deorsum et sublatus est mortuus. Ad quem cum descendisset Paulus, incubuit super eum et complexus dixit: Nolite turbari, anima enim ipsius in ipso est. Ascendens autem frangensque panem et gustans satisque allocutus usque in lucem sic profectus est. Adduxerunt autem puerum viventem et consolati sunt non minime.

La superiorità della versione del Coresi è facilmente visibile, confrontandola con quella dello stesso passo nella traduzione moderna Galaction-Radu:

Traduzione Galaction Radu
(București, 1936)

In ziua întîia a săptămînii, adunîndu-ne noi ca să frîngem pîinea, Pavel care avea de gînd să plece a doua zi, a început să le vorbească și a prelungit cuvîntarea lui pînă la miezul nopții. Iară în odaia de sus, unde erau adunați, erau multe lumini aprinse. Și un băiat cu numele Evtihie, șezînd pe fereastră cînd Pavel ținea lungul său cuvînt, a dormit adînc și astfel, doborît de somn, a căzut jos din catul al treilea, și l-au ridicat mort. Atunci Pavel, dîndu-se jos, s-a plecat peste el, l-a luat în brațe și a zis: nu vă turburați, căci sufletul lui este în el. Apoi s-a suit, a frînt pîinea, a mîncat și a vorbit încă mult, pînă la ziuă. După aceea, a purces. Iar pe băiat l-au adus viu și peste măsură s-au mîngîiat.

Come giustamente rilevano Rosetti e Cazacu, quando la lingua del Coresi non subisce l'influsso della sintassi slava, e cioè quando scrive direttamente quello che pensa, come negli incipit e negli explicit delle sue stampe, essa è ancora più scorrevole, più viva, più libera.

Riporto a dimostrazione un brano della prefazione alla *Cartea cu învățătură* del 1581, che conferma anche la volontà di Coresi di porre le sue stampe in mano al popolo.

« C'amŭ fostŭ cugetatŭ și aceasta, ca să fie mai lesne și mai iușorŭ a ceti și a înțeleage pentru oamenii ceia proștii. Ș'amŭ avutŭ foarte grije mare de aceasta, ca să se tipărească, cum amŭ sfătuitŭ, cà nemunui să fie acoperită, ce să fie mai lesne spre înțelesŭ și cătră cetitŭ de folosŭ și cu îndemnătură. Mai vartosu celora ce vor ceti cu grijă și cu socotință: ce vorŭ vrea să caute, ei vorŭ afla. Dereptŭ aceaia voi, iubițilorŭ creștini lu Dumnezeu, cu dragoste și cu inimă bună să priimiți această carte » (1).

Certamente in questo suo lavoro Coresi non fu solo; dovette avere dei collaboratori che conoscevano bene lo slavone e il romeno, e tra questi dovettero avere un posto di primo piano i popi della chiesa romena degli Șchei di Brașov, dove esisteva non solo una scuola di copisti, ma anche di traduttori, due dei quali, come collaboratori di Coresi, sono nominati nell'introduzione della *Cartea cu învățătură* del 1581; Luca Hirschel infatti dice che l'incarico della traduzione « noi o deademŭ lu Coresi, diaconulŭ, ce erà meșterŭ învățatŭ într-acestŭ lucru, de o scoase den cartea sîrbească pre limba rumănească, împreună și cu preuții de la beseareca Șcheailorŭ, de lîngă cetatea Brașovului, anume popŭ Iane și popa Mihai ... » (2); che cura particolare dei popi della chiesa di S. Michele degli Șchei dovette essere la traduzione dei testi sacri nella lingua romena, la lingua del popolo, è attestato in una nota apposta al ms. di un *Octohic* (innario) del 1570 posseduto dalla stessa chiesa, in cui si dichiara esplicitamente: « Cuvîntul lui Dumnezeu trebuiește să înțeleagă feciorii, iar cum să înțeleagă dacă învață în limba străină de nu înțeleagă nime. Iar sîrbește și latinește să știe numai cine iaste cărtulariŭ, oare preot,

(1) « Abbiamo pensato anche questo, perché sia (*il Vangelo con l'istruzione*) più comodo e più facile a leggere e perché sia capito anche dagli uomini più semplici. E perché si stampasse come abbiamo stabilito, abbiamo avuto cura grandissima in modo che a nessuno rimanga nascosto, ma sia, anzi, più comodo a capirsi, e con utilità e stimolo alla lettura. Soprattutto a coloro che lo vorranno leggere con cura e con prudenza (*diciamo*): ciò che vorranno cercare, lo troveranno. Per queste ragioni voi, cari cristiani in Dio, accettate quest'opera con amore e buon cuore ».

(2) « Noi incaricammo il diacono Coresi, che era artista istruito in questa incombenza, e tradusse dal testo slavone in lingua romena insieme con i sacerdoti della chiesa degli Șchei, vicino alla fortezza di Brașov, e precisamente pope Giovanni e pope Michele »; *Diaconul Coresi, Carte cu învățătură* (1581), *publicată de Sextil Pușcariu și Alexie Procopovici, I, Textul,* București, 1914, p. 6.

oare dascăl, sau dĭiac, iară mişelamea n-are lipsa de-a ştirea » (1). Ciò definisce l'ambiente culturale che aveva vita nella Chiesa degli Șchei, chiesa nella quale, come unica ortodossa romena nella città di Braşov, Coresi, il quale, non dimentichiamolo, era diacono, doveva certamente recarsi per l'assolvenza dei suoi obblighi di culto; è l'ambiente che permise alla Chiesa ortodossa di Transilvania, ma con l'appoggio esplicito delle chiese di Moldavia e di Muntenia, di esprimere nei libri religiosi la possibilità di espressione panromena della lingua del popolo, in un secolo all'inizio del quale in Muntenia già dall'epoca di Michele il Valoroso (1493-1524) essa cominciava ad essere usata nella cancelleria veovodale e in Moldavia giungeva allo stesso uso poco dopo le stampe di Coresi, verso la fine di esso, con il voevodato di Pietro lo zoppo (1582-91).

Non si può tener conto della traduzione del *Genesi*, nota sotto il nome di *Palia de la Orăștie*, stampata nel 1582 dal figlio di Coresi, Șerban, che ha a base principalmente l'edizione clujana del *Pentateuco* di Gaspar Heltai del 1551 e l'edizione corretta della *Vulgata* pubblicata a Tubinga da Luca Osiander nel 1573; a parte il fatto che fu stampata a spese del sovraintendente calvinista di Cluj, Mihai Tordaş, con evidenti intenti di proselitismo, la lingua della traduzione è piena di parole e di costrutti sintattici ungheresi, calcati alla lettera dalla lingua dell'originale della traduzione. Mancano quindi i requisiti per poter attribuire alla *Palia* un qualsiasi influsso sullo sviluppo della lingua letteraria romena(2).

* * *

3. – Il metropolita Varlaam.

Bisogna arrivare sino alla metà del secolo XVII per vedere nuovamente scritti e stampati libri religiosi in lingua romena.

(1) « I giovani devono capire la parola di Dio, ma come la possono capire se è insegnata in una lingua straniera che nessuno intende? Lo slavone o il latino lo sa solo chi è dotto, o prete, o maestro, o diacono, mentre il popolo non ha bisogno di conoscerli »; cit. da *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, pp. 320-21.

(2) Una edizione ottima è stata data da Mario Roques, *Les premières traductions roumaines de l'Ancien Testament. Palie d'Orăştie.* 1581-82. *Préface et Livre de la Génèse*, Paris 1925; cf. *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, pp. 314-15; I. Balan, *Limba cărților bisericeşti*, Blaj, 1914, pp. 119-26.

Tuttavia i lunghi decenni del silenzio non erano stati infecondi. Le pubblicazioni del secolo XVI, pur nella loro importanza, erano traduzioni dallo slavone e non sempre rappresentavano tutte le possibilità espressive del romeno, anche se con esse si ponevano le basi per un ulteriore sviluppo della letteratura scritta per i secoli seguenti; nei decenni del silenzio la lingua romena continua nella sua naturale evoluzione, e quando il metropolita moldavo Varlaam, verso la metà del '600, scrive mirabilmente le sue opere, l'espressione della lingua si era maturata in uno strumento che attendeva l'artista che ne sapesse mettere in evidenza tutta la saporosa bellezza. Perché l'artista deve aver sempre a disposizione il materiale idoneo, sul quale porre il suggello dell'arte.

Nato probabilmente intorno all'ultimo decennio del secolo XV, Vasile Moțoc, monacatosi col nome di Varlaam, divenne prestissimo egumeno del celebre monastero di Secu, alle falde del monte Ceahlău, e poi nel 1632 metropolita di Moldavia, carica che tenne sino al 1653, quando, per la deposizione del voevoda Vasile Lupu, si ritirò nel suo monastero di Secu, dove morì nel 1657.

Che oltre alle sue altissime qualità di teologo che lo portarono alla candidatura al patriarcato ecumenico di Costantinopoli nel 1639, avesse anche forti doti di politico è dimostrato dal fatto che fu ambasciatore a Mosca nel 1632-33 per conto del voevoda Miron Barnowski e a Costantinopoli nel 1644 per conto di Vasile Lupu. Le sue doti di scrittore sono rivelate dalle opere religiose: *Carte romînească de învățătură*, nota anche col nome di *Cazanie*, stampata nel 1643, *Şapte taine a besearecii*, nel 1644, *Paraclisul* nel 1645, tutte e tre a Iaşi, nella tipografia impiantata nel monastero dei Trei Ierarhi con il materiale donato dal metropolita di Kiev, Pietro Movilă, e *Răspunsul împotrivă catihismusului calvinesc*, probabilmente stampato nel monastero di Deal in Muntenia, anch'esso nel 1645. È rimasta manoscritta la traduzione dallo slavone dell'opera di Giovanni Climaco, *Leastvița* (1), la *Scala Paradisi*.

La prima delle opere, *Carte romînească de învățătură*, che chiameremo più brevemente *Cazanie*, è un commento del Vangelo intramezzato da prediche di spiegazione dei passi evangelici, a cui si aggiungono alcune vite di santi; è quindi un'opera a contenuto omiletico, liturgico e agiografico, non completamente ori-

(1) *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, p. 359.

ginale, perché in gran parte non è che le traduzioni dallo slavone delle omelie del patriarca di Costantinopoli, Callisto (1).

La seconda delle opere, *Şapte taine ale bisearecii* che, come dice il titolo, è un trattato sui sette sacramenti della Chiesa ed era destinato all'istruzione del clero, fu scritto in collaborazione col logoteta Eustratie, senza che si sappia a chi attribuire le varie parti.

La terza, che alcuni critici contestano al metropolita Varlaam, *Paraclisul născătoarei de Dumnezeu*, contiene l'ufficio della Madonna, probabilmente una traduzione seguita da una serie di 48 versi originali sulla punizione eterna dei miscredenti e da due racconti originali su temi dell'Antico Testamento, la lotta degli Ebrei contro Nabucodonosor e quello deuterocanonico del salvataggio di Susanna ad opera del profeta Daniele (2), narrati con viva espressività personale.

L'ultimo lavoro *Răspunsul împotrivă catihismusului calvinesc*, è un'opera fortemente polemica contro i calvinisti in difesa degli ortodossi di Transilvania ed è sicuramente un lavoro originale.

L'opera principale è naturalmente la *Cazanie*, nella quale destinata come era alla predicazione, quasi sempre letta, e quindi alla divulgazione tra i fedeli, troviamo gli inizi della prosa artistica in lingua romena e i primi componimenti in versi. Essa era destinata a tutti i Romeni, come attesta il proemio alla introduzione, scritto da Varlaan a nome del voevoda Vasile Lupu e indirizzata nel titolo « cătră toata sementiia romenească », a tutto il popolo romeno, e nel testo, non solo a quello che vive entro le frontiere etniche, ma anche a coloro che sono « pretutinderea ce să află pravoslavnicii într-aceasta limbă », dappertutto dove si trovano fedeli di questa lingua (3); a tutti è fatto « acest dar

(1) *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, p. 362; una più dettagliata descrizione del contenuto si può vedere in N. CARTOJAN, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, vol. II, Bucureşti, 1942, p. 111. Di una edizione del 1641, di proprietà nel 1899 del pope Gravriil Hango, cappellano nel penitenziario di Gherla, dà notizia Augustin Z. N. POP, *Bibliografia romînească veche, operă de colaborare*, in *Studii şi Cercetări de Bibliologie*, III, Bucureşti, 1960, p. 231.

(2) D. SIMONESCU, *Contribuţii la Bibliografia romînească veche*, in *Studii şi Cercetări de Bibliologie*, I, Bucureşti, 1955, pp. 247-48.

(3) Questo suo amore per tutti i fedeli ortodossi di lingua romena è attestato anche dal *Răspunsul împotrivă catehismusului calvinesc* del 1645, scritto a difesa della integrità della fede degli ortodossi romeni di Transilvania e contro il proselitismo dei calvinisti ungheresi, che aveva-

limbii româneşti, carte pre limba romunească », questo dono alla lingua romena un libro in lingua romena. È evidente l'intenzione di scrivere un'opera utile a tutti in lingua compresa da tutti, e Varlaam nella prefazione rileva infatti « ...limba noastră romînească ... n-are carte pre limba sa, cu nevoie iaste a înţeleage cartea alţii limbi ... » la nostra nazione romena non ha libri nella sua lingua ed è costretta a capire libri in altra lingua.

Oltre alla fonte già citata delle omelie del patriarca di Costantinopoli Callisto, sono stati osservati influssi di due opere di Coresi, il *Tetravanghel* del 1561 e *Carte cu învăţătură* del 1581, e della *Evanghelie învăţătoară* stampata a Govora nel 1642, tradotta dal russo in romeno dall'ieromonaco Silvestru; ma la traduzione di Varlaam per la bellezza dello stile, per l'uniformità della lingua le supera tutte. A mo' di confronto riporto due brani evangelici nei testi paralleli di Coresi e di Varlaam ([1]):

LUCA, XIV,16-24

Coresi	*Varlaam*
Zise Domnulŭ pilda aceasta: Omŭ neştine făcu cină mare, şi chemă mulţi. Şi tremease robulŭ lui în ceasulŭ de cină: Zi chemaţilorŭ: veniţi că încă gata sântŭ toate. Şi începură împreună a se lepăda toţi. Întâiulŭ zise lui: Un satŭ amŭ cumpăratŭ, şi amŭ nevoie să esŭ să-lŭ văzŭ. Rogu-te, lasă-mă în pace. Şi altulŭ zise: Pluguri de boi cumpărai cinci, şi mă ducŭ să ispitescŭ ei. Rogu-te lasă-ma în pace. Şi altulŭ zise: Muiare luai şi dereptu aceaia nu pociu veni. Şi mearsă robulŭ acela, spuse domnu-său aceaia. Atunce se mânie domnulŭ caseei, zise robilorŭ lui: Eşiţi curândŭ la răspântii şi în uliţele cetăţiei, şi	Dzise Domnul pilda ačasta: Un om oarecarele făcu cină mare şi chemă pre mulţi şi tremise robii săi în ceasul cinei să dzică chemaţilor: Veniţi că iată sîmt gata toate. Şi începură depreună a să lepăda toţi. Cel dîntîi dzise lui: Un sat am cumpărat şi am treabă să mă duc să-l vădz. Rogu-te să mă aibi lepădat. Şi altul dzise: Cinci pluguri de boi am cumpărat şi mă duc să-i socotesc. Rogu-te să mă aibi lepădat. Şi altul dzise: Muiare am luat şi pentr-acea nu poč veni. Şi veni robul acela şi spuse domnului său aceastea. Atunce să mînie domnul casei şi dzise robului său: Eşi de sîrg prin răspîntii şi pre

no già pubblicato in precedenza a Bălgrad (Alba Iulia) nel 1642 in romeno un *Catehism calvinesc*. La prefazione del *Răspuns* è stata ripubblicata da Petre V. HANEŞ, *Răspunsul Mitropolitului Varlaam* (1645), nella rivista *Preocupări Literare*, 1940, pp. 108-11.

([1]) Riporto per *Luca*, XIV, il testo di Coresi da *Cartea cu învăţătură*, pp. 412-13, e quello di Varlaam da Rosetti-Cazacu, *o. c.* p. 109; per *Marco*, VIII, riporto da I. BALAN, *Limba cărţilor biariceşti*, già cit., pp. 129-30.

mișeii și beteagii și orbii și șchiopii aduceți-i încoace. Și zise robulŭ: Doamne, fu cumŭ ziseși, și încă iaste locŭ. Și zise domnulŭ robului: Eșŭ la cale și ologi, și-i îndeamnă să vie, să se împle casa mea. Grăescŭ amu voao că nece unulŭ de acei bărbați chemați gusta-vorŭ de cina mea.

ulițele cetăției, și calicii și orbii și șchiopii și nevolnicii ade-ncoace. Și dzise robul: Doamne, făcut-am cum ai dzis, ce încă mai iaste loc. Și dzise domnul către rob: Eși pre căi și pre cărări și-i îmbie să între ca să împle casa mea. Că vă grăesc voaă că nice un om de acei chemați nu va gusta de cina mea.

At ipse dixit ei: Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam et vocavit multos. Et misit servum suum hora cenae dicere invitatis, ut venirent, quia iam parata sunt omnia. Et coeperunt simul omnes excusare. Primus dixit ei: Villam emi et necesse habeo exire et videre illam; rogo te, habe me excusatum. Et alter dixit: Iuga boum emi quinque et eo probare illa; rogo te, habe me excusatum. Et alius dixit: Uxorem duxi et ideo non possum venire. Et reversus servus nuntiavit haec domino, suo. Tunc iratus paterfamilias dixit servo suo: Exi cito in plateas et vicos civitatis et pauperes ac debiles et caecos et claudos introduc huc. Et ait servus: Domine, factum est ut imperasti et adhuc locus est. Et ait dominus servo: Exi in vias et saepes et compelle intrare, ut impleatur domus mea. Dico autem vobis, quod nemo virorum illorum, qui vocati sunt, gustabit cenam meam.

MARCO, VIII,34-38

Coresi

Zise Domnul. Cine va vré dupâ mine să mérgâ, sâ se lépede de sine, și sâ ia crucé lui și după mine sâ viâe. Cine amu sâ arâ vré sufletul lui săl mântuiascâ, piiardel va el, iarâ cine va piiarde sufletul lui derept mine și ievangheliei acela măntuilva. Ce folosu e omului să arâ dobândi toatâ lumé și va piiarde sufletul lui. Sau ce dă omul schimb pentru sufletul lui. Și amu oare cui va fi rușine de mine și de cuvintele méle în ruda aceasta curvarnicâ și păcătoasâ, și fiiul omenesc rușinava el, când va veni în slava părintului cu îngerii sfinții.

Varlaam

Zise Domnul ucenicilor săi. Hiecarele ce va vré să vie după mene, ca să să lépede de sine, și săș ia crucia sa și să vie după mene, că cela ce va vria săș izbâvascâ sufletul său piardelva. Iară cela ceș va piarde sufletul său pentru mene și pentru evanghelie, acelal va afla. Ce folosu omului să are dobăndi lumé toatâ décașva piiarde sufletul său, sau ce schimb va da omul pentru sufletul său, că cela ce să va tăgădui de mene, și de cuvintele méle întracest rod păcătos și curvariu. Și fiiul omenesc să va tăgădui dins cănd va veni întru slava părintelui său, cu îngeri sâi.

...dixit eis: Si quis vult me sequi, deneget semetipsum et tollet crucem suam et sequatur me. Qui enim voluerit animam suam sal-

vam facere perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me et evangelium salvam faciet eam. Qui enim proderit homini, si lucretur mundum totum et detrimentum animae suae faciat? Aut quid dabit homo commutationis pro anima sua? Qui enim me confusus fuerit et verba mea in generatione ista adultera et peccatrice, et Filius hominis confundetur eum, cum venerit in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis.

Per quanto sappiamo che le fonti delle più di mille pagine, che fanno delle *Cazanie* un rispettabile tomo, sono molte, del resto confessate dallo stesso autore come fonti slavone, « din multe scripturi tălmăcită din limba slovenească pre limba romînească », da molte opere tradotta dalla lingua slavone in romeno, « adunat-am din toţi tîlcovnici sventei evanghelii dascălii bisericii noastre », raccolti da tutti gli interpreti del santo vangelo maestri della nostra chiesa, pure nella lingua della traduzione si sente una precisa conoscenza, amorosa ed oculata, della sua espressività, resa melodiosa dalla musicalità oratoria di Varlaam. C'è in lui, come è stato rilevato, una reale unità fonetica, lessicale, morfologica e sintattica (1), che fa della sua opera quasi una sintesi della lingua letteraria romena verso la metà del secolo XVII, e, se talvolta troviamo alcuni fonetismi particolari, esiste sempre il dubbio che più che a Varlaam possano essere attribuiti al compositore tipografico straniero, non si sa se russo, ucraino o greco, che il metropolita di Kiev, Pietro Movilă, aveva inviato a Iaşi insieme con il materiale per la stampa.

Nella sua traduzione Varlaam si liberò da molti slavonismi usuali nei libri religiosi, a stampa e manoscritti, del secolo precedente e dei primi decenni del suo; quelli che rimasero, e non sono molti, destinati a scomparire nei secoli seguenti, rappresentano ancora l'inconscio influsso della lingua ufficiale della Chiesa, e dànno insieme con le numerose parole latine allora ancora vive nella lingua, oggi o scomparse o ridotte in ristrette aree dialettali, o conservate con diverso semantismo, una soffusa aria di appena accennata arcaicità all'opera del metropolita di Moldavia (2).

(1) L. ONU, *O contribuţie valoroasă la dezvoltarea limbii romîne literare; Cazania lui Varlaam*, in *Buletinul Universităţilor « Babeş » şi « Bolyai »*, Cluj, Seria Ştiinţe Sociale, vol. I, nn. 1-2, 1956, p. 276, ora anche in *Istoria Literaturii romîne*, I, p. 364.

(2) CARTOJAN, *o.c.*, p. 111. Gli esempi di questi arcaismi si vedano in L. ONU, *o.c.*, pp. 277-82, e in ROSETTI-CAZACU, *o.c.*, pp. 96-99.

Ma con tutto ciò la lingua di Varlaam brilla di una maggior limpidità e di una maggiore espressività di quella degli scrittori del secolo precedente, di Coresi in particolare, come abbiamo già visto.

Nella *Cazanie* Varlaam non è soltanto il primo narratore moldavo, dalla frase melodiosa, talvolta breve della breviloquenza popolare, tal altra allargantesi in più ampio respiro narrativo, ma sempre incisiva nella sua togata espressione; è anche il primo scrittore romeno che abbia saputo esprimere in prosa artistica quello che aveva da dire; e se il suo pensiero non è sempre originale, in quanto la *Cazanie,* come sappiamo, è in gran parte opera di traduzione, ciò aumenta il suo merito per aver saputo dare dignitosa, elegante ed autonoma veste letteraria al pensiero da altri espresso in lingua straniera. È qui gran parte del suo merito, nell'aver cioè saputo liberarsi dalla veste slavone degli originali per dare alla lingua della traduzione, ad uso di tutto il popolo romeno, un vocabolario uniforme, un fraseggiare che contiene tutta la ricchezza della lingua popolare nella venustà della lingua degli scrittori.

Si veda, p. es. tutta la spontaneità della parafrasi delle parole di Cristo alla sorella di Lazaro, Marta, di cui dice Giovanni, 11,40 « nonne dixi tibi quoniam, si credideris, videbis gloriam Dei »: « au nu ţ-am zis că eu sămt Dumnezău, şi poci să înviu pre fratele tău, şi nu numai pre fratele tău cel împuţit şi de patru zile în groapa, ce şi pre morţii ceia ce-s morţi deîn veci, şi sămt numai ţârănâ şi pre aceia poci sa inviu? » (1).

Gli è che la opera sua era nata dal suo grande cuore, dal fervido amore che egli, pastore d'anime, aveva per il suo gregge; il lavoro di traduzione non gli era stato ordinato da nessuno, era nato e maturato nella sua mente nel decennio che corre dalla elezione a metropolita all'anno della stampa della *Cazanie,* pensato non solo per la chiesa moldava, ma per tutti coloro che, dappertutto, fedeli, parlavano la lingua romena. L'aveva coltivato nella lunga ricerca dei testi da tradurre, nel diligente studio della loro lingua per capirne fino negli intimi recessi ogni più sottile

(1) « Non ti ho già detto che io sono Dio e posso risuscitare tuo fratello, e non solo tuo fratello che imputridisce nella tomba da quattro giorni, ma anche i morti che sono morti da secoli e che sono soltanto polvere? »; tolgo la citazione da Bălan, *o.c.*, p. 131.

significato, per poterlo rendere ad intelligenza del popolo tutto e alla pietà dei fedeli in una lingua che fosse la sua, del popolo, ma, come direbbe il Machiavelli, naturalmente vestita di abiti curiali, come a festa. E in verità la *Cazanie* è tutta una festa della lingua romena, finalmente da Varlaam posta nella dignità di lingua letteraria, in condizione di cominciare di stare alla pari con le lingue delle altre nazioni europee.

Le altre opere di Varlaam non hanno grande importanza nella storia della lingua romena, pur confermando le caratteristiche che abbiamo visto nella *Cazanie*.

I versi annessi nelle edizioni delle sue opere, *Cazanie* e *Şapte taine*, se rappresentano uno dei primi esempi di poesia pubblicata, non possono essere citati come esempio di un linguaggio poetico: rappresentano un infelice tentativo di trasferire nella stampa romena un uso straniero, slavo e greco.

Ma tutto ciò non toglie nulla ai meriti di Varlaam. La sua opera principale ebbe molta fortuna e vasta circolazione, di cui ci rimangono frequenti testimonianze negli esemplari che ancora si trovano nei monasteri e nelle chiese, nelle biblioteche e negli istituti teologici di tutte le regioni romene, dalla Moldavia alla Transilvania, dalla Muntenia all'Oltenia e al Banato; ebbe anche una fortuna manoscritta di copie che furono trascritte nei secoli XVII, XVIII e anche nel XIX. Ma la sua fortuna andò anche oltre, perché se, appena dopo un anno, nella *Evanghelie învăţătoare* di Govora, pubblicata in seconda edizione nel monastero di Dealu nel 1644 appaiono alcune descrizioni agiografiche prese dalla *Cazanie* di Varlaam, il *Chiriacodromion* pubblicato a Bălgrad nel 1699 e poi a Bucarest nel 1732 e nel 1801, nonché le *Cazanie* pubblicate sempre a Bucarest nel 1765 e 1768, ed altre ancora, sono addirittura ristampe della *Cazanie* di Varlaam [1]. Se effettivamente l'impulso a scrivere la *Cazanie* fu in primo luogo religioso e didattico, ad uso di chi non conosceva lo slavone, la sua larga diffusione contribuì a dare una forte spinta ad una più viva conoscenza della lingua romena letteraria, nel suo travaglio di decantazione e di consolidamento.

Questo è quanto si deve a Varlaam, che nella parabola della sua vita ascendente, dal monastero di Secu fino ai supremi fastigi della metropolia, ebbe a guida del suo ministero sacerdotale, l'a-

[1] *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, p. 369.

more per il popolo, sino a scrivere per lui, nella sua lingua, non per comando di alcuno, ma nella lode di Dio, per il calore spirituale di cui questo amore lievitava, « întâiu de laudă lui Dumnezău, după acé de învățătură, și de folos sufletelor pravoslavnice » (1).

* * *

4. – Simion Ștefan e il nuovo testamento di Bălgrad (1648).

Pur non essendo stata fatta per favorire le conoscenze bibliche tra i fedeli della Chiesa ortodossa, oltre a una ristampa della *Evanghelie cu învățătură* di Coresi, pubblicata con lo stesso titolo a Bălgrad nel 1641, a cura dei metropoliti Ghenadie II e Iorist dal tipografo munteno Dobrea, è da ricordare tuttavia la prima traduzione integrale del Nuovo Testamento fatta dal metropolita ortodosso di Transilvania Simion Ștefan, nota con il nome di *Noul Testament de la Bălgrad,* dal nome slavo della città di Alba Iulia, in cui fu stampata nel 1648; ed essa seguì tre anni dopo nel 1651 il Salterio, *Psaltirea.*

La traduzione era stata commessa « cu îndemnarea și porunca denpreună cu toată cheltuiala a măriei sale Gheorghie Racoți craiul Ardealului i prociia », per istigazione o ordine, insieme con tutte le spese, di sua grandezza Georgio Rakoczy principe di Transilvania ecc., allo scopo di attrarre al calvinismo i Romeni del suo stato.

Per la resistenza opposta a questo sottile lavoro di proselitismo protestante, che mirava a separare religiosamente gli ortodossi transilvani dai fratelli dei due voevodati di Moldavia e Muntenia, aveva sofferto la prigione ed era infine stato deposto il metropolita Iorest, che poté poi rifugiarsi in Russia e in seguito in Moldavia. Simeon Ștefan, eletto metropolita al posto di Iorest il 4 marzo 1643, fu confermato dal Rakoczy solo il 10 novembre dello stesso anno e, per non lasciare i suoi fratelli di fede senza guida pastorale, dovette accettare dal principe calvinista condizioni che limitavano di molto la sua attività; certamente fu costretto anche ad accettare anche la traduzione del Nuovo Te-

(1) « Prima a lode di Dio, e dopo a insegnamento e aiuto alle anime dei fedeli »; riportato da A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Prodosloviile cărților romînești,* I, București, 1938, p. 98.

stamento nelle condizioni impostegli [1]. Ciò spiega come un metropolita ortodosso abbia dovuto sottostare alla pretese calviniste, per evitare mali maggiori ai fedeli affidati alle sue cure.

La traduzione era stata iniziata all'ieromanao Silvestru, lo stesso che aveva stampato nel monastero di Govora il sinassario (riassunto delle vite dei santi) che segue l'edizione del Salterio slavone del 1638, e che, sotto la sorveglianza del boiaro Udrişte Năsturel, cognato del voevoda munteno Matei Basarab (1632-54), aveva tradotto dallo slavone la *Evanghelie învăţătoară*, stampata anche a Govora nel 1642; la traduzione del Nuovo Testamento era stata continuata, dopo la sua morte, da un gruppo di monaci, che corressero anche la parte già tradotta, e la portarono a compimento. Nel titolo è detto che servirono per la traduzione una versione greca e una slavone, mentre nell'introduzione dedicata al principe si precisa che servì anche la traduzione in latino dal greco fatta da S. Gerolamo, cioè la cosiddetta Vulgata; nella prefazione ai lettori si precisa meglio quanto fatto dai traduttori, affermando che lo ìeromonaco Silvestro usò solo la versione greca, mentre gli altri usufruirono sia della greca, che della slavone e della latina [2].

Confessare una fonte ungherese, e cioè calvinista, sarebbe stato scoprire i motivi tattici confessionali del principe e far guardare con sospetto tutta la traduzione. Eppure è stato dimostrato che fu anche tenuto presente un testo ungherese, del quale non si è ancora scoperto l'identità, ma il cui influsso è certo; lo confermano anche i proemi a tutti i Vangeli, e agli Atti e alle Epistole, oltre le utilissime note marginali per spiegare termini greci, latini o ungheresi usati in mancanza di corrispondenti termini romeni [3]. Ma non ha grande importanza scoprire la traduzione ungherese della Bibbia che servì ai traduttori del *Noul Testament*

[1] *Istoria bisericii romîne*, vol. II, Bucureşti, 1958, pp. 29-31; *Bibliografia romînească veche*, vol. I, p. 168.

[2] G. F. Ţepelea, *Cîteva precizări în legătură cu izvoarele şi glosele Noului Testament de la Bălgrad* (1648), nella riv. *Limba Romînă*, 1963, p. 277, è dell'opinione, plausibilissima, che l'edizione della Bibbia latina sia la *Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria*, pubblicata a Venezia nel 1587.

[3] Poiché la questione qui non interessa, rimando a quanto ne ha scritto il Ţepelea nell'articolo citato nella nota precedente e in *Predosloviile Noului Testament de la Bălgrad*, in *Limba Romînă*, 1964, n. 2, pp. 149-56.

de la Bălgrad, soprattutto se pensiamo che i reconditi scopi di proselitismo calvinista del principe Rakoczy non approdarono a risultati di un qualche valore. Merita, invece, mettere in evidenza la grande importanza che la traduzione romena ha, sia per i criteri che presiedettero al lavoro di traduzione sia per i risultati ottenuti.

Quasi certamente i criteri furono fissati dallo stesso metropolita, forse anche su istigazione del principe Gheorghe Rakoczi, il quale poteva aver interesse anche politico, come può tralucere dal passo sotto citato che il Nuovo Testamento, tradotto in Transilvania e stampato a sue spese, fosse divulgato e letto anche dai Romeni dei due principati vicini. Nella seconda prefazione, quella destinata ai lettori, Simion Ştefan afferma:

> « Aceasta încă vă rugămŭ să luaţi aminte că Rumînii nu grăescu în toate ţările într-un chipŭ. Pentru aceia cu nevoe poate să scrie cineva să înţeleagă toţi grăindu un lucru, unii într-un chipŭ, alţii într-altŭ chipŭ: aŭ veşmînt, au vase, au altele multe nu le numesc într-un chipŭ. Bine ştimŭ că cuvintele trebue să fie ca banii, că banii aceia sîntŭ buni carii înblă în toate ţările, aşia şi cuvintele acelea sîntŭ bune carele le înţelegŭ toţi. Noi dereptŭ aceia ne-amŭ silitŭ, de în cîtŭ amŭ pututŭ, să izvodimŭ aşia cumŭ să înţeleagă toţi, iară să nu vorŭ înţeleagă toţi, nu-i de vina noastră, ci-i de vina celuia ce-au răsfiratŭ Rumînii prin-alte ţări, de ş-au mestecat cuvintele cu alte limbi, de nu grăescŭ toţi într-un chipŭ »;

e cioè: « ...ancora vi preghiamo di ricordarsi che i Romeni non parlano dappertutto in un solo modo. Per questo difficilmente uno può scrivere perché tutti capiscano, chiamando una cosa alcuni in un modo, altri in un altro: sia le vesti, sia il vasellame, sia altre molte cose non le appellano in un solo modo. Sappiamo bene che le parole devono essere come il denaro, e che è denaro buono quello che va dappertutto; così sono parole buone quelle che sono capite da tutti. Per questo ci siamo sforzati, per quanto abbiamo potuto, di tradurre in modo che tutti capiscano; e se non tutti capiranno non è colpa nostra, ma di coloro che hanno disperso i Romeni in altre terre, in modo che si sono mescolate le parole con altre lingue, sì che tutti non parlano in un solo modo » (1).

(1) Cito da G. PASCU, *Istoriea literaturii romîne din secolul XVII*, Iaşi, 1922, p. 83.

Con ciò si dimostrava, per la prima volta nella storia della lingua romena, di aver ben chiare alcune idee sui problemi della lingua letteraria. Se i Romeni erano divisi in tre Stati, la loro unità etnica era fuori discussione; e se influssi di lingue straniere avevano portato notevoli differenze lessicali dialettali, era assolutamente necessario creare una lingua letteraria unica, in vista della cui formazione, come criterio di selezione bisognava scegliere le parole di più larga circolazione, quelle cioè più in uso tra il popolo, dando con ciò un colorito interregionale alla lingua letteraria.

Ma, poiché per la retta traduzione era necessaria l'introduzione di parole nuove per esprimere con esattezza i concetti, Simion Ştefan non esita a ricorrere a neologismi, introducendo parole greche in uso nel Vecchio Testamento. E lo dice espressamente:

« ...vedem că unele cuvinte unii la-au izvodit într-un chip, alţii într-alt. Iară noi le-am lăsat cum au fost în izvodul grecescŭ, văzînd că alte limbi încă le ţin aşea, cumŭ-i *synagoga* şi *poblican* şi *gangrena*, şi pietri scumpe, carele nu se ştiu rumîneaşte ce sînt; nume de oameni şi de leamne, şi de veşmente, şi de alte multe carele nu să ştiu rumîneaşte ca sînt, noi încă le-am lăsat aşea »;

« vediamo che certe parole alcuni le hanno tradotte in un modo, altri in un altro. Ma noi le abbiamo lasciate come erano nella traduzione greca, osservando che altre lingue le hanno lasciate così, come *sinagoga*, *pubblicano*, *cancrena* e (i nomi di) pietre preziose, che i Romeni non sanno cosa siano; i nomi di uomini, di legname, di vesti e di altre molte cose che non si sa in romeno cosa siano, li abbiamo lasciati in greco, perché in altre lingue sono state lasciate così » (1).

Con note marginali questi neologismi vengono spiegati: così p. es., *magi* in Matteo, 2,1, tradotto *mîndrii*, è spiegato con la nota marginale *filosofii*, mentre al 16 versetto dello stesso capitolo è mantenuta la parola *magi* chiosata a margine *găcitori*, letteralmente indovini: *synagoga* in Matteo 4,23 è spiegata « unde se strîngea jidovii să auză cuvîntul lui Dumnezeu, noi zicem besérreca », dove si adunano gli ebrei per udire la parola del Signore, noi diciamo chiesa; *iota* in Matteo, 5,18, è spiegata con « sau certâ sau o slovâ caré-i mai micâ », o un mormorio o una lettera che

(1) ROSETTI-CAZACU, *o.c.*, p. 70.

è piccolissima; *mammona* in Matteo, 6,24, ha per glossa « sirieneşte lăcomia lumii », in lingua siriana, avidità delle cose terrene.

Della bontà dei risultati si può giudicare dai seguenti esempi, in cui la traduzione del *Nou Testament* è posta a confronto rispettivamente con il *Tetravanghel* di Coresi e con la *Cazanie* del metropolita Varlaam (1).

ATTI DEGLI APOSTOLI, XX,1-8

Coresi, Praxiul (1563)

Şi ca se contenirâ voroavele, chemâ. Pavelŭ ucenicii şi-i sărutâ, eşi a se duce în Machedonia. Trecu prespre acele laturi şi-i mâîngâă în cuvinte multe, vine în Elada, fece aciâ trei luni. Fu sprinsŭ fărecare de Iudei, vrĕ să se aducâ întru Siria, fu vrĕre să se întoarcâ printru Machidoniea. Urmuirâ elŭ tocma pănâ do Asia Sosipatra, Bereninŭ Soluneninŭ, Aristarhŭ şi Secundŭ şi Gaie Derveninŭ, şi Timothei Asiane Tihicŭ şi Trofimŭ. Aceia ainte deştinserâ aştepta noi în Troada. Noi cărŭmu-ne prespre zilele de azimite dela Filipŭ şi venimŭ cătrânşii în Troada pănâ în cinci zile, deci fumŭ şapte zile. Întru una de sămbete adunarâ-se ucenicii a frânge păine. Pavelŭ grâi cătrânşii: vrĕrĕşŭ să esŭ de demânĕţâ să tinzŭ cuvântŭ pănâ în miazâ-noapte. Era lumânâti multe în gorniţâ unde eramŭ adunaţi.

Noul Testament de Bălgrad (1648)

Iarî după ce aşăzî gâlceava, chemăndŭ Pavelŭ pre ucenici, şi luîndu-şi zuoa bunî, eşi să mergî în Machedoniiea. Iarî îmblăndŭ prenŭ laturile acele, şi îndemnăndŭ pre ei cu cuvinte multe, veni în ţara greceascî. Şi acole petrecăndŭ trei luni, vrăndŭ să mergî elŭ în Siriiea, pusărî lui jidovii leşuitori, iarî elŭ găndi să să întoarcî pre în Machedoniiea. Şi petrecu pre el pănă în Asiiea Sopatru den Beriiea, iari den Solun Aristarhŭ, şi Secundŭ, şi Gaie de în Derviiea, şi Timofteiŭ. Iarî asiani, Tihicŭ şi Trofimŭ; aceste deca sosirî aşteptarî pre noi în Troada. Iarî noi vănslămŭ pre mare dupî zilele azimelorŭ de la Filipusŭ, şi venimŭ cătrî ei în Troada în cinci zile, unde petrecumŭ şapte zile. Iarî în zuoa de întâiu a săptămănii adunăndu-şî ucenicii să frăngî păine, Pavelŭ propoveduiiea, vrăndŭ să iasă a doao zi, înlungi cuvăntulŭ pănă la miadzî-noapte. Şi era făclii multe în cerdacŭ unde era strănşi.

Postquam autem cessavit tumultus, vocatis Paulus discipulis, et exhortatus eos valedixit et profectus est ut iret in Macedoniam. Cum autem perambulasset partes illas et exhortatus eos fuisset multo

(1) Il primo esempio è tolto da J. BYCH, *Texte romîneşti vechi*, Bucureşti, 1930, pp. 6-7; gli altri da I. BĂLAN, *o.c.*, p. 142-43. Se ne vedano altri esempi in ŢEPELEA, *Citeva precizări*, pp. 275-76, 278, 279.

sermone, venit ad Graeciam; ubi, cum fecisset menses tres, factae sunt illi insidiae a Iudaeis navigaturo in Syriam, habuitque consilium ut reverteretur per Macedoniam. Comitatus est autem eum Sopater Pyrrhi berocensis, Thessalonicensium vero Aristarchus et Secundus, et Gaius derbeus et Timotheus, asiani vero Tychicus et Trophimus. Nos vero navigavimus post dies azymorum a Philippis et venimus ad eos Troadem in diebus quinque, ubi demorati sumus diebus septem. Una autem sabbati, cum convenissemus ad frangendum panem, Paulus disputabat cum eis profecturus in crastinum protraxitque sermonem usque in mediam noctem. Erant autem lampades copiosae in cenaculo ubi eramus congregati.

LUCA, XVIII,12-14

Varlaam

...postescumâ de daori într-o sâptâmănâ și dau a zeacia din tot cât agonisesc. Iara vamâșul sta departe, nu vrea nece ochii sâș râdice cătră ceriu, ce să bâtia în piept și zicia: Doamne milostiv fii mie păcâtoșului. Iarâ grâesc voaâ, că pogoră acesta mai dirept în casa sa, decât acela. Că hiecine se va înălța smeriseva, iarâ cela ce să va smeri inâlțaseva.

Noul Testamente de Bălgrad

...postescumâ de doao ori în sâptămânâ, dau a zeacea de în tot ce am. Iarâ mitarnicul departe stănd, nu vrea nece ochii să rădice cătrâ ceriu; ce batea pieptul lui, zicând: Doamne fii milostiv mie păcătosului. Zic voao că mai îndereptat pogorâ acesta în casa lui decât cela: că tot cela ce să înalțâ plecasăva; iarâ cela ce să pleacâ înălțasăva.

...Ieiuno bis in sabbato, decimas do omnium quae possideo. Et publicanus a longe stans nolebat nec oculos ad caelum levare, sed percutiebat pectus suum dicens: Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori. Dico vobis: descendit hic iustificatus in domum suam ab illo, quia omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur.

Il *Testament* di Bălgrad migliora sopratutto la traduzione di Coresi, e rende la sua più aderente alla lingua del popolo non solo nel lessico, cioè nella scelta delle parole, per cui vengono eliminati molti slavonismi e ungurismi, ma anche nella sintassi, con il risultato di rendere la traduzione più scorrevole, più discorsiva. Non altrettanto, in verità, sempre si può dire questo nei confronti della traduzione di Varlaam: vi sono brani traslati meglio nel *Nou Testament* altri meglio redatti dal metropolita moldavo. Portiamo alcuni esempi. Nella parabola del figliol prodigo, la frase di Luca, 15,11, « Pater, da mihi portionem substantiae quae me contingit » tradotto da Varlaam « părinte dă-

mi ce mi se vine parté din avuție », è resa più aderente alla lingua corrente dal *Nou Testament* « tată dă-mi parté ce mi sa cade de avuție », che esprime anche meglio l'arroganza del figlio; e così della frase seguente di Luca, 15,16, « et cupiebat implere ventrem suum de siliquis, quas porci manducabant », è migliore la traduzione del *Nou Testament* « jeluia să înple păntecele său de măncare ce mănca porcii », dove il verbo *înple* dà esattamente l'*implere* della vulgata, mentre in Varlaam, che traduce « jeluia săș sature pântecele său de rădâcinele ce măîncă porcii », la voce verbale *sature* forza il senso sia della Volgata che dalla traduzione greca che ha γεμίσαι, riempire. Viceversa la frase « coepit egere » della stessa parabola, Luca, 15,14, è meglio resa da Varlaam, il quale dice che il figliol prodigo cominciò « a flămânzi », ad aver fame, che del *Nou Testament* che traduce « a să lipsi fără bucăți », letteralmente « a fare a meno senza vivande », che non è frase romena; la frase di Marco, 8,35, « Qui enim voluerit animam suam salvam facere perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me et evangelium salvam faciet eam », meglio è tradotta da Varlaam, « cela ce va vria săs izbâvască sufletul sau piardelva, iară cela ceș va piiarde sufletul său pentru mine și pentru evanghelie, acela-l va afla » che non il *Nou Testament*, il quale dice « cine va vré să țână viața lui piiardeova, iară cine va piiarde sufletul lui pentru mine și pentru evanghelia acelal va ține », in cui *viața*, vita non traduce *anima* (¹).

Con tutto ciò la traduzione del *Nou Testament de la Bălgrad* segna un passo avanti di notevole importanza nella storia della lingua letteraria romena. Ha agitato per primo il problema della formazione di una lingua superdialettale, ha introdotto neologismi da lingue diverse dallo slavone, e cioè dal greco, dal latino, dall'ungherese, rompendo, sia pure solo per la lingua della Chiesa, la chiusa fonte dello slavo ecclesiastico, preparando così la via a più vivaci sorgenti neologistiche, e, con le note marginali, ha posto le basi per un futuro dizionario dei sinonimi, che ancora la lingua romena non ha. Dice bene l'Iorga, che meglio non si sarebbe potuto esprimere e attuare il programma di una lingua letteraria unica per tutti i Romeni (²).

(¹) I. BĂLAN, *o.c.*, pp. 138-39 e 142-43.

(²) N. IORGA, *Istoria literaturii romînești*, ed. II, București, 1925, vol. I, p. 282.

Ma non bisogna dimenticare che nel *Nou Testament* oltre la traduzione del testo biblico esistono brani originali costituiti dalle prefazioni premesse ai singoli Vangeli, agli Atti degli Apostoli e alle epistole, nonché sommari ai vari capitoli; in essi si rilevano notevoli esempi di stile polemico, di stile didattico, anche di stile orale, nonché nelle *sume*, i sommari nominati, una tendenza verso la breviloquenza sintetica, concisa, nervosa, che ci fa pensare ad alcune formulazioni caratteristiche dello stile moderno (1).

Va messo in rilievo il fatto che, per primo, Simion Ştefan nel porre il problema della formazione di una lingua letteraria unica come espressione di una coscienza etnica unitaria, ha attestato l'esistenza di differenze dialettali lessicali, dovute a influssi politici stranieri. La cosa è tanto più importante in quanto in fatto di lingua letteraria non tutti nel suo secolo eran del suo parere; infatti anche il pope Ivan Zoba di Vint, vicino ad Alba Iulia, che stampò alcune sue cose nella tipografia di Sebeş in favore della propaganda calvinista, nel 1683 in una raccolta di sermoni funebri intitolata *Sicriul de aur*, la bara d'oro, dice espressamente di aver usato parola dialettale a causa delle differenze lessicali esistenti: « Afla-vei şi cuvinte, pentru că rumînii nu grăim toţi intr-un chip, cum iaste: *oca* – pricina au adeverinţa, *in alian* – impotriva, *hasnă*-folosul, *alduiala* – blegoslaveniia, şi altele, care le-am pus după obiceiul cum grăiesc pre aceste locuri » troverai anche delle parole (*diverse*), poiché noi Romeni non parliamo tutti nello stesso modo come p. es. *oca*-pricina au adeverinta (*motivo o testimonianza*), *in alian* – impotrivă (*contro*), *hasnă* – folosul (*utilità*) *alduiala*-blegosloveniia (*benedizione*) ed altre che io ho poste secondo l'uso come parliamo in questi posti » (2).

* * *

5. – L'opera del metropolita Dosoftei.

Tra la pubblicazione del *Nou Testament de la Bălgrad* nel 1648 e il 1673, anno di stampa dei primi lavori del metropolita

(1) G. F. Ţepelea, *Predosloviile*, pp. 155-56.

(2) Rosetti-Cazacu, *o.c.*, p. 75; *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, pp. 477-79; R. Todoran, *Noi particularităţi ale subdialectelor dacoromîne*, in *Cercetări de Lingvistică*, VI, 1961, fasc. 1, p. 44.

Desoftei, *Acatistul Născătoarei de Dumnezeu*, inni in lode della Madonna, e il *Psaltirea sfîntului proroc David*, più noto col nome di *Psaltirea în versuri*, passa un quarto di secolo, durante il quale la lingua letteraria romena, già avviata dalla Chiesa ortodossa a formarsi una robusta ossatura, dà voce alle prime cronache in lingua nazionale. È lecito pensare che a scrivere le cronache in romeno sia stato proprio l'esempio della Chiesa.

Infatti tutte le cronache moldave dei secoli XV e XVI furono scritte in slavone, come il *Letopisețul* (cronaca) *anonim al Moldoviei*, o in slavo russo come i *Letopiseți de la Putna* e la *Cronica Moldo-rusă*, e in tedesco medievale come la *Cronica moldo-germană*, o in polacco come la *Cronica moldo-polonă*, o ancora in medio bulgaro come le tre *Cronici* di Macarie, Eftimie o Azarie e la *Cronica serbo-moldovenească*; le due uniche cronache muntene, la cosiddetta *Cronica Murală de la mănăstirea Bucovăț*, e la *Povestire despre Draucula voievod*, sono scritte in slavone [1].

Se Mihail Moxa aveva tradotto in romeno nel 1620 il più antico cronografo, un repertorio sintetico della storia universale, che ha alla base, per una parte una versione slavona del cronografo bizantino di Manasse e per l'altra tre cronache slavone del secolo XV, e nel 1640 aveva pure tradotto dallo slavone la *Pravila de la Govora*, una raccolta di leggi ecclesiastiche, il primo cronista romeno è un contemporaneo di Varlaam e di Simion Ștefan, e risponde al nome di Grigore Ureche; lo seguono Miron Costin e gli anonimi autori del *Letopisețul cantacuzinesc* e della *Cronica Bălenilor*; ma bisogna rilevare che, rimaste a lungo manoscritte e con circolazione ridotta, pubblicate solo nel secolo scorso e in questo, le opere di costoro non ebbero grande influsso sullo sviluppo della lingua letteraria romena.

Qui ci basta rilevare il fatto singolare che le prime cronache scritte in romeno appaiono dopo che le traduzioni di testi religiosi avevano già almeno un secolo e mezzo di vita. La stessa cosa può dirsi per la traduzione di opere letterarie, come quella, anch'essa rimasta manoscritta, del celebre romanzo di Varlaam

[1] Cf. la edizione nella lingua originale e le traduzioni in I. BOGDAN, *Cronicile slavo-romîne din sec. XV-XVI, ediție revăzută și completată de P. P. Panaitescu*, București, 1959.

e Ioasaf, compiuta a Udrişte Năsturel col titolo *Viaţa Sfintilor Varlaam şi Ioasaf*, terminata nel 1649 (1).

Dosoftei era nato nel 1624 da una famiglia di negozianti di origine macedoromena con parenti in Polonia, a Leopoli; nel 1649 lo troviamo monaco dedito agli studi nella pace del monastero di Pobrata, nel maggio del 1658 è nominato vescovo di Huşi, l'anno dopo passa al vescovato di Roman e nel 1671 è eletto metropolita di Moldavia con sede a Suceava. Uomo dottissimo conosceva, oltre il romeno, il greco, il latino, l'ebraico, lo slavone, il polacco, l'ucraino e il russo tanto bene da poter scrivere correttamente in queste lingue (2); le sue opere poi ci attestano che conosceva bene le regole della retorica, della poesia, oltre che, naturalmente, essere ferratissimo in tutte le scienze sacre. Soffrì l'esilio polacco per motivi politici, e in esilio morì nel 1691, dopo aver avuto parti di primo ordine in controversie teologiche e liturgiche.

A Dosoftei si deve l'introduzione nella Chiesa di Moldavia della lingua romena nella liturgia, in sostituzione dello slavone. Era cosa nota ormai che neppure i popi non conoscevano più la lingua liturgica nella quale officiavano, lingua naturalmente non capita neppure dal popolo; pertanto, con le traduzioni fatte dei testi liturgici, Dosoftei inizia la popolarizzazione della liturgia, permettendo ai fedeli di seguirla durante il servizio religioso.

Aveva iniziato quest'opera nel 1673 con la traduzione dell'*Acatistul Născătoarei de Dumnezeu* (L'inno acatisto della Madre del Signore) pubblicato in Polonia, a Uniev oggi Unev nella R.S.S. dell'Ucraina, seguita poi con la *Dumnezeiască Liturghie* nel 1679, con la quale dava al popolo non solo la possibilità di seguire le liturgie usuali della Chiesa ortodossa di S. Basilio Magno e S. Gregorio Nazanzieno, ma anche le liturgie poeticolari per l'offerta delle primizie della frutta alla chiesa, la benedizione

(1) *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, p. 375. L'edizione più recente è quella curata da Ion C. Chiţimia, *Cărţile populare în literatura romînă*, vol. II, Bucureşti, 1963, pp. 287-302.

(2) Ce lo dimostrano le sue traduzioni dal greco in russo dell'opera di Simeone, metropolita di Salonicco, contro le eresie, delle epistole di Ignazio Teoforo, metropolita di Antiochia, dei Sermoni di Giovanni Crisostomo, della storia ecclesiastica del patriarca di Costantinopoli Germano, oltre a scritti minori in greco, in latino e in russo; cf. G. Pascu, *Istoriea literaturii romîne din sec. XVII*, p. 131-32.

delle aie prima della trebbiatura, quella del raccolto dell'uva e del vino, l'offerta del grano per i defunti, la benedizione dei mazzolini di fiori nella domenica delle palme ecc.; poneva, in tal modo, nelle mani dei popi il migliore strumento di romenizzazione di tutte le funzioni religiose (1). La traduzione fu accolta con tanto favore che se ne dovette fare una seconda edizione nel 1683 col titolo *Molitvelnicul cel mic şi sfînta Liturghie.* Nel 1680 pubblicò un *Psaltire slavo-romînă,* nota anche come *Psaltire de – nţăles* (il Salterio comprensibile), a cui segue l'anno dopo un *Molitvelnicul de – nţăles* (rituale comprensibile) contenente il rito e le preghiere in romeno per la cerimonia del fidanzamento, del matrimonio, del battesimo, dell'estrema unzione e delle esequie per i defunti. Nel 1683 diede ancora alle stampe *Paremiile de preste an,* letture dell'Antico Testamento che si leggono in chiesa alla sera, e un *Octoih,* traduzione di inni liturgici di S. Giovanni Damasceno, ai quali furono poi aggiunti composizioni innologiche di monaci studiti e i tropari degli imperatori bizantini Leone VI il Saggio e Costantino il Porfirogenito.

Che il metropolita Dosoftei fosse non solo conscio del bisogno, da parte del popolo, di capire il significato delle funzioni religiose e di intendere nella propria lingua le preghiere che al rito davano veste, ma anche che preseguisse coscientemente uno scopo, è detto espressamente nella introduzione, indirizzata al veovoda Gheorghe Duca, al *Psaltire slavo-romînă* del 1680, dove così si esprime: « O Signore pio e saggio, scrive il grande illustre Tolomeo: — a che cosa servono un giardino chiuso e una fontana sigillata? E noi, leggendo le interpretazioni e le spiegazioni della Sacra Scrittura, troviamo che lo dice per la difficoltà di intenderle, che vediamo anche nel nostro tempo ... Chi parla in una lingua non capita dal popolo crea solo per sé, ma colui che dice in modo comprensibile costruisce per la chiesa; ed è più grande chi espone in modo comprensibile che chi parla una lingua non intesa, poiché in chiesa è più necessario che io dica cinque parole capite dagli altri, che diecimila dette in un'altra lingua ». Gli stessi concetti, con l'appoggio di antiche testimonianze, ritornano nell'introduzione alla seconda edizione del *Liturghier* del 1683, tradotto in romeno, lo dice espressamente, perché « lo intendano tutti coloro che non capiscono lo slavone o il greco »;

(1) *Istoria bisericii romîne,* II, p. 78.

e riporta la domanda che il patriarca di Alessandria, Marco, aveva indirizzato a quello di Antiochia, Teodoro Balsamon, per sapere se era conveniente che i sacerdoti ortodossi di Siria e della Armenia e anche di altri popoli, officiassero nelle loro lingue nazionali, la risposta era stata affermativa e, per questo il patriarca antiocheno si appoggiava sul passo di Paolo nell'epistola ai Romani, 3,29, che nella Volgata suona: An Indaeorum Deus tantum? Nonne et gentium? Immo et gentium »; e Dosoftei, riportando commentava « De ce ceia ceş pravoslavnici întru tot, şi de vor fi de elinésca limbâ cu tot nepartnici, pe limba sa slujascâ sfînta liturghie . . . », « pertanto coloro che sono ortodossi in tutto, ma sono completamente estranei alla lingua greca, servano la santa liturgia nella loro lingua (1).

Con ciò, Dosoftei era certo di rimanere nella piena ortodossia e nello spirito della tradizione della Chiesa ortodossa. È il primo tra i prelati della Chiesa orientale che, persuaso della necessità di introdurre la lingua romena nell'uso della liturgia a tutto vantaggio della religione, inizia un'opera che è certamente rivoluzionaria, per la quale bisognava anche persuadere il clero ad officiare nella lingua nazionale, opera che egli non vedrà compiuta per le immancabili opposizioni che in ogni tempo e luogo sorgono contro qualsiasi innovazione, ma che pose la base sulla quale poi opereranno in seguito altri prelati per compiere l'opera da lui coraggiosamente iniziata.

Ma, se anche per questo Dosoftei è rimasto una delle pietre fondamentali dell'opera svolta dalla Chiesa ortodossa romena per la formazione della lingua letteraria del suo paese, il suo nome vi viene inciso a lettere d'oro con le due sue opere più importanti, la *Psaltire în versuri* che è la prima traduzione dei Salmi in versi, e le *Vieţile Sfinţilor*, le vite dei Santi, opera agiografica in quattro volumi.

Pubblicato a Uniev nel 1673 a spese del voevoda di Moldavia Ştefan Petriceicu, la traduzione in versi del Salterio dovette probabilmente essere preceduta da quella in prosa, che Dosoftei diede alle stampe più tardi, nel 1680, nella *Psaltire slavo-romînă*. Il lavoro della riduzione in versi, oltre 8600, durò cinque anni, « in cinci ani foarte cu osîrdie mare » e fu opera che richiese grandissimo zelo. È il primo lavoro in versi che non abbia un carattere

(1) Bianu şi Hodoş, *Bibliografia romînească veche*, I, p. 225.

occasionale ed encomiastico, come lo era stato prima nel 1643 per la *Cartea romînească de învățătură* di Varlaam, in cui si lodava il voevoda Vasile Lupu per l'opera sua in favore della cultura, e per i *Şapte taine* dello stesso metropolita, del 1644, i cui versi sono dedicati ai voevodi di Moldavia, o per la *Evanghelie învățătoară* stampata nel monastero di Dealu nel 1644 con versi dedicati allo stemma valacco e alla famiglia voevodale dei Basarabi, o per i versi dedicati al metropolita di Tîrgovişte Ştefan nella *Indreptarea legii* e nella *Tîrnosanie*, la liturgia per la consacrazione delle chiese, ambedue del 1652.

L'idea della versificazione dei Salmi dovette essere suggerita a Dosoftei dalla traduzione in versi fatta dal poeta polacco Jan Kochanowski nel 1579, alla quale forse allude in una nota, parlando di una *Psaltirea leşească*, un salterio polacco, e dato che gli schemi prosodici delle due traduzioni si assomigliano; oltre questo nessuna altra affinità si trova fra il poeta polacco e il metropolita moldavo, e ciò è comprensibile se si pensa che il primo era cattolico e il secondo ortodosso. Pertanto Dosoftei ci dà una traduzione sua propria, nella quale spesso seppe vincere le difficoltà che gli venivano dall'uso di una lingua, il cui carattere fondamentalmente rurale non solo non si piegava facilmente a rendere con esattezza il lirismo dei salmi davidici, ma anche male si prestava a sottoporsi alle leggi ritmiche di una versificazione nuova, così lontana da quella della poesia popolare, unica forma prosodica allora usata dal popolo romeno. Nonostante queste difficoltà, di cui si vedono talvolta le conseguenze nell'assenza del fascino lirico originale, bisogna riconoscere che Dosoftei, tenendosi quasi sempre vicino al senso del testo, riuscì ad esprimerlo con diversa cadenza, rispettando, spesso a grandi linee, l'immaginifica ricchezza davidica con un linguaggio che ha un certo sapore ecclesiastico, cadenzato in fluido stile, e col rispetto delle molte metafore originali, talvolta anche localizzando in senso romeno con parole applicabili solo alle condizioni del suo tempo.

Portiamo ad esempio la traduzione del salmo 46 con a fronte la traduzione moderna, fatta da Radu-Galaction [1] e in calce il testo latino.

[1] Vasile Radu şi Gala Galaction, *Biblia, adică Dumnezeiasca Scriptură*, Bucureşti, 1944, p. 583; riporto da Rosetti-Cazacu, *o.c.*, pp. 139-40.

SALMO XLVI,2-10

Dosoftei	*Radu-Galaction*
2. Limbile să salte Cu cîntece nalte, Să strige-n tărie Glas de bucurie. Lăudînd pre Domnul Să cînte tot omul.	Voi neamuri, toate bateți din palme! Strigați lui Dumnezeu cu glas de bucurie!
3. Domnul iaste tare, Iaste-mpărat mare Preste tot pămîntul Și-ș ține cuvîntul.	Căci Domnul Cel Prea Înalt este înfricoșat și mare împărat peste pămîntul tot.
4. Supusu-ne-au gloate Și limbile toate De ni-s supt picioare Limbi de pre supt soare.	El a plecat popoare sub stăpînirea noastră și seminții sub picioarele noastre.
5. Alesu-ș-au șie Parte de moșie, Tara cea dorită Carea-i giuruită Lui Iacov iubitul, Ce-i ține cuvîntul. Mila să-ș arate Cea de bunătate Spre noi, ticăloșii, Precum ne spun moșii.	El ne-a ales nouă moștenirea noastră, mîndria lui Iacob, pe care îl iubește.
6. Pre vîrfuri de munte S-aud glasuri multe De bucine mare Cu naltă strigare, Că s-au suit Domnul Să-l vadză tot omul.	Se urcă Domnul în templul său, în strigăte de bucurie, Cel Veșnic în sunete de trîmbiță.
7. Cîntaț în lăute, În dzîcături multe, Cîntaț pre -mpăratul	Preamăriți pe Dumnezeu în cîntări de harfă, cîntați! Cîntați împăratului nostru: preamăriți-l!
8. Că nu-i ca dîns altul Să domnească-n lume Cu sfîntul său nume.	Căci împărat peste tot pămîntul e Dumnezeu; cîntați-i lui cîntări de laudă!
9. Cîntaț să-nțeleagă Preste lume largă, Că Dumnedzău poate Pre limbi preste toate De le-mblindzească Și le-mpărățească Scaunul dă radză Unde va să șadză Domnul din direapta	Dumnezeu împărățește peste neamuri; Dumnezeu stă în jilțul său cel sfînt.

10. Să-mpărțească plata
Pre boiari, pre gloate,
Pre limbile toate.
Și cine să-nnalță
Din hire sămață
I-a vede tot omul
Cum i-a certa Domnul.

Fruntașii poparelor s-au adunat, ca poporul al Dumnezeului lui Avraam, căci ai lui Dumnezeu sînt luptătorii pămîntului, iar el înalt e foarte.

2. Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus,
Iubilate Deo in voce exaltationis:
3. quoniam Dominus excelsus, terribilis,
rex magnus super omnem terram.
4. Subiecit populos nobis et gentes sub pedibus nostris:
5. elegit nobis hereditatem suam;
speciem Iacobi quam dilexit.
6. Ascendit Deus in iubilo
Et Dominus in voce tubae.
7. Psallite Deo nostro, psallite:
Psallite regi nostro, psallite.
8. Quoniam rex omnis terrae Deus, psallite sapienter.
9. Regnabit Deus super gentes;
Deus sedet super sedem sanctam suam.
10. Principes populorum congregati sunt cum Deo Abraham,
quoniam dii fortes terrae vehementer elevati sunt.

Una magnifica traduzione, che ha avuto anche una grande fortuna popolare, è quella del salmo 136; si direbbe che, nel lamento di Geremia per la patria perduta, sia il presentimento del dolore di Dosoftei per il futuro esilio dalla sua terra moldava:

SALMO CXXXVI

Dosoftei

1. La apa Vavilonului,
Jelind de țara domnului,
Acolo ședzum și plînsăm
La voroavă ce ne strînsăm.
Și cu inemă amară
Prin Sion și pentru țară
Aducîndu-ne aminte,
Plîngeam cu lacrimi herbinte
2. Și bucine ferecate
Lăsăm prin sălci aninate.
3. Că acolo ne-ntrebară
Aceia ce ne predară
Să le dzicem viers de carte
Într-acea streinătate,

Radu-Galaction

Lîngă rîurile Babiloniei, acolo am șezut și am plîns, cînd ne-am adus aminte de Sion.

În soforele din mijlocul ținutului spînzurat-am harfele noastre.

Căci acolo cei ce ne-au robit pe noi ne-au cerut cîntări și asupritorii noștri cîntece de veselie: Cîntați-ne din cîntările Sionului!

Ca-n sfînt muntele Sionul
Cîntări ce cîntăm la Domnul.

4. Ce nu ni să da-ndemînă
A cînta-n țară streină.

Cum să cîntăm cîntarea Domnului în păpînt strein?

5. De te-aș uita țară sfîntă,
Atuncea să-mi vie smîntă,
Și direaptea mea să uite
A schimba viers în lăute.

De te voi uita, Ierusalime, uitată să fie dreapta mea!

6. Și să mi să prindză limba
De gingini, jilindu-mi scîrba
De te-aș mai putea uita-te
Ierusalim cetate,
Nainte de ne te-aș pune
În pomeane-n dzile bune.

Să se lipească limba mea de cerul gurii mele, dacă nu-mi voi aduce aminte de tine, dacă nu voi pune Ierusalimul în fruntea bucuriei mele.

7. Să nu uiț, Doamne sfinte,
De Edom ce-au dzis cuvinte
Sfintei cetăț în protivă
Cu rău din gura zlobivă:
Răsipiți-i ziduri nalte,
Deșertaț de bunătate.

Adu-ți aminte, Doamne, de fiii Edomului, de cei care în ziua Ierusalimului ziceau: Dărîmați-l! Dărîmați-l pînă în temelie!

8. Tu, fată vavilonească,
Răul va să te tilnească.
Va fi ș-acela-n ferice
Ce-ț va veni să te strice,
Că ți să va-ntoarce darul
Cum ne-nchini tu cu păharul,

Fiică a Babilonului. Tu care ne-ai pustiit: fericit este cel care-ți va răsplăti pentru cele ce tu ne-ai făcut nouă!

9. Cînd cuconii tăi de ziduri
Vor zdrobi-i ca nește hîrburi.

Fericit este cel care va lua și va zdrobi de stînci pe pruncii tăi!

1. Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus
Et flevimus cum recordaremur Sion:
2. et in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra.
3. Quia illic interrogaverunt nos,
qui captivos duxerunt nos, verba cantionum;
et qui abduxerunt nos: Hymnum cantate nobis de canticis Sion.
4. Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?
5. Si oblitus fuero tui, Ierusalem,
oblivioni detur dextera mea;
6. adhaereat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui;
si non proposuero Ierusalem in principio laetitiae meae.
7. Memor esto, Domine, filiorum Edom in die Ierusalem,
qui dicunt: exinanite, exinanite,
usque ad fundamentum in ea.
8. Filia Babylonis misera beatus qui retribuet tibi
retributionêm tuam, quam retribuisti nobis.
9. Beatus qui tenebit et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram.

È evidente che Dosoftei non è un grande poeta, ma che fu aiutato nella versificazione da uno straordinario senso musicale. I suoi decasillabi, dodecasillabi e anche i versi più lunghi di tredici, quattordici e sedici sillabe sono talvolta maldestri; portiamo ad esempio l'inizio del salmo 86, che è in versi di 12 sillabe:

SALMO LXXXVI, 1-2

Dosoftei	*Radu-Galaction*
Urdzîturile lui ce-a să-ş facă casă Sînt în măguri sfinte cu pădurea deasă.	Cetatea de El întemeiată este pe sfinte înălţimei.
Poarta din Sionul i-i Domnului dragă / decît toată ţara lui Iacov cea largă.	Domnul iubeşte porţile Sionului mai mult decît toate sălaşurile lui Iacob.

Fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis;
diligit Dominus portas Sion super omnia tabernacula Iacob.

Si può portare come esempio di versi di 16 sillabe i vv. 12-13 del salmo 33 [1]:

SALMO XXXIII, 12-14

Dosoftei

Veniţ cuconi lîngă mine s-ascultaţ de ce voi dzîce.
S-aveţ de Dumnădzău frică, să fie de voi ferice.
Omule ce pofteşt viaţă, dzile să veds fără scîrbă,
Din gura ţ-opreaşte răul şi vicleşugul din limbă

Radu-Galaction

Veniţi, fiilor, ascultaţi-mă, căci vreau să vă învăţ frica de Domnul. / Care este omul căruia să nu-i placă viaţa şi să nu iubească lungimea ei şi să nu-i fie voia să se bucure de fericire? / Păzeşte limba ta de rău şi buzele tale de cuvîntul viclean /.

Venite, filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos. / Quis est homo qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos? / Prohibe linguam tuam a malo, et labia tua ne loquantur dolum. /

I versi più vicini al metro popolare, di sei, sette e otto sillabe, sono veramente scorrevoli, leggieri, sonori, sì da aver presto molta fortuna per l'acquisita circolazione orale; il salmo 46, riportato,

[1] Riporto i due testi moderni dalla prima edizione della traduzione Radu-Galaction, rispettivamente pp. 597 e 568.

il 48 (Auziți aceasta toate, / neamuri, noroade și gloate – Audite haec omnes gentes), il 94 (Veniți cu toți dimpreună / să ne facem voie bună – Venite, exultemus Domino) e il 98 (Domnul stătu crai în țară – Dominus regnavit) diventarono ben presto colinde, versi popolari cantati dai fanciulli nel periodo natalizio, e furono accolti da Anton Pann nel 1830 nella sua raccolta di *Versuri muzicești ce se cîntă la nașterea Mintuitorului nostru I. Hr.* (Versi musicat che si cantano alla nascita del Salvatore nostro Gesù Cristo) (1). Influenzato da versi di Dosoftei appare anche un *Cintec de Cracium*, canto natalizio, pubblicato dal Gaster (2).

L'altra opera principale di Dosoftei, *Viața și petrecerea Sfinților* (Vita e festa dei Santi), che nella prefazione era intitolata *Sinaxar* e nell'occhiello *Proloagele tuturor Sfinților*, narra la vita dei Santi che sono ricordate in tutti i giorni dell'anno nel calendario liturgico, ad eccezione di quelli festeggiati dall'11 luglio al 31 agosto. Le fonti del lavoro, confessate da Dosoftei come traduzioni « de pe greciaște și de pe sîrbiaște » sono tratte in primo luogo da libri pubblicati dai Glykys a Venezia, i *Sinassari* del vescovo di Citera Massimo Margunio del 1607, un rimaneggiamento noegreco dei menologi bizantini, il *Cronografo* di Doroteo di Monenbasia del 1631, quello di Matteo Cigala del 1637 e il *Nuovo Paradiso* di Agapio Lando del 1664, e in secondo luogo, a causa di alcune incertezze nelle traduzioni, da testi mediobulgari in uso allora nella chiesa romena.

Un primo gruppo narra leggende riferite su Gesù Cristo, la Sacra Famiglia e gli Apostoli, le quali hanno come fonte, generalmente, testi apocrifi dei Vangeli e dell'Apocalisse (3). Un altro gruppo è formato dalle leggende agiografiche dei martiri e degli asceti; si tratta in genere di leggende, molte delle quali correvano anche per l'Europa occidentale, miste ad elementi folcloristici e fantastici, che hanno fatto la fortuna dell'opera, letta per l'inte-

(1) *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, p. 446; cf. anche R. TODORAN, *O copie ardeleană a « Psaltirii în versuri » a Mitropolitului Dosoftei*, in *Buletinul Universității Babeș-Bolyai*, I, Cluj, 1956, p. 291 e n. 2.

(2) M. GASTER, *Crestomatie romînă*, I, București, 1891, p. 136, riprodotto da un ms. della chiesa di S. Nicola di Brașov; cito da D. GAZDARU, *Contribuții privitoare la Dosofteiu*, in *Arhiva*, Iași, 1927, nn. 3-4, p. 148.

(3) N. CARTOJAN, *Istoria literaturii romîne veche*, II, București, 1942, p. 120.

resse religioso suscitato, ma anche, e forse più, per quell'aspetto miracoloso che dà alle vite narrate un senso di arcano sapore superumano.

Dosoftei rappresenta un momento importante nel consolidamento della lingua letteraria nella seconda metà del secolo XVII, sia per il fatto di averla definitivamente stabilita in Moldavia come lingua della Chiesa, sia per i meriti artistici di cui seppe dotarla e per averne ampliato il quadro lessicale con prestiti dal greco, dal latino, dal polacco e con creazioni sue particolari di parole; gli influssi, è evidente, gli vennero dagli originali delle sue traduzioni, ma ciò non toglie che egli conoscesse molto bene il romeno, come è dimostrato da forme arcaiche, regionali, popolari da lui usate, e anche da voci aromene della sua famiglia di origine. Se, talvolta, il carattere colto dei suoi scritti dà un aspetto un po' artificioso allo stile, molti sono i passi in cui la lingua parlata, che ha netto predominio, riesce ad esprimersi in creazione artistica, alla quale hanno contribuito neologismi latini e neogreci, che si sono dimostrati resistenti all'usura del tempo e sono validi ancor oggi, a differenza di molte parole slavone della terminologia religiosa, da Dosoftei usate, che la lingua letteraria dei secoli posteriori non ha più ritenuto.

A Dosoftei rimangono pertanto i vanti di aver contribuito all'arricchimento del vocabolario della lingua romena, di aver iniziato, sia pure con molte difficoltà, la versificazione di un amplissimo testo, cosa mai sino allora tentata nei paesi romeni, e, soprattutto, con l'introduzione in Moldavia della lingua del popolo nella liturgia, di aver contribuito a fissare la morfologia, il lessico e la sintassi del romeno (1).

(*segue*) Mario RUFFINI

(1) Sulla lingua di Dosoftei si veda l'ampio studio fattone da ROSETTI-CAZACU, *o.c.*, pp. 113-39.

A Checklist of Syriac manuscripts in the United States and Canada (*)

More than a century ago American scholars were expressing their concern that Oriental studies, including the Syriac language and its literature, were not being pursued with the intensity and scope they deserved. Specifically, they realized the need for locating and identifying the manuscripts which were beginning to

(*) ABBREVIATIONS

a.i.a.	=	additional information available from the author or from the library holding the manuscript.
Baumstark	=	ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte des syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Webers Verlag, 1922)
c.	=	circa
cm	=	centimeter (s)
col	=	column (s)
ea.	=	each
f	=	folio (s)
Gr	=	according to the Greek calendar
Gregory	=	CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902)
in	=	inch (es)
JAOS	=	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	=	*Journal of Biblical Literature* and its predecessor
l	=	line (s)
List	=	*List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* (*Preliminary Issue*), edited by The Peshitta Institute (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961)
Macdonald	=	DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, " Description of the Semitic manuscripts in the library of the Hartford Theological Seminary," *Journal of the American Oriental Society Proceedings* (March, 1894) lxix-lxx.
Mitchell	=	E. C. MITCHELL, *Critical Handbook of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1896)
ms	=	manuscript (s)
p.	=	page (s)

make their way in increasing numbers to America (1). The plea for additional information on Oriental materials in the United States and Canada has also been expressed in more recent times. James A. Montgomery wrote almost fifty years ago:

> Indeed a desideratum of our American Orientalistic science is a catalogue of the Oriental MSS. scattered throughout the country in numerous public and private libraries, which may otherwise only accidentally be brought to the light of day (2).

In his Introduction to Kenneth W. Clark's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America*, published in 1937, Edgar J. Goodspeed expressed the hope that Clark's work would

> ...move someone to undertake the parallel task of listing and describing the manuscripts of the various ancient versions of the New Testament — Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Latin, etc. — that can be found in this country (3).

And in 1950 Professor Clark re-emphasized the continuing need.

> An official guide to all these manuscripts is a prerequisite to the work of the textual critic, for only through such a catalogue are his materials rendered available to him (4).

---

p.i. = personal information
q = quire (s)
Rogers = ROBERT W. ROGERS, "A Catalogue of Manuscripts (Chiefly Oriental) in the library of Haverford College," *Haverford College Studies* 4 (1890) 28-50.
Smith = HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, " Biblical Manuscripts in America," JBL 42 (1923) 239-250.
U.C.B.W.M. = United Church Board for World Ministries
Wright = JOHN WRIGHT, *Historic Bibles in America* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1905).

(1) See *On the Syriac Language and the Peshito Version*, by " B.C.H." in « The Journal of Sacred Theology » 5 (1853) 455-464, and *Notice of a Life of Alexander the Great* by Rev. Dr. JUSTIN PERKINS ..., JAOS 4 (1854) 359-440.

(2) *Notes on Two Syriac MSS.*, JBL 39 (1920) 113.

(3) Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, ix.

(4) *The Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament*, « *New Testament Manuscript Studies* », edited by MERRILL M. PARVIS and ALLEN P. WIKGREN, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1950, 1-24, 175-177, especially p. 6.

Scholars outside the United States were also aware of the research value of manuscripts which had been carried to the New World. In his most helpful article, « Repertoire des bibliothèques publiques et privées d'Europe contenant des manuscrits syriaques», which appeared in *Orientalia* in 1940 (1), Father Jean Simon expressed the hope of publishing a list of Syriac manuscripts included in the important collections of Asia and America. Unfortunately, this task was never accomplished. As late as 1962 Moshe Henry Goshen-Gottstein of The Hebrew University in Jerusalem lamented the fact that

> ...the MSS in the United States are, generally speaking, *terra incognita*... No Semitic collection of any size has ever been described in a full-size catalogue... No list of any Syriac collection is available(2).

Further evidence of interest in the subject may be found in the inquiries which, even in the brief course of my research, have already come from abroad seeking information on the location of specific items.

In spite of the several pleas of the past century (all justifiably voiced!) that the extant manuscripts be located and identified, it would be quite misleading not to mention that many important goals were accomplished. The complete list of such contributions need not be cited here, but a few of the more prominent ones come readily to mind: the early surveys of Oriental manuscripts by William B. Hodgson (3), John Wright (4), and the American Oriental Society (5), the continuing efforts by the journals of both this society and the Society of Biblical Literature in publishing numerous descriptions and translations of Syriac works, especially those by Isaac Hollister Hall and Richard James Horatio Gottheil which appeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and William Henry Paine Hatch's *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (6). Indicative of the attention that has been given to

(1) Volume 9, p. 271-288.

(2) *Biblical Manuscripts in the United States*: « *Textus* », the Annual of The Hebrew University Bible Project of Jerusalem edited by C. RABIN, 2 (1962) 28-59, especially p. 28.

(3) See the comments by CYRUS ADLER, JAOS 15 (1893) ccx-ccxi.

(4) *Historic Bibles in America*, New York, Thomas Whittaker, 1905.

(5) JAOS 14 (1890) i-ii, cxlvi-cxlvii.

(6) Boston, The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946.

Syriac studies in America is the list of American publications included in Cyril Moss' *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (1) and in my supplement to this important work (2). A number of general catalogues and guides to collections of manuscripts in America have appeared, but helpful as they are for many Oriental studies, none of them serves adequately as a guide to Syriac materials (3).

It was on the basis of my own need for knowing the location of Syriac New Testaments in America that I first realized the lack of such specific information and undertook the task of compiling a checklist of the manuscripts that could be located (4). The following data represent the results of my efforts. While the list is the largest and most nearly complete to date, there are several limitations which require that it be considered only preliminary. First, it can in no wise be considered exhaustive. It seems quite certain that some manuscripts, how many and how important we can only guess, remain in the hands of families who have migrated to America since the turn of the century. Secondly, because this is a checklist and not a descriptive catalogue, it has been necessary to limit the information given on most of the items, only a few of which I have examined personally. One might then ask why the present list should be published at this time. My decision to offer these data for publication rests on the fact that the search has reached the point at which further effort would be laborious and costly in terms of time and money, and would probably yield less information on *new* items than that accumulated thus far. Also, I have been moved in my decision by the twofold hope that what is here presented will be of some immediate use to students of the Syriac language and its literature and that the appearance of the list may be a stimulus to others to join in the continuing search for additional manuscripts.

(1) London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1962.

(2) *Un supplément américain au « Syriac Catalogue de Ciril Moss »*, « L'Orient Syrien » 8 (1963) 469-484.

(3) A list of some of the important and recent works is scheduled to appear in *The Search for Syriac Manuscripts in America*, JAOS 85, Number 2 (1965).

(4) A brief description of the project was presented as a paper before the American Oriental Society and the Midwest Section of the Society of Biblical Literature in Chicago on April 13, 1965. See footnote 13, above, for bibliographical reference.

In compiling the descriptive information I have tried to follow in a general way the sigla and arrangement of material as presented in The Peshitta Institute's *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts (Preliminary Issue)* (1). In listing the addressess of the individuals and libraries currently holding the manuscripts, I have included the Zone Improvement Program (ZIP) Code Numbers, recently assigned by the United States Post Office. Because the descriptions come from many sources, however, there has been no attempt to make each description conform exactly in arrangement. For example, dimensions are given in inches or in centimeters, proper names are occasionally spelled in more than one way, and dates are listed according to the Christian or the Greek calendar, the latter identified by the abbreviation « Gr » after the year of composition. Such details appear as reported either in printed descriptions or in correspondence from holding libraries. Roman numerals are used to indicate centuries. Karshuni manuscripts are nor included in this list, except in those manuscripts that are bi-lingual.

The initial numbers have been assigned by the present author primarily for use in the indices of authors, dates and contents which will appear at the end of the list. They are in no sense to be considered official. The identification numbers assigned by the holding libraries are given whenever they could be obtained. Bibliographical references to individual manuscripts are listed in chronological, rather than alphabetical order after the descriptions. These references often contain further information than that given in the checklist, and the lack of a specific datum in this list should not be considered as an indication that no further information is known. The symbol « a.i.a. » is used to designate those items for which additional information is available from either the present author or from the library in which the manuscript is housed.

The kind and generous assistance of many persons over the past five years has made possible the publication of this checklist, and I can only mention their names here as an indication of my genuine gratitude: Mr. Donn Michael Farris, Miss Florence Blakely, Miss Mary Canada, Miss Harriett Leonard, and Mr. Emerson Ford of the Duke University Libraries, Professors John Strugnell, William F. Stinespring, and Kenneth W. Clark of the Graduate

(1) Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1961, hereafter referred to as *List*.

School Faculty of Duke University, Professor Bruce M. Metzger of Princeton Theological Seminary, Father William F. Macomber, S.J., currently carrying on research at Al-Hikma University in Baghdad, Mr. Harold Brueland, a student in the Harvard Divinity School, and the staff personnel of numerous libraries who so patiently answered my requests and otherwise came to my aid in this search for Syriac manuscripts.

AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS

Amherst College Library 01002

NEWTON F. MCKEON, Director

1. MS-P9h. Pseudo-Callisthenes. History of Alexander the Great. 2056 Gr.

Paper; c. $8^1/_2 \times 6^1/_2$ in; 19 q, the first and last with 8 f ea., the remainder with 10 f ea.; 1 col; 20 l; a.i.a.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

University of Michigan Library 48103

HARRIET C. JAMESON, Rare Book Librarian

2. Mich. MS. 129. Lectionary. Nestorian. 1581/82.

Paper; old Morocco binding; 28×17,5 cm; 225 f; a.i.a.

3. Mich. MS. 144. Gospel Lectionary, Jacobite. Harclean. XIII.

Vellum; 42×31 cm; 3 f; a.i.a.

Merrill M. Parvis, "The Importance of the Michigan Manuscript Collection for New Testament Textual Studies," *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. by Merrill M. Parvis and Allen P. Wikgren (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950) 125-136.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Yonan Codex Foundation, Inc.

208 Five Points Center Building – 30601

DAN MACDOUGALD, President

4. The Yonan Manuscript. New Testament. "Common canon." XI (?).

Vellum; c. 9×7 in; 227 f; 1 col; 28-31 l; a.i.a.

This manuscript has been widely publicized. It is included in Henry Preserved Smith's "Biblical Manuscripts in America," JBL 42

(1923) 239-250 [1], and is described in some detail in Edward F. Siegman's "The Yonan Codex of the New Testament," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 18 (1956) 151-157. The above description is taken from information supplied by the Yonan Codex Foundation, Inc., on a thermofax copy of a four page description written by John Shapley. Microfilm copies of the codex are reported to be at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, Mercer University in Macon, Georgia, and Southwestern Baptist Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas.

Emory University 30601

Personal Library of Professor MERRILL M. PARVIS

5. A Book of Ritual for the Dead. Nestorian. 1734 (?).

This manuscript was once part on the collection of William Henry Paine Hatch. a.i.a.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Walters Art Gallery

600 North Charles Street 21200

DOROTHY MINER, Librarian and Keeper of Manuscripts

6. W. 550. Gospel Lectionary. Estrangela. XIV, possibly XII. Vellum; unbound; 17×12,5 in; 98 f; a.i.a.

Seymour de Ricci, assisted by W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1935-1940) I, 763, no. 35; Hugo Buchthal and Otto Kurz, *A Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1942) 9, no. 1; Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1947) 148-149, Plate CVIII.

BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS

Zion Research Library

120 Seaver Street – 02146

WILMA CORCORAN, Librarian

7. B3. New Testament. Romans 7.3-10.4. Estrangela. VI-VII. Vellum: 11 1/8×8 3/8 in; 5 f; 2 col; 24-25 l; a.i.a.

A small reproduction showing two pages of this manuscript may be secured from the Zion Research Library.

[1] Hereafter referred to as Smith.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Harvard University 01922

The Harvard collection of Syriac manuscripts is by far the largest in the United States and Canada. Its size, the previous efforts to make known its contents, and the various sources from which the present information comes call for special comment. While the data listed below represent the most comprehensive descriptions of this collection published to date, the Harvard manuscripts are in particular need of a more thorough study (1).

Mr. W. H. Bond, now Head Librarian of Houghton Library, has kindly provided me with a mimeographed list entitled "The Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University." (2) This list gives no author or date, but it does provide brief descriptions of one hundred and nineteen Syriac items, plus a few Karshuni manuscripts. The list ends with mention of other manuscripts, previously part of the collection, and a general statement on the significance of the collection:

«Most of these are superbly bound by Wilson of Cambridge (Eng.) and it will be seen that they range over the whole period of Syriac literature, and contain examples of all the great writers. Many of the Mss. were acquired at great cost, and where the originals could not be purchased, no expense has been spared upon the production of good transcripts. The amount of inedita in the collection is very great, in spite of the fact that a number of scholars have had access to the collection, such as Professor Margolouth [*sic*] (3980), Dr. Dietrich (4003), Mrs. Gibson (4027-4065), Rendel Harris (4021-[*sic*] and others. . . . (3) ».

(1) Professor Moshe Henry Goshen-Gottstein has announced his plans to publish a handlist of the Harvard Syriac collection. See his *Biblical Manuscripts in the United States*, «*Textus*» the Annual of The Hebrew University Bible Project of Jerusalem, edited by C. RABIN, 2 (1962) 28-59. Professor Goshen-Gottstein has written more recently that the handlist is to appear in the *Harvard Theological Review.*

(2) Most of the manuscripts now at Harvard are held in the Houghton Library, although a few are found in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

(3) An example of the recent copies referred to here would be 4023, *The lost work of Nestorius, called Heracleides*... Professor HENRY CHADWICK of Christ Church, Oxford, has written that Harvard possesses one of four copies of this work (the others being in Strasbourg, Cambridge, and London), all of which were made from a twelfth century codex formerly in the library of the Urmiah mission. Most unfortunately, the present location of the parent is unknown. See the bibliographic reference given for item 126.

Most of the descriptions which appear below are taken from this list provided by Mr. Bond, but information has also come from other sources. Extensive notes on most of the Harvard manuscripts were compiled by a Mr. L. H. Titterton while he was a graduate student there about 1910 (1). In the summer of 1964 Father Macomber examined the Harvard collection and made his own notations, a few of which were left with the Houghton Library and which subsequently have been forwarded to me. I have included some of this information here with appreciation for Father Macomber's several forms of assistance and encouragement, and with the hope that he will soon be able to publish the additional notes he has made on the items in the Houghton Library. Father Juan Mateos of the Pontifical Oriental Institute made a brief investigation of some of these materials in the summer of 1965, and his very helpful observations, so kindly offered, are briefly noted in the following list. I am especially indebted to Mr. Harold Brueland for his painstaking efforts in examining the manuscripts and notes in order to provide me with many needed details.

Also on deposit in Houghton Library are some manuscripts which belong to The United Church Board for World Ministries, formerly The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (2). Father Macomber has examined these materials and noted that not all are in Syriac. Mr. Brueland has found evidence that besides those listed in the U.C.B.W.M. office, and those identified by Father Macomber as belonging to that organization, there are five other items which are still considered the property of the U.C.B.W.M., according to notes filed with the individual manuscripts. He also writes that apparently these manuscripts were deposited in the Houghton Library in the spring of 1943 (3). The U.C.B.W.M. Syriac manuscripts at Houghton Library are listed at the beginning of the Harvard collection in this checklist. They appear as items 8 through 21.

Part of the information now available at the Houghton Library includes a correlation of some of the various numbering systems which

(1) According to a letter from Mr. Bond, Titterton's descriptions are approximately three hundred pages in length and could be made available on film for about twenty-five dollars.

(2) Hereafter referred to as U.C.B.W.M. Its offices are located at 14 Beacon Street, Room 708, Boston, Massachusetts, 02108.

(2) It should be noted that items 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 in this checklist have the same descriptions in both the Houghton notes and in the U.C.B.W.M. information sent to me. However, the descriptions for items 8 through 16 in the above list are not the same as the corresponding numbers from that office. Such confusion is regrettable but seems destined to persist until an official guide based on a first hand investigation of all the information can be made. At least, the person who undertakes the task has been forewarned of what he is apt to encounter.

have been used to identify the Syriac materials (1). Father Macomber is responsible for this important aid in locating and identifying specific items in the collection. In an attempt to provide as much information as possible that might be of help to those interested in the Harvard manuscripts, I have given all of the identification numbers known to have been used for the individual items. The numbers used below represent, in the order listed, those of the present checklist, the Houghton Library shelf list, the Semitic Museum accession, and, in parenthesis, the number assigned by Titterton, which *sometimes* coincides with the current shelf number. The need for an official catalogue of these materials becomes increasingly obvious.

Houghton Library 01922

RODNEY DENNIS, Curator of Manuscripts

8. Har. Syr. Ms. 2, *42M-749. New Testament. Gospels. Peshitta. c. 1200.

This manuscript includes the Eusebian canons and the liturgical lessons, probably for the Jacobite liturgy. It and items 9 and 10 have been briefly described for the office of the U.C.B.W.M., which provided me with the information on items 8 through 16.

9. Har. Syr. Ms. 3, *42M-754. Lectionary. Epistles of St. Paul. Nestorian. 1216.

Paper; $13^1/_2 \times 9 \times 3$ in; 2 col; 19 l; a.i.a.

This item has been described in detail by Isaac H. Hall. See his "A Syriac Apostolos Manuscript in the Library of the A.B.C.F.M. at Boston," JBL *Papers* (June and December, 1888) 1-13.

10. Har. Syr. Ms. 4, *42M-753. New Testament. Peshitta. 1199/1200. Presented to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign

(1) Professor P. A. H. de Boer and his colleagues at the Peshitta Institute at Leiden University have made some, though apparently not consistent use of this double notation in the *List*. For example, on page 7 the item he lists as Ms. Syr. 118 does not carry the number 4053, which is the number used to designate the same manuscript in the Semitic Museum list. On page 54, which is part of the Appendix containing a list of " manuscripts lost, unavailable or not to be used for the edition of the Syriac Old Testament", they list four items with the double identification number, plus two manuscripts that apparently were not numbered by Titterton. One discrepancy occurs between the listings on page 54 and those which follow: item 151 in this checklist (4049) carries the further designation of Ms. Syr. 21, but according to my information it is number 114 in Titterton's list.

Missions by the American missionary Dr. Grant. The manuscript contains a diagram of the genealogy of Christ. a.i.a.

11. Har. Syr. Ms. 5, (1) *42M-1690. Psalter and Prayers for Every Day of the Week, with Canticles. Peshitta. Nestorian.
22×16 cm, damaged at the end. See *List*, 54.

12. Har. Syr. Ms. 6, *42M-1772. Ebedjesu (Abdisho). XIX (?). Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers.
Paper; unbound.

13. Har. Syr. Ms. 10, *42M-1884. Prayer of Students. Nestorian.
This late manuscript is bi-lingual and contains some material in ancient Syriac and some in modern spoken Aramaic. a.i.a.

14. Har. Syr. Ms. 11, *42M-1883. Parts of a Protestant Remembrancer. Translated by Micha.

15. Har. Syr. 12, *42M-1699F. Service Book for the Entire Year (Hudhra). Nestorian. XVII-XVIII.

16. *42M-1867F. Gospel Selections, with Brief Commentary. 1843.
Mr. Brueland writes that this manuscript has not been catalogued by the Houghton Library. The contents are reported to be Mt. 4.23-8.32, Mk. 15.11-16.20, Lk. 14.20-15.32, Jn. 2.1-3, 21.

17. 43, 507. Service Book (Gazza). Nestorian. 1667.
Paper; 12 1/4×8 1/4 in; 588 f; 10 f per q; 27 l; a.i.a.

See D. G. Lyon's " On the Harvard Semitic Museum " in JAOS 15 (1893) ci-cii. Reference is made to the Semitic Museum and its holdings, which at that time included several Syriac manuscripts, of which " ...the finest is the Gazza, containing lives of Syrian saints; it is of a thousand pages, and written in 1666." Presumably this is the same manuscript. Father Mateos has noted an apparent discrepancy between Titterton's reference to this manuscript as containing "Dominical Services and the Commemorations of Saints" and his listing in the index which, properly, contains no reference to Sunday Services.

18. 1076, 502. Old Testament. Book of Sessions. XII.
Vellum; 9 1/4×6 1/4 in; 172 f; Estrangela; 38 l; 10 f per q; a.i.a.

A note signed " H. W. Webb " accompanying this manuscript states that it " corresponds very closely with the Urmia Bible". Another note states that this item was " In the hands of G. F. Moore

(1) Har. Syr. Ms. will refer in this collection to Harvard Syriac Manuscript.

for study from February 15, 1895, to March 19, 1899," from whom it was reportedly purchased, together with a New Testament manuscript (item 19 below), on May 27, 1893, for one hundred dollars.

19. 1077, 503. New Testament. Peshitta. XIII.
Vellum; 8 $^{3}/_{4}\times$6 in; 175 f; Estrangela; 29-31 l; 10 f per q; a.i.a.

Folios 1-143 are from one manuscript and folios 144-175 are from another, according to some notes filed with the item.

20. 2198, 504. Gospel Lectionary. Jacobite. Heraclean. XI.
Vellum; $17^{1}/_{2}\times$11 in; 158 f; Estrangela; 2 col; a.i.a.

21. 2199, 505. Service Book (Penqitha). Jacobite. XII.
Vellum; c. $18^{1}/_{2}\times13^{1}/_{4}$ in; 223 f; 33 l; 2 col; 10 f per q; a.i.a.

Father Mateos states that the choral services include the following chants: Qale, Madrashe, Ba'wata, Sogyata.

This completes the list of Syriac items which seem to belong to the U.C.B.W.M., although there may well be others.

22. 2, 506. Gospel Lectionary. Nestorian. 1208.

23. 3, 523. Collection of Charms.

24. 4, 529. Collection of Charms.

25. 5, 526. Collection of Charms (scroll).

See Willis Hatfield Hazard's " A Syriac Charm ", JAOS 15 (1893) 284-296, which contains a description, transcription, and translation of a charm obtained by the Semitic Museum from the well-known missionary to Urmiah, William Ambrose Shedd. It is written on strips of parchment pasted together at the ends, making a scroll six feet long by two inches broad, with about 900 words written on 244 lines. Embellished headlines and three illustrations are mentioned in the description. John 1. 1-5 is included in the text. I assume that Hazard's article describes one or more of the charm scrolls referred to in items 25, 26 and 27.

26. 6, 525. Collection of Charms (scroll).

27. 7, 532. Collection of Charms (scroll).

28. 1186, 517. Funeral Ritual. Nestorian. XVII-XVIII.

29. 1187, 522. Priests' Manual. Nestorian. 1786.

30. 1188, (no shelf number). Marriage Ritual. Nestorian. 1787.

31. 1189, 524. Theological and Liturgical Fragments.

32. 2175, 520. Bishops' Manual. Nestorian. 1810.

33. 2176, 521. New Testament. Peshitta. XVII-XVIII.

34. 2177, 535. History of the Blessed Virgin Mary. 1789/1790.

35. 2178, 537. Service Book (Abuhalim). Nestorian. 1859.

36. 2179, 536. Apocalypse of Paul, Third Letter from Heaven, Hymn. XVIII.

37. 2180, 528. Superstitions on Sicknesses.

38. 2181, 527. Collection of Charms, Incantations, etc.

39. 2182, 530. Collection of Charms (The Book of the Protection of Men from Everything).

40. 2183, 519. Isaac Eshbadnaya; Hymn on the Economy.

41. 2184, 518. Fragments from 10 or more Manuscripts.

42. 2185, 531. History of Mar 'Azziza.

43. 2186, 533. Legends and Stories of Saints, Liturgical Hymns.

44. 2187, 534. Collection of Canons (Mar Denha). Nestorian.

45. 2188, 509. Translation of Part of a Hudhra. Nestorian. Modern Syriac.

46. 2189, 510. Sergius of Adhorbaijan. Story of Rabban Hormizd.

47. 2190, 508. Ascetical Treatises (John bar Zo'bi *et al.*).

48. 2191, 512. History of Alexander the Great. 1885.

49. 2193, 514. Gospel Lectionary. Nestorian. Modern Syriac. 1888.

50. 2194, 515. Calendar. Nestorian. Late.

51. 2195, 516. Joseph II. On the Isagoge (of Porphyry).
A Brief Introduction to Logic. 1885.

The following manuscript and those through item 170 are included on the old Semitic Museum list referred to above.

52. 3945, Har. Syr. Ms. 14, (2) (1). New Testament. Peshitta. 1209.
Vellum; a.i.a.

53. 3946, 3, (3). New Testament. Peshitta. XIII.
Vellum; a.i.a.

54. 3947, 4, (4). New Testament. Mark. Peshitta. XIII.
Vellum; 8 f; a.i.a.

(1) Titterton's notes indicate that the item numbered 1 " was transferred to a private collection by Professor Rendel Harris before the manuscripts were acquired by the Semitic Museum".

55. 3948, 5, (5). New Testament. Gospels. Peshitta. XIII.
Vellum; 155 f; a.i.a.

56. 3949, 6, (6). New Testament. Gospels. Peshitta. 1207.
Vellum; 157 f; a.i.a.

57. 3950, 7, (7). New Testament. Gospels. Peshitta. 1275.
Paper; 227 f; a.i.a.

58. 3951, Har. Syr. Ms. 16, (13) (1). New Testament. Matthew and Mark. Harclean. VIII.
Vellum; 63 f (imperfect); a.i.a. "Probably the oldest known Ms. of this version," according to the Semitic Museum list.

59. 3952, 14, (14). Old Testament. Ezekiel. Hexaplaric. VII-VIII.
Vellum; 1 f; a.i.a.

60. 3953, 15, (15). Gospel Lectionary (fragment). Peshitta. Jacobite.
Vellum; 2 f; a.i.a.

61. 3954, Har. Syr. Ms. 20, (16). Gospel Lectionary. Harclean. Jacobite. VIII.
Vellum; 2 f; a.i.a.

62. 3955, Har. Syr. Ms. 19, (17). Gospel Lectionary. Harclean. Jacobite. VIII.
Vellum; 2 f; a.i.a.

63. 3956, 18, (18). Prayers and Hymns (Penqitha). Jacobite. XII-XIII.
Vellum; 311 f; a.i.a.

According to Father Mateos this item "seems to be written by the same hand that wrote number 403 (Titterton 96). It contains Qale, Madrashe, Sogyata, and Ba'wata."

64. 3957, 19, (19). Prayers and Hymns (Penqitha). Jacobite. XII-XIII.
Vellum; 203 f; a.i.a.

Father Mateos identifies this as "A Collection of Chants for the Festivals of the Year: the chants are precisely Ma'neyata, Ba'wata, Qale, Madrashe, Sogyata."

65. 3958, 20, (20). Jacob of Serug. Service Book and Homilies (fragments). Jacobite.

(1) According to Titterton's notes, " 8 was presented by Professor Rendel Harris to Clare College, Cambridge... 9-12... were transferred to a private collection before the Semitic Museum acquired Dr. Harris' collection ".

66. 3959, 21, (21). Old Testament Commentary (fragment). Jeremiah. c. 1800.
Paper; 10 f; a.i.a.

67. 3960, 22, (22). Ecclesiastical History (fragment).
Vellum; 1 f.; 3 col; a.i.a.

68. 3961, 23, (23). History of the Virgin Mary and Ephrem on Mary and Joseph.
Paper; 146 f; a.i.a.

69. 3962, 24, (24). Repose of the Virgin and other fragments.
Paper; 117 f; a.i.a.

70. 3963, 25, (25). Bar Hebraeus. The Book of Rays (*palimpsest*) 1555.
Vellum; a.i.a.

71. 3964, 26, (26). Thomas. Acts of Thomas and Letters from Heaven. Late copy.
Paper; a.i.a.

72. 3965, 27, (27). The Cave of Treasures and The History of the Virgin. 1857.
Paper; a.i.a.

73. 3966, 28 (28). Old Testament. Psalter, including Ps. 151 and Canticles (Syriac and Karshuni). Jacobite. 1559.
19×14 cm; 251 f; a.i.a. See *List*, p. 54.

74. 3967, 29, (29). Moses Bar Kepha. Commentaries, including John.
Paper; a.i.a.

75. 3968, 30, (30). John Sabha (of Dalyatha). Epistles and Ascetical Treatises, The Apocalypse of Daniel, and other excerpts from the Fathers.
Paper; 125 f; a.i.a.

76. 3969, 31, (31). Cyriacus, Shamuni, *et al.* Acta Sanctorum (fragments).

77. 3970, 32, (32). Order of Matrimony and Office of the Virgin (Syriac and Karshuni). Jacobite. 1518.

78. 3971, 33, (33). The Didascalia Apostolorum, Letters of Ignatius and Cyril of Alexandria (fragments).

The Semitic Museum list states that this is "A modern transcript from a Ms. in an Eastern Library... The Didascalia text has been used by Mrs. Gibson in her edition of the same." Apparently Mrs. Gibson did not use this particular manuscript in her study of this work. See Margaret Dunlop Gibson, ed., *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac edited from a Mesopotamian manuscript with various readings*

and collations of other mss., London, C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press, 1903, (*Horae Semiticae*, I and II), especially the introduction in volume II.

79. 3972, 34, (34). Gregory of Nazianzus. Orations (fragments). VII-VIII.
Vellum; 12 f; a.i.a.

80. 3973, 35, (35). Moses Bar Kepha, Cyril of Alexandria, *et al.*
Paper; a.i.a.

81. 3974, 36, (36). Evagrius, Isaiah of Neneveh, *et al.* Extracts, including the Third Part of the Paradise of Palladius.
a.i.a.

82. 3975, 37, (37). Funeral Ritual. Jacobite. 1669.
Paper; a.i.a.

83. 3976, 38, (38). Miscellaneous Fragments, including Mark 12. 18-23. XIII.

Titterton's description of this manuscript is given here *in toto* as an indication of the immense debt we owe him for his efforts more than half a century ago in describing many of the Harvard manuscripts

"A single leaf of vellum, much frayed round the edges, present size 9×5 4/5 in.
Content:

1. The end of a prayer in a faded Jacobite hand.

2. *a*) A statement from a man who suffered in an attack made in A. Gr. 1622 by ܒܗܐܠܕ̇ܝܢ and the Arabs of the fortress of the city ܐܕܢ: on the Church of the Virgin of ܒܥܘܬ. (or 'which is in ܥܘܬ')

b) The same more elaborately stated in a contemporary Armenian Cicilian hand.

3. On the Verso: Mark 12.18-23 varying slightly from the Peshitto version; in an untidy Nestorian hand, possibly of the 12th.-13th. cent."

Other examples of Titterton's work, available from the Houghton Library, are given below in items 93, 102, and 103.

84. 3977, 39, (39). The Story of Arsenius, Prayers and Hymns.
Vellum; 1 f; a.i.a.

85. 3978, 40, (40). Ebedjesus. The Pearl, The Catalogue of Christian Writers, and (in Arabic) The Faith of the Nestorians. 1554.
Paper; 97 f; a.i.a.

86. 3979, 41, (41). Denis Bar Salibi. Against the Mohammedans and Dyophysites. c. 1900.

" Rec. April 16, 1906 ", according to the Semitic Museum list. a.i.a.

The text of this work, based on " Codex Syr. Harris 83," has been edited by Johannes de Zwaan and was published by E. J. Brill of Leiden in 1906. In 1964 Richard Hubbard Petersen submitted to the Duke University Graduate Faculty a doctoral dissertation entitled " *The Treatise of Dionysius Bar Ṣalibhi against the Jews, a translation and commentary* ".

87. 3980, 42, (42). Bar Bahlul. Lexicon (Syriac and Armenian in Syriac characters). 1661.

The Semitic Museum list notes that " This Ms. was discussed by Professor Margolouth in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society ".

88. 3981, 43, (43). Thomas of Marga. Histories of the Monasteries. 1888.
Paper; a.i.a.

89. 3982, 44, (44). Emmanuel Bar Shahhari. Hexaemeron. 1881.
Paper; a.i.a.

90. 3983, 45, (45). Isaac of Nineveh. Ascetic Treatise. XII-XIII.
Vellum; 59 f; a.i.a.

91. 3984, 46, (46). Euthalius. Prologues to the Pauline Epistles. Modern transcript.
A.i.a.

92. 3985, 47, (47). Apocalypses of Macarius and Paul, The Cave of Treasures, and other Apocryphal Matters.
A.i.a.

93. 3986, 48, (48). Warda *et al.* Poems (fragments). XV-XVI.
Titterton describes this manuscript as follows:

" Paper, 4 leaves size 11 × 8 in. Written in a good Nestorian hand perhaps of the 15th. or 16th. cent. with 23 lines to a page. All four folios are damaged at the edges and are disfigured by splashes of a purple ink, but the text is little damaged.

Contents: Fragments of two poems in heptasyllabic metre, one by George Warda.

1. The end of a poem. f. 1a.

Each line is followed by a comment, the poem in black, the comment in red ink, e.g. f. la line 5

ܦܠܘܫ ܒܬܠܬܐ ܐܘ ܒܐܪܒܥܐ . ܒܬܠܬܐ ܒܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܘ

ܒܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܕܡܣܬܘܪܬܐ ܢܦܫܘܬܐ ܘܠܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܘ

[Two more lines of text follow in Titterton's description].

2. George Warda: On famine, pestilence and drought. f. 3b.

ܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܘܢܐ ܘ ܒܫܬܐ ܘܡܢܝܢܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ .
ܕܚܒܝܒܐ ܠܡܠܘܟܐ ܠܦܪܘܣ ܘܕܪܐ . ܒܡܠܐ ܐܘ ܠܝ ܒܗܘܒܐ .
ܒܪ ܡܪܝܡ ܘܐܬܒܥܝ ܠܗ ܕܢܣܘܣ ܚܠܝܡ . ܡܪܝܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܟܠ
ܣܩܒܝܡ . ܘܡܪܝܐ ܢܒܥܐ ܐܦ ܢܐܠܐ ܚܠܝܡ . ܘ ܪ̄ܐ̄

The end is lacking".

94. 3987, 49, (49). Hymns (fragments).
Vellum; 8 f; a.i.a.

95. 3988, Har. Syr. Ms. 22, (50). Severus of Antioch *et al.* Letters (fragments).
Vellum; 80 f; a.i.a.

96. 3989, 51, (51). New Testament. Mark and Luke (fragments). Peshitta. VI.
Vellum; 11 f; a.i.a.

97. 3990, 52. New Testament. Matthew and John (fragments). Peshitta. VIII.
Vellum; 5 f; a.i.a.

See Gregory, II, 508. According to information sent to me by Mr. Brueland, Titterton's notes now include no reference to items 52 and 53 in his list. Presumably these would correspond to items 3990 and 3991 in the Semitic Museum list.

98. 3991, Har. Syr. Ms. 18. New Testament. Matthew 7.18-9.21. Harclean. VIII.
Vellum; 4 f; a.i.a.

99. 3992, 54, (54). Bar Hebraeus. The Storehouse of the Mysteries. 1875.

Paper (five types); Oriental binding, stiff boards with red cotton, reinforced corners; 30,8×21 cm; 400 f, plus flyleaf; 2 col; 24 l; red ink; Serto script; no pagination.

See W. C. Graham's "Harvard Codices of the Scholia of Bar Hebraeus", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 41 (1924-1925) 102-135. Graham states that this manuscript, which he designates Codex h, was purchased from J. Rendel Harris. Except for the title, which comes from the Semitic Museum list, the details given here are from Graham's article. See also item (4048), below.

100. 3993, 55, (55). Bar Hebraeus. Book of Ethics. 1894.
Paper; 190 f; a.i.a.

101. 3994, 56, (56). Ebedjesus. The Paradise of Eden and The Book of the Pearl. 1892.
Paper; 110 f; a.i.a.

102. 3995, 57, (57). Rabban Hormuzd. Office and Story. Modern transcript.
Paper; 78 f; a.i.a.

103. 3996, 58, (58). Bar Hebraeus. The Candlestick of the Sanctuary. Modern transcript.
Paper; 312 f; a.i.a.

104. 3997, 59, (59). Bar Hebraeus. Nomocanon (Kethaba d'Huddaye). 1895.

105. 3998, 60, (60). Isho'-dad of Merv. New Testament Commentary. Acts and Epistles. Modern transcript.

The Semitic Museum list notes that "The Commentary has, on Acts 1.1, a long extract from the Diatessaron of Ta... [*sic*] first recognized by Goussen". a.i.a.

106. 3999, 61, (61). Isaac of Antioch. Select Discourses (including one by Ephrem). Modern transcript.
Paper; 158 f; a.i.a.

107. 4000, 62, (62). Epiphanius(?) and other Nestorian writers. Explanation of Difficult Words in the Bible, Lives of the Prophets, etc.
A.i.a.

108. 4001, 63, (63). Jacob of Serug. Discourses (including one by Ephrem).
Paper; a.i.a.

109. 4002, 64, (64). Old Testament. Psalter, with Commentary and Canticles (Syriac and Karshuni). Jacobite. 1675.

Paper; 26×20 cm; 234 f (*List* says 223 f); 2 col; a.i.a. See *List*, 54.

110. 4003, 65, (65). Daniel of Tella. Old Testament Commentary. Psalter. 1755.
Paper; 201 f; a.i.a.

According to the Semitic Museum list, "This is the Ms. upon which Dr. Diettrich worked".

Apparently the reference is to the work cited on p. 142 of Cyril Moss' *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum*: "Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter [by Moses Bar Kēphā] in Verbindung mit zwei Homilien aus dem Psalmenkommentar des Daniel von Ṣalaḥ. Zum ersten Male herausgegabe, übersetzt und bearbeitet von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich. ... Giessen, 1901. ... (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft no. 5)".

111. 4004, 66, (66). Bar Hebraeus, The Book of Humorous Stories, and Deacon Jeremiah, Moving Stories. Modern transcript.
Vellum; 87 f; a.i.a.

112. 4005, 67, (67). Solomon of Basra. The Book of the Bee. 1893.
Paper; 105 f; a.i.a.

113. 4006, 68, (68). James Bar Talya. Book of Treasures and Second Letter. Modern transcript.
Paper; 192 f; a.i.a.

114. 4007, 69, (69). Palladius. The Paradise (Selections from the Third Part).
A.i.a.

115. 4008, 70, (70). The Story of Ahikar. 1898.
A.i.a.

116. 4009, 71 (71). The Book of Hierotheos, with the Commentary of Theodosius (Miscellany).
Paper; a.i.a.

117. 4010, 73, (73). The Gospel of the Infancy and The Story of the Blessed Virgin Mary (excerpts). Modern transcript.
Paper; a.i.a.

118. 4011, 74, (74). Bar Hebraeus. The Book of Rays. 1778.
Paper; a.i.a.

119. 4012, 75, (75). Service Book (Penqitha). Jacobite. XIV-XV.
Vellum; 72 f; a.i.a.

120. 4013, 76. Funeral Service Book and other Liturgical Works (fragments). Jacobite. XIII-XIV.
Vellum: a.i.a.

Mr. Brueland finds no number by Titterton for this manuscript. Perhaps it should be Titterton's 76, in view of the fact that he uses numbers 76 and 77 in referring to a number 4014. However, 4014 in the Semitic Museum list is described as a Karshuni manuscript.

121. 4015, 79, (79). Prayers and Hymns for Feasts. Jacobite. 1572.
Paper; a.i.a.

Father Mateos specifies this as "Shḥimta and Bet-Gazza, according to the Antiochan tradition".

122. 4016, 80, (80). Funeral Ritual. Jacobite. Late.
Paper; a.i.a.

123. 4019, 83, (83). Bar Salibi, Bar Shushan, *et al.* Discourses Against the Jews, Mahommedans, etc. Modern transcript.
Paper; a.i.a. See item 86 above.

124. 4020, 84, (84). Mar Abba. New Testament Commentary (Gannat Bussame). Gospels. Modern transcript.

125. 4021, 85, (85). The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, The Questions of Addai, and The Decrees of the Great Councils. VII-VIII.
Vellum: a.i.a.

The Semitic Museum list includes the following statement regarding this manuscript: "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles was published by me some years since".

126. 4023, 87, (87). Nestorius (Heracleides). 1899.
Paper; a.i.a.

Professor Henry Chadwick refers to this manuscript in his review of *Untersuchungen zum Liber Heraclidis des Nestorius* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 242, *Subsidia*, 22, Louvain, Secretariat du C.S.C.O., 1963), which appears in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series, 16 (April, 1965) 214-218. See especially p. 214f of the review.

127. 4024, 88, (88). Anaphorae Syriacae (three in Karshuni). Jacobite. 1846.
Paper; a.i.a.

128. 4025, 89, (89). Mar Ephrem. New Testament Commentary (Gannat Bussame). Gospels. Modern transcript.

The Semitic Museum list notes that this is apparently a series of extracts from this work and adds "Since come to hand, a splendid copy of some 1300 folio pages [*sic*], produced at great cost, and full of merited matter J. R. Harris, Apr. 20, 1910".
Paper; 55 f; a.i.a.

129. 4026, 90, (90). Bar Hebraeus, Discourse, and Metrical Homilies of Ephrem *et al*. Modern transcript.
Paper; a.i.a.

130. 4027, 91, (91). The Didascalia Apostolorum, First Clement [1], and other Excerpts from the Fathers. Modern transcript.
Paper; 201 f; a.i.a.

The Semitic Museum list notes that this item was "used by Mrs. Gibson". I have found no reference to the Harvard manuscript in this author's edition of the work. See bibliographical reference in item 78, above.

[1] Titterton's dissertation was apparently planned to include, as the third part, an excursus on the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. We may suspect that there is more information on this work in his notes than on the other items at Harvard.

131. 4028, 92, (92). Jacob of Serug. Homilies. 1900.
Paper; a.i.a.

132. 4029, Har. Syr. Ms. 15, (94). New Testament. Peshitta; Harmony of the Gospels. Harclean. XIII.
Vellum; 206 f; a.i.a.

133. 4030, 95, (95). Theodore of Mopsuestia. Gannat Bussame (excerpts).
A.i.a.

134. 4031, 96, (96). Prayers and Hymns (Penqitha). Jacobite.
Vellum; 306 f; a.i.a.

Father Mateos adds the further information that this collection of Prooimia and Sedre is for the festivals of the year, and that before each day's liturgy there is an introductory prayer.

135. 4032, 97, (97). Service Book (Penqitha). Jacobite.
Vellum; 387 f; a.i.a.

Father Mateos also notes a similarity between this manuscript and item 64, above, although the present item does not contain the Ma'neyata.

136. 4034, 99, (99). Canons (fragments). XIII-XIV.
7 f; a.i.a.

137. 4035, 100, (100). Ignatius, Nazianzen, *et al*. Epistles (fragments).
6 f; a.i.a.

138. 4036, 101, (101). Euthalius, Ignatius, and The Legend of the Seven Sleepers. Modern transcript.

139. 4037, 102, (102). Miscellaneous fragments.
Titterton's description of this item is as follows:

" A box containing about 50 fragments taken from all kinds of mss. They have nearly all been stuck together and used for the binding of various volumes with the result that they are in very bad condition. They may be divided into the following groups:

1. Fragments of a ms. written in a beautiful flowing Arabic hand.

2. Fragments of 5 double folios taken from a book of prayers and lessons, size about 7×5 in. with 13 lines to a page.

3. A single leaf composed of a mass of leaves stuck together, and containing besides half a dozen Syriac hands a fragment of Coptic.

4. Six leaves about 10×7 in. with 2 columns to a page and 35 lines to a column written in a small Jacobite hand of the 14th.-15th cent. It contains fragments of letters etc, among them the Letter of Jacob of Serug to Daniel the Solitary (Wright Br. M. DCLXII.24), the Faith of Mar Jacob, the Faith given to Gregory by John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary.

5. Two fragments from a ms. containing a discourse in one column, with a commentary in minute writing in the opposite column. Both are in a Jacobite hand of the 14th.-15th. cent.

6. Two leaves size about 9¼×6½ containing part of the book of Genesis in Karshuni.

7. A mass of fragments mostly illegible and frequently stuck together written in Syriac and Karshuni and Arabic, all paper and nearly all late.

8. Twenty-two leaves size about 6¼×8 in., paper, written in various late Jacobite hands. They contain fragments of homilies of Jacob of Serug, and part of a service book including prayers of Jacob. The leaves are in very bad condition".

140. 4038, 103, (103). Miscellaneous fragments, including Choral Service Books. Jacobite. XIII-XV.
117 f; a.i.a.

Titterton's description of this item is as follows:

" A box of fragments of mss. all paper, as follows:

1. Fifty leaves size 10×6½ in. written in a Jacobite hand of the 14th.-15th. cent. with 2 columns to a page and 20 lines to a column. They contain part of a volume of services. The titles preserved are 1) Order for Mar Behnam and his sister Sara; 2) Order for Mary the Mother of God, in the middle of "Canon the second" (i.e. January) ([1]).

2. Eleven leaves size 10¼×11 in. written in a late Jacobite hand with 20-24 lines to a page, containing part of a volume of services. The only title preserved is the Order of Mar Cyriacus.

3. Eleven leaves size 8½×6 in. and three fragments, written in a Jacobite hand of the 13th.-14th. cent. with 20 lines to a page. They have fragments of hymns suitable for various occasions.

4. Eleven leaves very similar to ' 3 ' above. They contain hymns and prayers and are taken from a choral service book.

5. Twenty-eight small fragments, the largest of which is 6½×4 in. written in every kind of late Jacobite hand. Many appear to have been used in the binding of a volume; many contain fragments of church services.

6. Two leaves, one a fragment, the other size 11×7 3/4 in. written in a late Jacobite hand: they come from a service book.

7. A fragment from an ascetic discourse in a Jacobite hand, and a single leaf size 6⅓×4⅓ written in Karshuni in a very bad hand.

8. Three fragments bearing Syriac, Aramaic, Latin and a transliteration of the Syriac into Latin characters. They seem to contain

([1]) The english translation of n. 2) is not part of the Titterton description.

a blessing and a table shewing how various combinations of Syriac letters are to be pronounced".

141. 4039, 104, (104). Fragments (in a box), including Jacobite Penqithas.
116 f; a.i.a.

142. 4040, 105, (105). Bar Hebraeus. The Discourse on Wisdom, Discussions with the Nestorians, Various Homilies.
A.i.a.

143. 4041, 106, (106). Moses Bar Kepha. Various Treatises, including On the Soul. One Treatise by John of Dara.
A.i.a.

144. 4042, 107, (107). Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Complete Works, with Introduction and Commentary.
A.i.a.

145. 4043, 108, (108). Bar Hebraeus. The Ascent of the Mind and The Faith of Bar Hebraeus.
A.i.a.

146. 4044, 109, (109). John of Dalyatha. Ascetical Treatises. 1889.
A.i.a.

147. 4045, 110, (110). Ephrem. Old Testament Commentary and another on the Pentateuch (Genesis) compiled by Ephrem and Jacob of Serug. 1899.
A.i.a. The Semitic Museum list notes that this item was "probably copied from a printed book".

148. 4046, 111, (111). Jacob of Edessa. Causa Causarum. 1894.
A.i.a.

149. 4047, 112, (112). Moses Bar Kepha. On the Soul and On Paradise, and one Treatise by John of Dara.
A.i.a.

150. 4048, 113, (113). Bar Hebraeus. Old and New Testament Commentaries (Storehouse of Mysteries). 1863 or 1871.

Paper (several types); Oriental binding, stiff boards covered with red sheepskin, no label; 15,5 × 20,8 cm; 348 f plus 3 flyleaves; 1 col; three scribal hands; q irregular; a.i.a.

The details given here are from Graham's article mentioned above in item 99. This manuscript is designated Codex H.

151. 4049, Har. Syr. Ms. 21, (114). Old Testament. Psalter. Jacobite.
5 × 4 cm; written very minutely; a.i.a.

See *List*, p. 54, and the discussion regarding the discrepancy mentioned in footnote 23.

152. 4050, 115, (115). New Testament. John, with Masorah. Harclean. 712.
A.i.a.

153. 4052, Har. Syr. Ms. 17, (117). Gospel Lectionary. Jacobite. Harclean. 1591.
A.i.a.

154. 4053, 118, (118). Old Testament. Peshitta. XII-XIV.
Paper; 25×17,5 cm; 184 f; 1 col; at least two hands; a.i.a.

The contents of this manuscript include, according to the Semitic Museum list, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Proverbs, Sirach, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Canticles, and Job. According to the *List* of the Peshitta Institute, portions of Samuel are also included. See also Joshua Bloch's "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 37 (1920-1921) 136-144, especially p. 143.

155. 4054, 119, (119). John of Dara. Commentary on Dionysius the Areopagite. 1899.
A total of eleven treatises; a.i.a.

156. 4055, 120, (120). Jacob of Edessa. Commentaries, etc. 1903.

The above description is from the Semitic Museum list. Father Macomber has identified this item as containing one commentary by Ephrem and another by Ephrem and James of Serug.

157. 4056, 121, (121). Isaac of Antioch. Discourses. 1898.
Sixty in number; a.i.a.

158. 4057, 122, (122). Antonius of Tagrit. Treatise on Rhetoric. 1895.
A.i.a.

159. 4058, Isaac of Nineveh. Ascetical Discourses. 1901.
A.i.a.

160. 4059, 124, (124). Denys Bar Salibi, Five Letters, and Jacob Bar Tella, Three Dialogues. 1896.
A.i.a.

161. 4060, 125, (125). Evagrius of Ponta. Works. 1902.
A.i.a.

162. 4061, 126, (126). Jacob Bar Shakko (Talya?). The Book of Treasures and Two Letters.
A.i.a.

163. 4062, 127, (127). Old Testament. Exodus 9.25-10.7, 10.24-12.40, 13.13-14.8. Jacobite. XVI-XVII.
Paper; 5 f; 1 col; 24 l; a.i.a.

This manuscript is not mentioned in the *List*, presumably because of its late date. However, Professor W. Baars of the Peshitta Institute has provided some of the information given here.

164. 4063, 128, (128). The Boyhood of Jesus, The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and other apocryphal matters. Late.
A.i.a.

165. 4064, 129, (129). Denys Bar Salibi, Commentary on the Oid Testament, and Ephrem, Commentary on Malachi and Joel. 1888.
Paper; a.i.a.

166. 4065, 130, (130). Ishodad of Merv. Commentary on The Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. 1904.
A.i.a.

The Semitic Museum states that this manuscript was, at the time it was prepared, "Still in the hands of Dr. Harris for publication, July 14, 1906. Rec'd from Dr. Harris, Apr. 27, 1915. Mrs. Gibson and I are publishing this". (Could this Semitic Museum list have been prepared by Mrs. Gibson's sister, Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis?) Mrs. Gibson's edition of this commentary appeared as volumes V-VII and X-XI of *Horae Semiticae* under the title *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv Bishop of Hadatha (c. 850 A.D.) Edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson with an Introduction by James Rendel Harris*, Cambridge University Press, 1913-1916. On p. viii of her introduction in volume X, Mrs. Gibson states, " I have adopted for the text of this volume that of the MS. kindly lent me by the Rev. Professor D. Margoliouth of Oxford, called in previous volumes Codex M, as several critics have wisely pointed out its very decided superiority to Dr. Rendel Harris's MS. (Codex H) which I have accordingly relegated to the notes", and further, " Codex M.... is in black ink, except the headings and colophons of the various books; but I have adopted the more frequent rubrics of Cod. H as they add to facility of reference". On p vii of her preface to volume XI of *Horae Semiticae* she states that she has " described all these MSS. in the Prefaces to Vols. V and X of *Studia Sinaitica*". In checking these volumes, however, I find references only to manuscripts in the British Museum. Perhaps some of the notes incorporated into the Semitic Museum list were made by Mrs. Lewis before some of the manuscripts were brought to America. The history of individual items remains a worthwhile consideration of the textual critic, particularly in instances when those items have been used as the basis for printed editions.

167. 4066, 131, (131). Job of Edessa. On Physics and Astronomy. 1904.
A.i.a.

Father Macomber notes that other works included in this manuscript include The Response of Alexander of Aphrodisia and Galenus on Medical Questions; Job of Edessa's On the Mad Dog; The Book of Treasures; Honain's On the Four Elements; a discourse On Dreams, and another discourse by one of the Fathers.

168. 4067, 132, (132). Missal with Twelve Anaphoras. Jacobite. 1749.
Paper; a.i.a.

169. 4068, 133, (133). Old Testament. Psalter, with Commentary and Canticles (imperfect). Jacobite. Recent.
46,5×32 cm; 179 f; introductions included, a.i.a.
See *List*, 54.

170. 4069, 134, (134). Old Testament. Psalter (imperfect). Nestorian.

Begins with Psalm 39 and includes hymns and canons. This manuscript is not included in the *List*, unless it is the same item described in item 174, below.

This concludes the information supplied by the rather old Semitic Museum list sent to me by Mr. Bond. The following three items, 171-173, have been identified by Father Macomber in his concordance of the Semitic Museum accession numbers with the actual shelf numbers used at Houghton Library. There may well be other items than those listed here among the holdings at Harvard, but I am reasonably confident that the above items represent the bulk of the collection.

171. 8375, 550. Gospel Lectionary. Jacobite (?). XIII (?).
1 f.

172. 8376, 551. Liturgical Hymns on Martyrs.
1 f.

173. 8377, 552. Gospel Lectionary. Jacobite (?). X (?).
2 ff.

174. Arthur Stuart Walcott Bequest. Old Testament. Psalms. Peshitta. 1697 (?).

20,5×14,5 cm; 108 f. This manuscript is thus briefly referred to by the *List*, p. 54. It may or may not refer to one of the items listed above.

Andover-Harvard Theological Library

45 Francis Avenue

Four Syriac manuscripts are now held by the Andover-Harvard Theological Library and are not included in the Harvard items mentioned above. I am indebted to Mr. Brueland for copying and sending to me the descriptions filed with these items. They have not been fully catalogued, and those wishing to examine them should inquire of the Head Librarian. They are deposited in the Safe Section of the Rare Book Room.

175. A-H Syr. Ms. 1. (Also bears on the bookplate the numbers A-4 954, Jan. 8, 1941, ZE 607-1198). New Testament. Peshitta. Nestorian. 1198.

Vellum; 1 col; 28-30 l; contains 22 books.

176. A-H Syr. Ms. 2. (Also bears the numbers Z 110 Ms. and A-4982 and ZE 607-B4711). New Testament. Nestorian. 1741.

Presented to the Library by Professor Taylor, June, 1898; 31 cm; contains 22 books. A further identification number is 49, 614, with the date of June 7, 1888.

177. A-H Syr. Ms. 3. (Also bears the numbers A 50, 744, acquired March 2, 1900). Anonymous. History of Mar Yah Balaha, Patriarch, and Rabban Bar Sauma, His Vicar General. Kochannis (?) 1886 (?).

22 cm; 167 p; " from the library of Professor Isaac H. Hall"; by " David of Targawar, the son of Deacon Jacob"; 18 l; dark brown lettering with red headings.

178. A-H Syr. Ms. 4. (Also bears the numbers 50, 745, and Safe 946). Marutha; History of the Martyrdom of Simeon Bar Sabba'e and His Companions, and An Anonymous Life of St. Ephrem in the Aramaic Dialect of Urmia. 1890.

This manuscript also came from the library of Isaac H. Hall.

Paper; 31×20,4 cm; 38 p; 1 col; 35 l; each page outlined with red double lined rectangle.

(*To be continued*)

Morningside College
Sioux City, Iowa, 51106
U.S.A.

JAMES T. CLEMONS

COMMENTARII BREVIORES

Passi decisivi nella storiografia bizantina: i *Regesten* di Franz Dölger

Non è la prima volta che la nostra Rivista si occupi delle opere del Prof. Franz Dölger (1).

Mesi fa è apparso l'ultimo fascicolo dei suoi *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, cominciati a pubblicare nel 1924 (2). Allo scopo di offrire ai nostri lettori una visione panoramica di tutta l'opera, abbiamo ritenuto opportuno presentarla nel suo complesso dilungandoci alquanto nel riassumere le vicissitudini che ne costituiscono, per così dire, la preistoria (3).

È notorio che i bizantinisti in genere — e i cultori di storia bizantina in particolare — non si trovano in condizioni di ricerca ideali. Tanti strumenti di lavoro indispensabili, già a disposizione da lungo tempo ai cultori d'altri campi della storia, per i bizantinisti rappresentano ancora un sogno (4). Ma all'inizio del nostro secolo la situazione era assai peggiore.

(1) Cfr. « Or. Chr. Periodica » 2 (1936), p. 528; 9 (1943), pp. 480-482; 15 (1949), pp. 216-219; 16 (1950), pp. 229-230; 18 (1952), pp. 445-448; 21 (1955), pp. 529-530; 23 (1957), pp. 459-460.

(2) F. Doelger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (= *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, herausgb. von den Akademien der Wissenschaften in München und Wien; Reihe A: Regesten; Abteilung I), 1. Teil: *Regesten von 565-1025*, Verlag R. Oldenburg/München und Berlin 1924; 2. Teil: *Regesten von 1025-1204*, ibid. 1925; 3. Teil: *Regesten von 1204-1282*, ibid., 1932; 4. Teil: *Regesten von 1282-1341*, Verlag C. H. Beck, München und Berlin 1960; 5. Teil: *Regesten von 1341-1453*, ibid. 1965. In-4° grande; rispettivamente pp. XXIX + 105; XXI+108; XIX+77; XXX+165; XXXII + 138; s.p.

(3) Col termine « preistoria » intendiamo, ovviamente, la genesi dell'idea dei *Regesten* e alcuni fattori che hanno determinato la loro compilazione, come si vede più avanti nel testo. Quel che dice il Doelger a proposito nell'*Introduzione* al I° fascicolo (pp. V-VI), non è sufficiente al nostro scopo informativo.

(4) Ci basti accennare alla mancanza di edizioni critiche di moltissimi Padri Greci e scrittori bizantini medievali, e dei relativi lessici.

Le fonti narrative della storia bizantina erano stata edite in gran parte nel «Corpus Parisinum», nel « Corpus Bonnense », in vari volumi delle due « Patrologie » del Migne e in qualche altra collezione minore; ed era molto, anche se le fonti narrative orientali giacessero in gran parte inedite. Le fonti documentarie invece, eccettuando i documenti conciliari raccolti ad es. dal Mansi, non si trovavano in nessuna collezione analoga, almeno sotto l'aspetto della quantità e dell'organicità.

Numerosi diplomi imperiali, patriarcali, ecc., erano già stati editi, ma in pubblicazioni sporadiche e frammentarie. Non era mancato qualche tentativo di raccolte sistematiche. Lo Zachariae von Ligenthal, per es., aveva pubblicato i crisobolli imperiali di natura giuridica (1), mentre il Miklosic e il Müller avevano iniziato ma non finito una collezione di atti e diplomi che resta tuttora una delle più ricche e più serie (2). Tuttavia si era ben lontani dalle magnifiche collezioni di fonti documentarie, che si possedevano, ad es., per la storia d'Italia o di Germania o della Chiesa. Tanto più che, tutto sommato, la diplomatica bizantina, come scienza moderna, era ancora in uno stadio iniziale. Difettavano, fra l'altro, i principi specifici, in base ai quali distinguere con certezza i diplomi genuini dai falsificati, stabilire la provenienza, la data, la natura giuridica dei singoli documenti, e così via.

S'imponeva dunque la necessità di compilare un *Corpus* organico e scientifico delle fonti documentarie bizantine, il cui studio avrebbe proiettato molta luce non solo sulla storia di Bisanzio, ma anche della Grecia moderna, della Turchia ed altri Paesi dell'Asia Anteriore, dei Balcani, della Russia, dell'Italia, della Francia, ecc.

Karl Krumbacher ai tanti suoi meriti di bizantinista esimio aggiunse anche quello di farsi portavoce di tale esigenza e valido promotore dell'iniziativa destinata a soddisfarla.

Tra il 16 e il 21 aprile 1901 si radunò a Parigi la I[a] Assemblea generale dell'Associazione Internazionale delle Accademie. Il Krumbacher, rappresentante dell'Accademia di Baviera, vi presentò la proposta che venisse compilato un « Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit » ed accennò a un piano generico da seguire. L'Assemblea approvò la proposta quasi all'unanimità

(1) *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, Pars, III, (Lipsiae 1857); cf. i regesti contenuti nella *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 3. Aufl. Berlin 1892, pp. 5-45.

(2) F. Miklosic-J. Mueller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi*, t. I-IV, Vindobonae 1860-1890.

e decise di costituire una Commissione per elaborare un piano più particolareggiato da presentare alla seguente Assemblea generale dell'Associazione (1).

La Commissione, in realtà, non fu costituita. Ma nella IIª Assembleaf (Londra, 24-30 maggio, 1904), il Krumbacher e Constantin Jireček, rappresentante dell'Accademia di Vienna, poterono presentare ugualmente un piano provvisorio, cui era allegato un indice dei diplomi editi e inediti, noti fino ad allora, curato da Paul Marc con la collaborazione di Spyridon Lampros (2).

Questo piano, presentato praticamente dalle due Accademie di Baviera e di Vienna, non fu accolto incondizionatamente; esso suscitò obbiezioni soprattutto riguardo all'ordine geografico, in cui si prevedeva di raggruppare i documenti bizantini. Nondimeno, l'Assemblea l'approvò e ne auspicò l'attuazione. Anzi costituì un Comitato redazionale del *Corpus* affidandone la direzione al Krumbacher ed affidando l'attuazione della grande impresa alle due Accademie suaccennate (3). Il Krumbacher si mise subito all'opera non solo per assicurarsi la collaborazione dei dotti delle varie nazioni interessate al *Corpus*, ma anche per procurare una sede centrale propria alla redazione, e i fondi necessari (4). Non essendo poi riuscito ad attirare sul piano presentato le simpatie e l'appoggio di tutte le Accademie, egli si proponeva di pubblicare a breve scadenza un volume-saggio del *Corpus* sia per offrire qualcosa di concreto al mondo accademico sia per utilizzare le eventuali critiche e suggerimenti degli specialisti. Infatti i lavori iniziati furono proseguiti con ritmo sostenuto.

Il 14 marzo 1906 l'Accademia di Baviera indiceva un concorso per favorire la preparazione scientifica del *Corpus*; il tema da svolgere era: « Technik und Geschichte des byzantinischen Urkundenwesens » (5).

Quell'anno stesso Paul Marc fece un primo viaggio sul Monte Athos per fotografare e studiare i diplomi superstiti in quei monasteri (6)

(1) Vedi « Byz. Zeitschr. » 11 (1902), pp. 293-296.

(2) *Plan eines Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, München 1903.

(2) Il Comitato ebbe come membri: K. Krumbacher, H. Gelzer, C. Jireček, H. Omont e G. Vitelli.

(4) Per queste ed altre notizie, vedi « Byz. Zeitschr. » 13 (1904), pp. 688-697; si trovano riassunte in « Echos d'Orient » 8 (1905), pp. 113-116.

(5) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 16 (1907), p. 766. Il premio di 1500 M. fu assegnato il 31 dicembre 1908 a Paul Marc (« Byz. Zeitschr. » 18 [1909], p. 711).

(6) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 16 (1907), pp. 766.

Nel frattempo era emersa una necessità nuova: la pubblicazione di un'opera di regesti per registrarvi gli atti del futuro *Corpus*. Tale elenco avrebbe dovuto servire da lavoro preliminare e illustrativo degli atti ed alleggerire la compilazione del *Corpus* stesso. Nella III^{a} Assemblea generale dell'Associazione Internazionale delle Accademie tenutasi a Vienna nel 1907 (29 maggio-2 giugno), fu deciso di pubblicare tale opera (1). Non si tardò a metterla in cantiere. Il Krumbacher, ottenuto nel 1909 dall'Accademia di Baviera il locale per la sede centrale del *Corpus* ed essendo stato nominato Redattore di esso, poteva dar notizia della nuova iniziativa nella riunione preliminare dell'Associazione Internazionale delle Accademie, tenutasi a Roma dal 1 al 3 giugno 1909 (2). Come delegato dell'Accademia di Baviera, vi espose un programma, elaborato da Paul Marc (3), con alcuni saggi dei regesti, dei repertori e dell'edizione del *Corpus*. L'Associazione approvò tutto all'unanimità e diede il suo benestare per il proseguimento dei lavori sulla base ormai stabilita (4).

Purtroppo il Krumbacher venne a morire nel dicembre di quell'anno. Il peso del *Corpus* cadde naturalmente sulle spalle del suo successore alla cattedra di Monaco, August Heisenberg, e del valente collaboratore Paul Marc, che continuò le sue ricerche in modo indefesso. Infatti, nella IV^{a} Assemblea generale dell'Associazione Internazionale delle Accademie, riunitasi a Roma il 9-15 maggio 1910, O. Crusius, delegato dell'Accademia di Baviera, presentò un memoriale di Paul Marc (5), nel quale si hanno non solo saggi del *Corpus* e notizie sullo stato dei lavori, ma anche osservazioni e definizioni dei principi metodologici, che, in seguito, saranno applicati dal Dölger nei suoi *Regesten*; ad es.: raggruppamento degli atti secondo i loro compilatori o le loro cancellerie (Kanzleiprinzip); inclusione degli atti di ogni genere, eccetto quelli incorporati nei codici di Giustiniano e di Leone VI (6).

(1) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 16 (1907), p. 767; cfr. DOELGER, *Regesten*, I, p. v, dove si parla di « Roma » invece di Vienna.

(2) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 18 (1909), p. 703.

(3) Il programma elaborato dal MARC fu pubblicato in *Sitzungsberichte der konigl. bayer. Ak. der Wiss., philos.-philol. Kl.*, 1909, pp. 14*-23*.

(4) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 18 (1909), p. 703.

(5) *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Bericht und Druckproben bestimmt zur Vorlage auf der Versammlung der Internationalen Association der Akademien, Rom 9-15. Mai 1910;* München 1910.

(6) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 19 (1910), pp. 691 s.

Nel 1912 August Heisenberg fu eletto membro della Commissione accademica per l'edizione del *Corpus*. Intanto la raccolta delle copie fotografiche dei documenti si arricchiva sempre più nella sede centrale di Monaco, soprattutto grazie ai prestiti temporanei dell'Accademia Imperiale di Russia (impegnata nella pubblicazione dei diplomi dell'Athos), all'opera di H. Jantsch in qualche monastero athonita (1), di Paul Marc in quello di S. Giovanni nell'isola di Patmos (2), del Dr. Jakovenko negli archivi del monastero « Rossicon » e del Prof. Millet in quelli del monastero « Caracallou » sull'Athos (3). D'altra parte il Marc completa un repertorio cronologico degli autori e dei destinatari dei diplomi, e un altro dei luoghi in cui essi si conservano (4).

I lavori ormai erano tanto avanti che, quando nella Vª Assemblea dell'Associazione Internazionale delle Accademie (Pietroburgo, 11-17 maggio, 1913) lo Heisenberg lesse la relazione relativa ad essi, i presenti ne furono entusiasmati e l'accolsero «avec reconnaissance» (5). Fu bene accolto anche, e approvato, un *Plan einer Facsimilieausgabe byzantinischer Urkunden* con l'annunzio della pubblicazione a breve scadenza di un quaderno con circa 20 tavole, nelle quali sarebbero comparsi i vari tipi di atti imperiali in successione cronologica. Si sperava di coprire la spesa mediante sottoscrizione (6).

L'edizione del *Corpus* pareva dunque avviata per il migliore dei cammini.

La sua attuazione non pareva ormai che questione di qualche anno, tanto più che esso, secondo il piano presentato a Londra nel 1904 dal Krumbacher e dallo Jireček, avrebbe compreso 18 volumi e sarebbe costato soltanto una quindicina d'anni di lavoro...

Ma, come scrisse nel 1932 un maestro della diplomatica bizantina, « le grandi imprese, soprattutto le più promettenti, sono quelle che, per una crudele ironia della sorte, vengono inceppate dalle peggiori difficoltà. Esse sembrano destinate a rimaner per lungo tempo nello stato di progetti affascinanti, al servizio dei quali generazioni di stu-

(1) « Byz. Zeitschr » 20 (1911), p. 372.
(2) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 21 (1912), p. 376.
(3) « Byz. Zeitschr » 22 (1913), p. 309.
(4) *Ibidem.*
(5) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 22 (1913), p. 637.
(6) *Ibidem.*

diosi devono impiegare, senza profitto visibile, un coraggio e spesso una capacità senza eguali » (1).

Prima ancora che fosse apparso un saggio o una parte qualunque del *Corpus*, scoppiò la guerra del '14-18. Essa interruppe bruscamente tanto la collaborazione internazionale quanto il lavoro della sede centrale di Monaco, benchè l'Accademia di Baviera e quella di Vienna non perdessero mai di vista l'incarico loro affidato un decennio prima(2). Oltre a questa notizia generale, A. Heisenberg, appena un anno avanti alla pubblicazione del primo fascicolo dei *Regesten*, ne dava altre ai lettori della « Byzantinische Zeitschrift » che meritano d'essere riferite brevemente: il materiale fotografico raccolto nella sede centrale era stato ordinato sistematicamente; sarebbe stato possibile pubblicare la raccolta dei facsimili progettata nel 1913 ed approvata a Pietroburgo se non fossero mancati i mezzi finanziari; una buona parte dei regesti dei diplomi imperiali erano quasi pronti per la stampa; il 10 gennaio 1918 era morto Constatin Jireček, e gli era successo Paul Kretschmer; Paul Marc, collaboratore del Krumbacher e organizzatore dei lavori per il *Corpus*, aveva dovuto interrompere la sua collaborazione per attendere ad altri compiti, e gli era successo Franz Dölger (3).

Questa successione fu quanto mai felice.

A giudicare dalla sua « Doktoratdissertation » (4), il giovane Dölger era forse più ferrato in filologia che in diplomatica bizantina; almeno fino al 1919, anno della sua « Promovierung ». Ma la sua eccezionale tempra di studioso e di umanista ne avrebbero fatto ben presto uno dei cultori più autorevoli. Nel lungo spazio di quasi mezzo secolo d'attività per il *Corpus* in genere e per i *Regesten* in particolare, egli

(1) V. Laurent, *Les diplômes de la chancellerie impériale de Byzance*, in « Echos d'Orient » 31 (1932), p. 44.

(2) « Byz. Zeitschr. » 24 (1923/24), p. 286.

(3) *Ibidem*, fino a p. 288. Non è difficile notare, fra tali notizie, quella intorno alle difficoltà finanziarie, che erano venute a intralciare seriamente per la prima volta la preparazione del *Corpus*. Si era ai tempi neri dell'economia tedesca, quando il marco fu inerosabilmente svalutato. Tale svalutazione avrebbe causato l'estinzione o l'interruzione della stessa « Byzantinische Zeitschrift », se la sua direzione non fosse stata soccorsa da enti culturali e da amici d'Europa e d'America (cfr. « Byz. Zeitschr. » 24 [1923/24], pp. 296 e 496).

(4) *Quellen und Vorbilder des Gedichtes Εἰς τὴν Σωφροσύνην mit einer Einleitung über die Ueberlieferung und die Person des Verfassers*. Phil. Diss. München 1919. Di quest'opera prima del Dölger fu pubblicato soltanto un estratto di 3 pagine (München 1922).

non s'è limitato a continuare le ricerche del Marc o di altri suoi colleghi stranieri nel campo della diplomatica bizantina; ma le ha approfondite, allargate, poste su vie nuove e più scientifiche. Sotto vari aspetti il Dölger può considerarsi il fondatore di questa branca della bizantinistica, ch'egli s'è sforzato di ridurre in un solido sistema (1).

Ora pensiamo che i cinque fascicoli dei suoi *Regesten* vadano giudicati anche alla luce di questa sua feconda attività e delle conclusioni a cui essa l'ha condotto.

Quando nel 1924 il Dölger pubblicò il primo fascicolo, bastava dare un'occhiata alla prima pagina dell'introduzione per accorgersi che il *Corpus* atteso da oltre vent'anni era appena iniziato, e che il cammino da percorrere era ancora molto lungo (2). Eppure il pubblico specializzato ne ricevette una sensazione d'ottimismo. La critica accolse il fascicolo con giudizi lusinghieri, salvo qualche eccezione (3).

In 105 pagine vi sono registrati ed analizzati 821 documenti, emanati dalla cancelleria imperiale di Bisanzio sotto il regno d'una quarantina di imperatori, che vanno da Giustino II (565-578) a Basi-

(1) Questi nostri apprezzamenti, tutt'altro che nuovi, sono fondati sulla maggior parte della produzione scientifica del Dölger. Qui sarà sufficiente ricordare, non contando i *Regesten* di cui ci occupiamo: *Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden. 67 Abbildungen auf 25 Lichttafeln. Aus dem Bilderarchiv der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zusammengestellt, beschrieben, erläutert und in Umschrift wiedergegeben*, München 1931; *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges. 115 Urkunden und Urkundensiegel aus 10 Jahrhunderten...*, München 1948; *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt. Ausgewählte Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Ettal 1953 (2a ediz. 1964); *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956; *ΠΑΡΑΣΠΟΡΑ* Ettal 1961. Per altre pubblicazioni riguardanti il nostro tema, cfr. « Byz. Zeitschr. » 44 (1951), pp. 1*-50* e *ΠΑΡΑΣΠΟΡΑ*, pp. XIV-XX, dove si ha una bibliografia del Dölger, aggiornata fino a tutto il 1960.

(2) Ciò risultava anche dall'« Anlageplan » del *Corpus*, stampato all'ultima pagina: tre serie di volumi (A. *Regesti*; B. *Documenti*; C. *Studi e ricerche di diplomatica bizantina*), di cui le prime due comprendono cinque sezioni ciascuna: 1. *Documenti imperiali*; 2. *Documenti del Patriarcato*; 3. *Documenti di funzionari statali*; 4. *Documenti di dignitari ecclesiastici*; 5. *Documenti di privati*.

(3) Le recensioni consacrate al fascicolo sono state elencate da O. VOLK, *Franz Dölger-Bibliographie*, in « Byz. Zeitschr. » (44 (1951) pp. 1* s. Le critiche più forti furono mosse da Karl BRANDI in « Gött. Gel. Anzeigen », 1925, pp. 111-118; il DOELGER si difese in « Byz. Zeitschr. » 25 (1925) pp. 496-506.

lio II (976-1025) (¹). L'A. le fa precedere da due lunghi indici delle fonti e della bibliografia più frequentemente citata, e da un'introduzione nella quale espone il metodo impiegato e da mantenersi anche nei fascicoli seguenti.

Premesso che lo scopo precipuo dei regesti dei documenti imperiali sia quello di offrire un quadro completo dell'attività della cancelleria imperiale bizantina, il Dölger illustra i vari aspetti dell'impostazione data, a tale scopo, all'opera (²). Egli ha inteso inventariare: 1) *tutti* i documenti imperiali superstiti genuini, sospetti e spurii; tutti i « deperdita » conservatici dalle fonti narrative, dai quali sia possibile dedurre qualche elemento utile per la storia amministrativa, diplomatica e prosopografica dell'impero; le lettere credenziali consegnate agli ambasciatori spediti da Bisanzio all'estero; i trattati di pace; gli atti legislativi che fanno supporre l'emanazione d'una novella ormai perduta; le lettere private degli imperatori di stesura cancelleresca; 2) *soltanto* quelle professioni d'ortodossia religiosa (fatte dagli imperatori prima di salire al trono) e soltanto quelle nomine di funzionari che presentino qualcosa d'eccezionale rispetto alla prassi ordinaria della cancelleria imperiale. Ha escluso volutamente i documenti giuridici entrati nelle codificazioni, sebbene abbia consacrato un accenno a tali codificazioni alla loro data corrispondente.

Tutto ciò riguarda il contenuto dell'opera; in quanto alla « forma » il Dölger avverte il lettore in precedenza su l'uso del tedesco; la datazione del documento; la sua denominazione specifica: epistola, prostagma, kéleusis, crisobollo, ecc. (³); l'indicazione del latore, del destinatario e della destinazione; la descrizione sostanziale del documento; i dati che si riferiscono alle fonti e alla letteratura relativa al documento (⁴);

(¹) Il DOELGER avverte che le ragioni della divisione cronologica scelta (vedi sopra, n. 2) sono semplicemente pratiche e che l'inizio (anno 565) è stato imposto dall'estensione del *Corpus* già stabilita nel vecchio « Plan »; per gli anni 311-476 abbiamo O. SEEK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, Stuttgart 1919; per gli anni 476-565 bisognerà — dice il DOELGER — riprendere il lavoro in seguito (*Regesten*, I, p. V, n. 2).

(²) Egli stesso avverte che tale impostazione è in sostanza quella prevista da P. MARC ed esposta nel programma citato sopra nella nota 15.

(³) Per la retta intelligenza di questi ed altri termini indicanti le varie specie o categorie dei documenti imperiali, cfr. DOELGER, *Facsimiles*, coll. 1-7.

(⁴) Tali dati vengono indicati con sigle o abbreviazioni (*), se il documento è dubbio; (**), se è falso; *Orig.*, se il documento c'è giunto nell'originale uscito dalla cancelleria; *Kopie*, se c'è giunto in una sua copia;

l'eventuale esposizione delle circostanze, in cui il documento fu dettato; l'eventuale trascrizione dell'*incipit* (1).

La somma di lavoro supposta da tale impostazione era enorme. L'A. ha dovuto dedicarsi a penose ricerche di paleografia, cronologia, economia, politica, sfragistica, ecc., per poter illustrare, caratterizzare e classificare i circa 3555 documenti registrati nei cinque fascicoli (2). L'esperienza ha dimostrato che tali ricerche si sarebbero rese tanto più urgenti e ingarbugliate quanto più il Dölger si sarebbe avvicinato ad epoche più recenti della storia bizantina. E ciò ha contribuito non poco al ritardo imprevisto col quale sono apparsi gli ultimi tre fascicoli (3). Certo, anche altri fattori vi hanno contribuito (specialmente la seconda guerra mondiale con tutte le sue conseguenze); ma ci sembra opportuno dar un'idea delle difficoltà derivanti dal materiale stesso riferendo qualche cifra.

Nel I fascicolo, su circa 821 documenti registrati, solo 82 sono conservati in testo integrale, e gli originali, veri e supposti, sono 12 appena (4). Nel II, fra 847 documenti, i testi integrali sono 160 e gli originali già ammontano a 42 (5). Nel III, su appena 424 documenti, i testi integrali sono 150 (128 greci e 22 latini), di cui 31 originali (6). Nel fascicolo IV, fra circa 777 documenti, i testi integrali — senza contare le falsificazioni — salgono a circa 231, di cui 107 originali e 33 copie diplomatiche o letterarie; e si aggiunga che vi sono 7 inediti

A, se tale copia è in lingua greca; *B*, se è in un'altra lingua; *C*, se il documento c'è giunto in estratto o in rielaborazione sia in greco che in un'altra lingua; *D*, se del documento abbiamo solo una testimonianza priva di qualsiasi accenno diretto al contenuto di esso; *E*, accenni alla letteratura, dove il « gestum » in questione è stato discusso, utilizzato o rilevato. A questi dati fanno seguito le note di cronologia (*Chr*) e di autenticità (*Echt*).

(1) Ovviamente ciò è possibile soltanto nel caso che il documento appartenga alle classi *A* o *B*.

(2) Diciamo « circa » perchè i numeri dei *Regestem* contengono da una parte vari vuoti indicati colla parola *vacat*, e dall'altra varie ripetizioni (cfr. ad es. V, NN. 3180, 3180a, 3181, 3181a, 3181b, 3181c...).

(3) È interessante confrontare a questo proposito le date effettive della pubblicazione (vedi sopra n. 2) con quelle annunziate nel foglio pubblicitario in fondo al II fascicolo: 3. Teil (1926), 4. Teil (1927), 5. Teil (1928)

(4) *Regesten*, II, p. VI; vi sono indicati i numeri degli originali.

(5) *Ibidem*.

(6) *Regesten*, III, p. VI.

fra gli originali e 2 fra le copie ([1]). Infine nel fascicolo V, su 613 numeri circa, i testi integrali (non contando le falsificazioni) sono circa 172, di cui 101 originali e 54 copie diplomatiche o letterarie; gli inediti fra gli originali sono 8 (tutti negli archivi del Monte Athos) prescindendo dai pochi editi soltanto parzialmente ([2]); fra le copie si trova un solo inedito (N. 3084).

Queste cifre testimoniano il crescendo di studi e di ricerche, a cui il Dölger e i suoi collaboratori han dovuto sobbarcarsi in numerose biblioteche ed archivi d'Europa. Tale testimonianza viene confermata dall'indicazione delle numerose lingue in cui tanti documenti imperiali furono tramandati fino a noi ([3]), dalla quantità enorme delle fonti narrative di cui s'è dovuto far lo spoglio ([4]) e, infine, dall'immensa bibliografia utilizzata.

Al valore derivante da tale serietà d'impostazione scientifica fa riscontro il valore « reale » dei documenti inventariati ed illustrati. Pur essendo forse una parte minima di quel che produsse in undici secoli la cancelleria imperiale di Bisanzio, essi, come prova d'esperienza fin dalla pubblicazione del I fascicolo dei *Regesten*, sono sempre in grado di rendere servizi insostituibili tanto alla storia interna dell'impero bizantino quanto alla storia dei suoi rapporti con l'estero: Oriente, Europa Orientale ed Occidentale. Sarà appena necessario accennare al

([1]) Queste cifre, e quelle che seguono, sono dovute a nostri calcoli personali, a cui non intendiamo attribuire un valore assoluto. Gli originali inediti sono NN. 2095, 2239, 2382, 2781 (totalmente inediti); 2565, 2566, 2707 (parzialmente inediti). Le copie inedite sono NN. 2225 e 2780. Fra i testi conservatici integralmente e in greco, quattro ci sono giunti in iscrizione parietale: NN. 2438, 2485, 2633, 2825; le prime tre nella « metropoli » di Mistra e la quarta nella chiesa metropolitana di Stagoi (Kalampaka).

([2]) Gli originali autentici totalmente inediti sono NN. 3048, 3086, 3087, 3104, 3109, 3111, 3202, 3203.

([3]) I documenti ci sono stati tramandati sia in greco e in latino che (ma in numero molto inferiore) in varie lingue orientali (per cui il Dölger ha dovuto affidarsi alle traduzioni, cfr. *Regesten*, I, P. XI) e slave. In latino, oltre che in greco, ci sono giunti anche un buon numero di copie e di originali. Non mancano casi in cui un documento, originariamente in greco, ci sia pervenuto in slavo ecclesiastico (N. 2313) o in arabo (N. 3328)

([4]) Gli storici latini più utilizzati sono: Anna Comnena, Cinnamo, Giorgio Acropolita, Giorgio Pachimera, Niceforo Gregora, Giovanni Cantacuzeno, Giorgio Frantzes, ecc. Dei non greci si citano Guglielmo di Tiro, Ottone di Frisinga, l'arabo Bohaeddin, Benzone d'Alba, Marino Sanudo, Giorgio Stella, ecc.

loro contributo alla storia ecclesiastica sia entro i confini dell'impero che nei Paesi soggetti all'influsso religioso di Costantinopoli; particolarmente preziosa è la luce che essi riflettono sui rapporti fra imperatori bizantini e papi (1). Del resto, non sarà superfluo notare che fra gli atti originali superstiti emergono per importanza non solo certi famosi trattati stipulati con Venezia, Genova, la Serbia, ecc., ma anche molte lettere dirette ai papi e moltissimi crisobolli destinati ai monasteri del Monte Athos (2).

Quando si considera la mole di materiale studiato, le difficoltà d'ogni genere affrontate, non fa meraviglia di scovare nei *Regestem* qualche omissione o magari sviste, errori di computo cronologico, sbagli di trascrizione e di lettura.

Per es., nel N. 625 (fascicolo I) il Dölger fa il regesto di una lettera di Romano I (920-944) al papa Giovanni XI (931-935), nella quale si ha principalmente una relazione dei risultati ottenuti dall'intervento pontificio a favore della consacrazione di Teofilatto — figlio di Romano I — a patriarca di Costantinopoli; consacrazione avversata, in un primo tempo, da un gruppo di metropoliti bizantini a motivo della troppo giovane età (16 anni!) del neo-candidato. Poco dopo l'inizio del corpo della lettera, l'imperatore affronta il tema principale. Due suoi lunghi periodi vengono sunteggiati come segue: « Bezüglich der einsetzung des neuen ptr. betont der K.(aiser), dass diese wahl überlegt sei, überdies einer bestätigung von Rom nicht bedürfe ». Secondo tale interpretazione, Romano I, personalmente (betont der K/aiser), giudicherebbe: 1) *ben considerata* (überlegt) l'elezione di suo figlio e ci terrebbe a sottolinearlo; 2) che essa non ha bisogno della *conferma di Roma* (bestätigung von Rom).

In realtà però l'imperatore cerca di scusare presso il papa il gruppo dei metropoliti che avevano fatto opposizione al suo piano; e, nel far ciò, riferisce i *loro* motivi d'opposizione e le *loro* opinioni sulla prassi dell'elezione e consacrazione del patriarca di Costantinopoli. Poi passa a pregare Giovanni XI di volergli spedire un documento pontificio solenne, firmato anche da altri vescovi d'Italia, per prevenire

(1) Cfr. ad es. nel fascicolo V i NN. 2890, 2922, 2930, 2937, 3007, 3010, 3052, 3056, 3071, 3097, 3115, 3122, 3126, 3143, 3181a, 3290, 3345, 3369, 3374, 3380, 3386, 3406, 3431, 3432, 3437, 3440, 3442, 3444-3452...

(2) Ciò si verifica soprattutto negli ultimi tre fascicoli; nel V si può osservare che gran parte delle falsificazioni o riguardano i monasteri athoniti o sono conservate nei loro archivi; vedi ad es. i NN. 2873, 2874, 2875, 2897, 2898, 2941, 2981, 3049, 3050, 3066, 3483.

possibili contestazioni — specialmente dopo la sua morte — dell'elevazione di suo figlio al trono patriarcale. Donde seguono tre precisazioni:

1) nei due periodi in questione l'imperatore non parla a nome suo, ma del gruppo dei metropoliti oppositori;

2) la qualifica di ben considerata (überlegt) va riferita non all'elezione (Wahl) di Teofilatto, ma alla suaccennata opposizione; e tale qualifica ha come autori i metropoliti opponenti, e non Romano, che si limita solamente a riferire le loro parole; (*ἐπεὶ μηδ' ἀλογίστως ἢ ἀπερισκέπτως, ὥς γέ φασι, τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι αὐτούς*);

3) la negazione della necessità di una conferma da parte di Roma dell'elezione del patriarca di Costantinopoli ha ugualmente come autori i metropoliti suddetti, e non Romano I, che, al contrario, nel seguito della lettera domanderà al papa proprio un documento che sancisse l'inoppugnabilità dell'elezione di suo figlio [1].

Il N. 3540 sarebbe, secondo il Dölger, un prostagma diretto « an die kirchliche synode » di Costantinopoli; Costantino XII (1448-1453) pregherebbe gli ecclesiastici che ne fanno parte di riunirsi « in der H. Sophia » per ascoltare la relazione e le proposte del sacerdote « [Petros Platrys (Payne?)] », inviato dagli utraquisti di Praga per trattare l'unione della chiesa greca con la loro. Come si dimostra facilmente, bisogna precisare:

1) che non si tratta qui di un *sinodo* ecclesiastico vero e proprio che farebbe pensare a una seduta della *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*, ma di una *σύναξις*, di cui fecero parte soltanto alcuni prelati anti-unionisti [2];

2) tale *σύναξις* non si tenne in S. Sofia, ma in una chiesa *vicina* a S. Sofia; dato che allora il patriarca Gregorio era unionista e fuggito

[1] I. SAKKELLION, *Ρωμανοῦ Βασιλέως τοῦ Λακαπήνου ἐπιστολαί* in *Δέλτιον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 2 (1887), pp. 395-400; i due periodi esaminati si trovano a p. 396. Su questo regesto ha richia mato la nostra attenzione il P. Pelopida Stephanou, del Pontificio Istituto Orientale di Roma.

[2] Nell'« ekthesis » consegnata a Costantino i prelati non osano parlare di *σύνοδος* e iniziano: *Ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων σύναξις* ...; A. SALAČ, *Constantinople et Prague en 1952*, in *Rozpravy Čskoslov. Věd. ročn.* 68 (1958), sešit 11, p. 40 (1). Le ragioni storico-canoniche di tale denominazione sono state illustrate brevemente da M. PAULOVÀ, *L'Empire byzantin et les Tchèques avant la chûte de Constantinople*, in « Byzantinoslavica » 14 (1953), pp. 215 s.

a Roma, una tale adunanza degli anti-unionisti in S. Sofia era impossibile; ma il documento parla chiaro: *τῷ σαύεγγυς* (leggi: *σύνεγγυς*) *τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, ἔνθα εἰώθημεν συνιέναι* (1).

3) il sacerdote utraquista venuto da Praga si chiama Costantino Platris (non Platrys) detto comunemente Costantino Anglico: *Ἐγὼ Κωνσταντῖνος Πλάτρις καὶ ἀλλοίως Τζέσης Ἀγγλικός* (2).

Pensiamo che, col progredire degli studi bizantini, sbagli ed errori di questo e d'altro genere possano emergere ulteriormente (3). Ma, quando si tiene presente la massa imponente di dati incontestabili offertici dai *Regesten* e alle numerose prospettive che essi hanno aperto a vari settori della bizantinistica, si è portati a dimenticare tali manchevolezze spesso inevitabili, che, del resto, il Dölger ha cercato continuamente di ridurre al minimo (4).

Comunque, ci sembra più che probabile che Peter Wirth, collaboratore responsabile dell'ultimo fascicolo, nel preparare l'atteso volume-supplemento con gli indici dei nomi, delle materie, dei luoghi, ecc., terrà conto delle rettifiche suggerite qua e là dagli studiosi e dai critici.

Sarà la via più sicura per accrescere il valore già grande di quest'opera monumentale, degno inizio del *Corpus* sognato dai bizantinisti e motivo di legittimo compiacimento per l'illustre Studioso, di cui gli amici e gli ammiratori si accingono a celebrare degnamente il 75° compleanno.

CARMELO CAPIZZI S.J.

(1) A. SALAČ, *op. cit.*, p. 42 (4).

(2) IDEM, *op. cit.*, p. 28 (1). Sulle difficoltà di identificare Costantino anglico con l'altro inglese, corifeo degli utraquisti di Praga, Pietro Payne, cfr. M. PAULOVÀ, *art. cit.*, pp. 174-175. Per un chiaro e preciso inquadramento storico del prostagma in questione, vedi J. GILL, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge 1959, pp. 380-382.

(3) Per altre critiche aggiunte e rettifiche, cfr. ad es. K. BRANDI, *art. cit.*, sopra nella nota 31; E. STEIN, in « Byzantion » 7 (1932), pp. 54 s.; R. GUILLAND, in « Byzantino/slavica » 23 (1961), pp. 321 s; V. LAURENT, in « Rev. des Études byz. » 20 (1962), pp. 281-283; W. OHNSORGE, *Abendland und Byzanz*, Darmstadt 1963, pp. 227-260.

(4) Vedi quel che dice egli stesso in *Regesten*, III, p. V; IV, pp. V-VIII.

Eine griechische Strophe in koptischer Überlieferung

Unter den in der koptischen Liturgie tradierten Formeln und Texten griechischer Sprache ([1]) finden sich auch zwei Strophen eines Liedes auf die drei Jünglinge im Feuerofen, von denen die erste m. E. bis heute den wenigen Versuchen, sie sprachlich zu verstehen, getrotzt hat ([2]). Und soweit der Text einem gewissen Verständnis zugänglich scheint, ist dies meiner Meinung nach das Ergebnis einer sekundären Bearbeitung, die vermutlich einen völlig verballhornten ([3]) Text wieder notdürftig zurechtgeflickt hat. Der fragliche Text lautet in den modernen Ausgaben ([4]):

([1]) Vgl. die Zusammenstellung von O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Greek Kîrugmata, Versicles & Responses, and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2 (1936), 363-394.

([2]) Der gesamt Texte des Liedes ist sprachlich ein Unikum: in der dritten und vierten Strophe finden sich saïdische mit bohairischen Formen vermischt, am Beginn der dritten Strophe begegnet eine ganz unmögliche Kombination von Griechischem und Koptischem.

([3]) Die wenigen mir zugänglichen handschriftlichen Zeugen (im einzelnen unten S. 266, Anm. 1 aufgeführt) zeigen alle einen ganz verwilderten Text; ein Beispiel wird unten S. 269 zitiert werden.

([4]) Kl. J. LABĪB, *Jahres-Psalmodie* (kopt.-arab.), Kairo 1908, S. 65, und DERS., *Choiak-Psalmodie*, Kairo 1911, S. 513; ich habe die Schlusszeile mit den Namen der drei Jünglinge weggelassen. Wie es mit der handschriftlichen Überlieferung genauer steht, kann ich leider nicht sagen. Auffällig ist, dass Labīb in seiner Jahres-Psalmodie a.a.O. in einer Anmerkung sagt, er habe den Text (mit eigenen Verbesserungen) aus einer römischen Ausgabe übernommen, womit doch nur die Ausgabe der *Theotokien* (kopt.-arab.) von Tūḫī von [1764] gemeint sein kann; dort steht der Text auf S. ⲥⲡⲑ (eigentlich müsste es ⲥϥⲑ heissen, doch erscheinen bei durchlaufendem Text die Ziffern ⲥϛ̄ⲁ-ⲥⲟ zweimal in der Paginierung). Sollte das heissen, dass die Labīb in Ägypten zur Verfügung stehenden Handschriften den Text nicht enthielten? Jedenfalls legt sich

ⲦⲈⲚⲈⲚ ⲞⲐⲈⲚ ⲐⲨⲤⲒⲀⲚ ⲔⲈ ⲦⲎⲚ ⲖⲞⲄⲒⲔⲎⲚ ⲖⲀⲦⲢⲒⲀⲚ:
ⲀⲚⲀⲠⲈⲘⲠⲰⲘⲈⲚ ⲤⲈⲀⲨⲦⲰ ⲤⲎⲘⲈⲢⲞⲚ ⲰⲖⲀⲤ:
ⲠⲢⲞⲤ ⲆⲞⲜⲀ ⲤⲞⲨ ⲤⲰⲦⲎⲢ ⲎⲘⲰⲚ:

So wie der Text dasteht, ist er am Anfang völlig unverständlich und im weiteren Verlauf — gelinde gesagt — nicht gerade klassisches Griechisch. Wie haben die Schreiber, bzw. Herausgeber und Bearbeiter diesen Text verstanden? Man müsste mit den arabischen Übersetzungen der Kopten beginnen, aber leider konnte ich bisher nicht feststellen, ob solche schon in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung bezeugt sind (1). So kann ich auch nicht sagen, ob Tūḫī die seiner Ausgabe (2) beigegebene arabische Übersetzung den Handschriften entnommen hat oder aber ob er den Text selbst ins Arabische übersetzt hat. Wie dem auch sei, die von Tūḫī gedruckte arabische Übersetzung scheint den Text so verstanden zu haben (3), dass **ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ** als koptische Verbalform anzusehen wäre; dieser Form entspricht in der arabischen Übersetzung نقدم = « wir bringen dar » (4). Da der Satz nun zwei parallele

der Verdacht nahe, dass die Text*form* unserer Druckausgaben keine handschriftliche Stütze hat, sondern das Werk des ersten modernen Bearbeiters, eben Tūḫīs ist. Dafür spricht neben der eben erwähnten Angabe Labībs vor allem folgende Tatsache: die Textform in der von Tūḫī selbst geschriebenen Handschrift *Borg. Copt. 80* (f. 77r) liegt ganz auf einer Linie mit der in den übrigen (mir bekannten) bohairischen Handschriften und ist deutlich von jener Fassung verschieden, die Tūḫī dann gedruckt hat. Ein sicheres Urteil ist aber ohne Kenntnis weiteren handschriftlichen Materials nicht möglich.

(1) Wie schon gesagt, sind mir nur wenige handschriftliche Zeugen zugänglich. Eine dieser Handschriften, *Vat. Copt. 102* (unser Text f. 6r), ist überhaupt nur einsprachig koptisch. Zum grösseren Teil zweisprachig (koptisch-arabisch) sind der *Vat. Copt. 36* und der *Borg. Copt. 97*; beide bieten für unseren Text (f. 106v, bzw. 133r) keine arabische Übersetzung. Der koptische Text der Londoner Handschrift *Brit. Mus. Or. 5284* (= Nr. 865 bei W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905) lässt sich aus Burmesters Apparat *Or. Chr. Per.* 2 (1936), 391 zusammenstellen; weder bei Crum, noch bei Burmester ist zu ersehen, ob die Handschrift für diesen Abschnitt die arabische Übersetzung gibt. Auch die von Tūḫī selbst geschriebene Handschrift *Borg. Copt. 80* kennt f. 77r für unser Stück keine arabische Übersetzung, obwohl sonst in dieser Handschrift viele Texte in beiden Sprachen erscheinen.

(2) Siehe oben S. 265, Anm. 4.

(3) Vgl. Burmester, *Or. Chr. Per.*, 2 (1936) 390.

(4) Ob das einleitende فمن ثم (etwa = «und dann») in der arabischen Übersetzung das **ⲟⲑⲉⲛ** wiedergeben soll, weiss ich nicht; jedenfalls entspricht dem **ⲟⲑⲉⲛ** sonst nichts in der arabischen Übersetzung.

Verbalformen enthält (« wir bringen dar » und « wir senden [empor] »), wurde in der arabischen Übersetzung vor der zweiten ein « und » eingefügt, das in der Vorlage nicht steht. Im übrigen wurde der vermeintliche griechische Text mit all seinen Ungereimtheiten, von denen ⲥⲉⲁⲩⲧⲱ wohl die auffälligste sein dürfte, wörtlich ins Arabische übertragen. Die gleiche arabische Übersetzung findet sich auch in Labībs Ausgaben ([1]). Spätere Erklärungsversuche rückten von der Auffassung, dass ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ eine koptische Verbalform sei, wieder ab. Burmester([2]) sagte offen, dass er eine sichere Deutung nicht geben könne und schlug als «a mere conjecture» vor: ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲑⲉⲛ ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛ = τὴν θυσίαν. Hebbelynck und van Lantschoot ([3]) legten die Deutung ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲑⲉⲛ ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛ = τὴν ἄνωθεν θυσίαν vor. Dies wäre zwar, vom überlieferten Wortlaut her gesehen, eine vorzügliche Erklärung, sie will mir aber inhaltlich nicht gefallen. Die gleiche Deutung findet sich dann bei Simaika und ʿAbd al Masiḥ ([4]). Neuerdings sah sich Brogi bei seiner Übersetzung der Psalmodie in die unangenehme Lage versetzt, zu dieser Schwierigkeit Stellung nehmen zu müssen. Er ist ihr aber aus dem Wege gegangen, indem er einfach eine Übersetzung der uns schon bekannten arabischen Version gab, ohne seine Leser auch nur mit einem einzigen Wort auf das Problem des « koptischen » Textes hinzuweisen ([5]).

Alle diese Erklärungsversuche haben mich bisher ebenso unbefriedigt gelassen wie der zu erklärende Text selbst. Wenn ich glaube, die Lösung dieses Rätsels gefunden zu haben — oder ihr doch näher gekommen zu sein —, so mit Hilfe älterer, vor allem saïdischer Texte. Dabei hat sich zugleich die Vermutung bestätigt, dass die gemeinte Strophe keineswegs charakteristisch für unser Lied auf die drei Jünglinge ist, sondern auch in ganz anderer Verwendung vorkommt. Bisher bin ich auf zwei saïdische Zeugen dieser Strophe gestossen; ich möchte vermuten, dass in den Textausgaben, vor allem aber in

([1]) Siehe oben S. 265, Anm. 4; Labīb hat jedoch die bei Tūḫī nicht berücksichtigten Artikel der griechischen Vorlage auch in die arabische Übersetzung eingeführt.

([2]) *Or. Chr. Per.* 2 (1936), 390 f.

([3]) *Codices Coptici Vaticani* (etc.), Bd. 1, Vatikanstadt 1937, S. 148 (der betreffende Bogen ist am 22.4.33 gedruckt).

([4]) *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum* (etc.), Bd. 1, Kairo 1939, S. XXXIV.

([5]) *La Santa Salmodia Annuale della Chiesa copta*, traduzione, introduzione e annotazione (Studia Orientalia Christiana, Aegyptiaca), Kairo 1962, S. 19.

den Handschriften noch weitere Zeugen zu finden wären. Der eine der beiden saïdischen Texte steht in der Leidener Handschrift *Insinger Nr. 32* und ist veröffentlicht ([1]). Dieser Text lautet:

> ⲧⲏⲛ ⲛⲏⲟⲑⲉⲛⲉ ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲛ ⲗⲟⲩⲓⲩⲏⲛ
> ⲗⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲡⲉⲙⲡⲟⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲉ ⲱⲥ ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲟ
> ⲇⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲇⲉⲝⲏ ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲏⲙⲱⲛ

Der andere saïdische Text, im Cod. *Borg. copt. 109*[104], p. ⲣϥⲇ, Zeile 6-8 ([2]), ist meines Wissen unveröffentlicht. Dieser Text lautet:

> ⲧⲏⲛ ⲛⲏⲟⲑⲉⲛⲏⲛ ⲑⲩ[ⲥⲓ]ⲁⲛ ⲕ[ⲁⲓ ⲧ]ⲏⲛ ⲗⲟⲕⲓⲕⲏ ⲗⲁ
> ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲉⲙⲡⲟⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲓ ⲱⲥ ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲟ[ⲇ]ⲓⲁⲥ
> ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲇⲁⲓⲝⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲣ ⲩⲙⲱⲛ

Beide Zeugen repräsentieren genau die gleiche Textform. Die Abweichungen sind rein orthographischer Art. Ausgehend von dieser Fassung kann man den dahinterstehenden Text schon besser erkennen. So könnte etwa folgende Rekonstruktion des griechischen Textes in Erwägung gezogen werden:

> *τὴν νοητὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ἀναπέμπομέν σοι ὡς μύρον εὐωδίας πρόσδεξαι σωτὴρ ἡμῶν.*

Ob damit schon alle Detailfragen gelöst sind, lasse ich jedoch auf sich beruhen. Vor allem wäre noch sicherzustellen, ob das *πρόσδεξαι* tatsächlich absolut gebraucht war. Anderenfalls könnte man an zwei verschiedene Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten denken. Entweder wäre das von *πρόσδεξαι* abhängige Pronomen verlorengegangen, oder aber *τὴν νοητὴν θυσίαν...* wäre selbst das Objekt von *πρόσδεξαι* gewesen, in welchem Fall das Relativpronomen vor *ἀναπέμπομεν* zu rekonstruieren wäre. Wie immer man aber den Text auch im einzelnen verstehen will, ich glaube, dass die hier versuchte Rekonstruktion des griechischen Textes der beiden saïdischen Handschriften auch dem der späteren bohairischen Handschriften und Ausgaben weit besser gerecht wird als die anderen Erklärungsversuche. Nicht ganz geläufig erscheint

([1]) Pleyte-Boeser, *Manuscrits coptes du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, Leiden 1897, S. 138.

([2]) Nr. 104 der saïdischen Handschriften bei Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rom 1810, S. 221.

vielleicht die Formulierung *μύρον εὐωδίας* (1), jedenfalls ist mir im Augenblick nur eine einzige Parallele zu diesem Ausdruck im Griechischen präsent. Diese findet sich in dem Weihrauchgebet nach der Kommunion in der griechischen Jakobusliturgie, und auch dort nur in einer einzigen Handschrift (2). Schliesslich könnte man vielleicht einwenden, dass der Abstand zwischen dem Text der saïdischen Handschriften und dem der bohairischen Ausgaben doch etwas gross ist. Falls aber letzterer nicht überhaupt nur eine Schöpfung Tūḫīs ist (3), so zeigen schon die wenigen zum Vergleich herangezogenen bohairischen Handschriften ganz klar Texte, die — mag ihre Sprache auch noch so verwildert sein — den zitierten saïdischen Texten noch äusserst nahe stehen. Wie auch immer, der Text der bohairischen Ausgaben ist jedenfalls nur das Endprodukt einer langen Entwicklung. Was Einzelpunkte betrifft, so mögen die folgenden zwei Beispiele genügen. Alle Handschriften (auch der von Tūḫī geschriebene *Borg. Copt. 80*!) lassen noch deutlich das Wort *εὐωδίας* erkennen, das im *Borg. Copt. 97* als ⲉⲩⲱϯⲁⲥ, im *Vat. Copt. 36*, *Vat. Copt. 102*, *Borg. Copt. 80* und in der Londoner Handschrift als ⲁⲩⲱϯⲁⲥ erscheint. Im gedruckten Text ist daraus ⲱⲗⲁⲥ geworden, hinter welchem Wort wohl kaum noch jemand *εὐωδίας* vermuten wird. Weiterhin stimmen die Handschriften darin überein, dass sich nirgendwo eine sichere Spur des Pronomens ⲥⲟⲩ nach ⲗⲟⲝⲁ findet. In den meisten folgt auf ⲗⲟⲝⲁ unmittelbar ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ, nur der *Borg. Copt. 97* hat ⲏ zwischen beiden Wörtern. Als Beispiel eines vollständigen Wortlautes sei hier schliesslich der Text des *Vat. Copt. 36* gegeben:

ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲱⲑⲏⲛⲛⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ./· ⲛⲕⲁⲓ
ⲧⲉⲛⲗⲟⲩⲕⲉⲗⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁ ./· ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲙ
ⲡⲟⲙⲉⲛⲥⲉⲱϣⲙⲉⲣⲟⲛ ./· ⲁⲩⲱϯ
ⲁⲥⲡⲣⲟⲥ ./· ⲗⲟⲝⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣⲏⲙⲱ̅ ./·

(1) Normalerweise heisst es in diesem Ausdruck *ὀσμή* statt *μύρον*. Man könnte weiterhin fragen, ob nicht das ⲱⲥ der beiden saïdischen Zeugen schon ein Fehler für *εἰς* ist.

(2) Dennoch hat B.-Ch. Mercier, *La Liturgie de saint Jacques*. Edition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine, [Paris 1946], S. 122 = *Patrol. Orient.* 26, S. 236, diese Lesart (*τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος μύρον*) in den Text aufgenommen und die der anderen Handschriften (*τὴν εὐωδίαν ... τὸ μύρον*) in den Apparat verwiesen.

(3) Siehe oben S. 265, Anm. 4.

In dem hier betrachteten Fall konnten die etwas älteren saïdischen Handschriften des Weissen Klosters zweifellos das Verständnis unserer griechischen Strophe etwas fördern, die in bohairischer Überlieferung nur völlig unverstanden weitertradiert worden sein kann. Dennoch bleibt es fraglich, ob die Schreiber jener saïdischen Handschriften ihren Text noch besser verstanden als ihre späteren, bohairisch schreibenden Kollegen. Auch ihr Text ist von einem nur halbwegs korrekten Griechisch weit entfernt. Und die Handschriften des Weissen Klosters enthalten genügend griechische Stücke, deren Verständnis grösste Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass die Kenntnis der griechischen Sprache bei denen, die diese Handschriften schrieben und benutzten, also am Ende des 1. Jahrtausends, praktisch schon verloren gegangen war.

H. Quecke S.J.

Gli Heirmoi e le Akolouthiai dell'Heirmologion

(Appunti)

Nell'accezione corrente con il termine *Heirmòs* viene indicato un *tropárion con struttura metrica*, quindi, anche melodica, *propria, modello ad altri troparia*. I troparia strutturati secondo l'heirmòs debbono costituire una *serie*; sta proprio in questo la distinzione fra l'*heirmos* e l'*automelon* (anche quest'ultimo, in base alla tradizione, *troparion modello*), l'automelon infatti non richiede che i troparia che ad esso si modellano formino una serie, una *concatenazione* (1). Il termine troparion, inoltre, nel caso dei kanónes, proprio in relazione alla dipendenza dall'heirmòs viene fatto derivare dal verbo *Τρέπομαι — mi rivolgo*.

Questo modo di vedere gli heirmoi, già espresso da G. Zonaràs (sec. XII), è accettato da tutti gli studiosi che si sono occupati dell'innografia sacra bizantina (2). Lo scopo dei presenti appunti è di mettere in evidenza alcune nostre costatazioni fatte esaminando alcuni heirmologia che modificano o completano il concetto di heirmòs. Esse

(1) Esiste anche qualche serie lunga di troparia modellantesi su un automelon; così ad es. la serie di sticherà *secondo l'alfabeto* di Simeone Metafraste. La differenza in questo caso fra heirmòs e automelon, anche se minima esiste. Il termine heirmòs si applica anche alla prima stanza di molti kontákia che, oltre che alle altre stanze del kontakion di cui fa parte, è modello per le stanze di kontakia diversi.

(2) Cfr. *Εἱρμοί*, in Du Cange, *Glossarium*... etc., Lugduni, 1688, ove riporta quanto dice lo Zonaràs. Goar J., *Εὐχολόγιον*, Venetiis, 1730, p. 351. Pitra, J. B., *Hymnographie de l'Église grecque*, Rome, 1867, pp. 30-31. Idem, *Analecta Sacra*, Parisiis, 1876, Vol. I, p. LIV. Krumbacher, K., *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, (versione dei G. Soteriades) Atene, 1900, Vol. II, p. 596, Tardo, L., *L'antica melurgia bizantina*, Grottaferrata, 1938, p. 40. Leclercq, H., *Hymnes*, in « Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et Liturgie », Vol. VI,2, coll. 449-50. Schirò, G., *Innografia*, in « Enciclopedia Cattolica », Vol. VII, col. 33. Wellesz, E., *A history of byzantine music and hymnography*, 2 ed., Oxford, 1961, p. 181; per quanto riguarda i kontakia cfr. p. 179. Tomadakes, N. B., *Εἱρμοί*, in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ ἠθικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, Atene, Vol. V, coll. 449-50.

vertono anche sul termine *Akolouthia*, usato dai codici per indicare raggruppamenti di heirmoi. Giacché la sede propria degli heirmoi è il libro denominato *Heirmologion* le nostre indagini si sono, conseguentemente, concentrate su questo libro. Fra gli heirmologia (1) tenuti principalmente presenti segnaliamo i mss.:

Saba 83 (sec. XI-XII) della Biblioteca del S. Sepolcro in Gerusalemme; in procinto di essere edito dai *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* di Copenhagen;

Crypt. E γ III (sec. XII);
Crypt. E γ II (sec. XIII); già edito a Roma nel 1950;
Paris. Coislin 220 (sec. XI-XII);
Vat. Palat. gr. 243 (sec. XIV).

Ci è stata di grande utilità la pubblicazione *Σ. ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΟΥ*, " Εἱρμολόγιον " Chennevrières-sur-Marne, 1932 (2).

Scorrendo gli heirmologia abbiamo notato:

1) gli heirmoi sono raggruppati secondo l'ordine degli otto modi dell'Októechos bizantino;

2) nell'ambito del raggruppamento citato essi sono riuniti in *Akolouthiai* comprendenti *otto* o *nove* odi (3);

3) ciascuna ode può contenere uno o più heirmoi;

4) le akolouthiai sono precedute da un nome indicante un personaggio cui esse vengono attribuite oppure il centro di origine o di maggior uso di loro (4);

5) esistono heirmoi che fanno parte di differenti akolouthiai, di diversi autori o centri (5);

(1) Sono tutti con gli heirmoi musicati.

(2) Nell'heirmologion edito dall'Eustratiades vengono riportati i repertori dei MSS. Paris. Coislin 220, e Laura 32, ambedue codici musicali.

(3) L'ordine da noi indicato è quello comune; esiste però qualche MS. come ad es. il Vat. Palat. gr. 243 (sec. XIV) che ha le akolouthiai principali o più importanti secondo la maniera ordinaria, mentre altri heirmoi li presenta raggruppati per odi.

(4) Non è raro, ad es. il termine *ἀκολουθία συναιλικὴ*; il problema del termine anatolikòn degli sticherà si presenta anche per le akolouthiai degli heirmoi.

(5) Nel Saba 73 conf. ad es. nel modo IV pl. l'Akollouthia XL ode VII di Stefano e l'Akolouthia VI ode VII di Giovanni; l'Akolouthia XXXIII ode IX di Sicelo (Siciliano?) e l'akolouthia XXVI ode VIII (sic) di Andrea di Gerusalemme; l'Akolouthia XXVI ode VI di Andrea

6) non mancano casi in cui lo stesso heirmòs è usato con modi musicali differenti (1) oltre che in differenti akolouthiai di autori diversi;

7) esistono heirmoi di qualche akolouthia che seguono un modo musicale differente da quello dell'akolouthia cui appartengono; questi o sono inseriti nella propria akolouthia oppure in una akolouthia del gruppo di quel particolare modo musicale (2);

8) trovasi qualche caso in cui un heirmòs in una akolouthia è usato per una determinata ode, in un'altra akolouthia un suo prosómoion è heirmòs di un'altra ode (3);

9) esiste qualche caso in cui come heirmòs di un'ode è dato un troparion prosómoion di un *Makarismòn* (4);

10) degni di nota sono gli heirmoi prosomoia di altri troparia; questo contraddice al concetto di heirmòs espresso all'inizio dei presenti appunti (5).

Queste, alcune delle osservazioni; su alcune di esse dall'esame complessivo ci sembra di poter concludere:

a) il termine *Akolouthia* negli heirmologia deve prendersi nel senso di *sequenza* o *serie* e non nel senso di Ufficiatura (6);

---

di Gerusalemme e l'Akolouthia XXIV ode VI di Stefano nipote di Giovanni Damasceno. Gli esempi potrebbero moltiplicarsi. Le indicazioni sul Saba 83 abbiamo preferito darle in questa maniera perchè costretti dal fatto di lavorare su copie fotografiche di tale codice ove non ci è possibile scorgere la numerazione.

(1) Per questi casi abbastanza numerosi fra cui, pensiamo noi, bisogna ricercare il repertorio più antico, si può consultare Tardo, L., *Hirmologium Cryptense* E γ II, Introduzione, Roma 1951 pp. 28-29. Qui vengono dati molti casi desunti dal medesimo MS.

(2) Il riferimento fatto nella nota precedente vale anche per questo caso. In più cfr. E γ II ff. 288v-229.

(3) I casi sono piuttosto rari e riguardano per lo più prosomoia. Cfr. ad es. E γ III ff. 192v-193; f. 187-187v.

(4) Da ricordare che i Makarismoi sono tenuti come heirmoi e dai MSS riportati assieme a questi. Non avendo essi riferimento ad alcuna delle odi bibliche del mattutino possono essere usate come heirmòs per qualsiasi ode; è il testo del prosomoion che determina l'ode in cui usarlo.

(5) Finora abbiamo trovato due sole akolouthiai complete che si modellano su quella di Pasqua e su quella di Natale. Esistono però tali diversi singoli heirmoi prosomoioi. Cfr. ad es. Vat. Palat. gr. 243, ff. 5 ss. e 11 ss.; E γ II ff. 272-272v; 252, ecc.

(6) Cfr. Tardo L. *Hirmologium Cryptense* E γ II, Introduzione, Roma, 1951, p. 19.

b) il nome che precede l'akolouthia indica primieramente il personaggio *organizzatore della serie* e non il compositore dei testi e della musica dell'akolouthia. Con questo non si vuol escludere che l'organizzatore e il compositore possano essere la medesima persona, In questo senso primario anche gli innografi più tardivi che per i loro kanónes hanno usato heirmoi di differenti akolouthiai hanno, a loro volta, organizzata un'akolouthia;

c) per il fatto che non tutte le akolouthiai hanno la seconda ode è da dedursi che all'epoca degli autori delle akolouthiai essa, come in seguito fino ai nostri giorni, non sempre veniva usata [1], ma era riservata a particolari periodi dell'anno liturgico (ad es. la grande quaresima), salva la pratica personale di qualche autore come ad es. di S. Andrea Cretese;

d) sulle akolouthiai comportanti più heirmoi per alcune odi si potrebbe pensare o che i kanónes che seguono tale akolouthia hanno in realtà troparia nella stessa ode modellantisi su differenti heirmoi, come succede per qualche kanòn di S. Andrea Cretese, oppure che nella pratica attuazione del kanòn alcuni heirmoi formano un kanòn ridotto di odi come succede per qualche kanòn di S. Cosma di Maiumà della Settimana Santa;

e) se le attribuzioni degli heirmologia sono genuine o almeno non cervellotiche, per il fatto che lo stesso heirmòs abbia musica di differenti modi, sia usato in differenti akolouthiai di autori diversi, per non ammettere un caso di plagio ci sembra conseguente impostare la nozione, l'origine e lo sviluppo del heirmoi su basi differenti da quella fin qui ritenute valide.

Noi pensiamo che le implicazioni musicali e innologiche ora facenti parte del concetto dell'heirmòs siano a questo estranei, quantomeno, indifferenti relativamente al suo originario concetto e uso; esse sono avvenute in un secondo tempo in conseguenza dello sviluppo del kanòn; comunque, pur rimanendo le cose come sono, il significato fondamentale dell'heirmòs di *elemento concatenante* non resta modificato se unvece che *primo* della serie seguente lo si considera *ultimo*

[1] Lo spunto ce lo dà il fatto osservato nei codici che nelle akolouthai anastasimoi e in quelle delle feste maggiori manca o è più rara l'ode II. Caso importante, in qualche codice come l'E γ· II si trova un'appendice con odi seconde divise per modi.

elemento della serie precedente; in questo caso invece di aprire chiuderebbe la serie.

Nell'ordine d'idee fin qui esposto e tenendo conto di altri elementi che non possiamo momentaneamente qui riportare, noi siamo dell'opinione che in un primo tempo, prima dello sviluppo del kanòn, l'heirmòs era il troparion concludente le odi bibliche del mattutino. Quando, invece che con l'*hypópsalma* si volle intercalare le odi con troparia, per non eseguire troparia differenti nella loro struttura metrica e per conseguenza nella melodia, si credette più opportuno comporre i nuovi troparia secondo il modello dell'heirmòs che per questa sua funzione cominciò a salire dal suo primiero posto assumendo la funzione e il posto che gli è divenuto caratteristico nel kanòn. L'antica funzione e il primitivo posto li riassume quando in determinate solennità esso *ridiscende* per essere eseguito come *Katabasía - discesa.*

La primiera funzione e il posto dell'heirmòs viene conservato anche oggigiorno con la recita o il canto di un heirmòs alla fine delle odi del kanòn al mattutino, unito o meno all'ode biblica.

Altre osservazioni abbiamo fatto sugli heirmoi e altre deduzioni abbiamo tratto analizzando i dati offerti dagli heirmologia; esse, possibilmente in questa stessa sede, saranno esposte assieme alle discussioni inerenti ad esse con i dati che le possano rendere accettabili.

P. Bartolomeo Di Salvo
Ieromonaco

In memoriam

GIORGIO SOTIRIOU (1880-1965)

Verso la fine del gennaio del '65 è venuto a mancare una delle personalità più rappresentative della Grecia colta di questo secolo, Giorgio Sotiriou, professore di Archeologia Cristiana e Bizantina nell'Università di Atene.

La sua vita fu un continuo susseguirsi di imprese a servizio della scienza.

Nato il 20 settembre 1880 nell'isola di Spetse e compiuti gli studi elementari e medi, seguì i corsi della Scuola Ecclesiastica (*Rizario*) e della Facoltà Teologica di Atene, probabilmente con l'intenzione di abbracciare la vita ecclesiastica. Ma, in realtà, seguì un'altra via: prese moglie e si recò per ragioni di studio prima in Germania, dove frequentò le Università di Lipsia e di Berlino, e poi in Austria, dove frequentò l'Università di Vienna. Insieme con sua moglie studiò in tali Università teologia, storia, epigrafia, archeologia cristiana e bizantina sotto la guida di maestri come A. Hauck, W. Studnizka, V. Gardthausen, O. Wulff e J. Strzygowski.

Ritornato ad Atene, dovette adattarsi ad insegnare per qualche anno religione nelle scuole medie; ma nel 1915 venne nominato Ispettore Generale delle Antichità Bizantine in Atene. Da quel momento in poi, la sua solida preparazione scientifica e le sue doti ebbero modo di esplicarsi pienamente. Studiando, insegnando, dirigendo campagne di scavi e pubblicando una notevole quantità di scritti scientifici e divulgativi divenne il maestro dell'Archeologia Cristiana in Grecia. Organizzò innanzitutto il Museo Bizantino d'Atene, i cui inizi risalivano al Prof. Lampakis; di una ristretta collezione d'opere d'arte e di manufatti seppe fare il Museo odierno, che è uno dei centri internazionali degli studi archeologici bizantini. Nel 1924 fu nominato Professore straordinario di Archeologia Cristiana e di Paleografia nella Facoltà Teologica di Atene; quattro anni dopo diveniva Professore ordinario.

Ma già due anni prima, nel 1926, l'Accademia di Atene gli faceva l'onore di eleggerlo a suo membro; mentre fin dal 1918 era stato uno dei primi consiglieri della « Società degli studi bizantini ». Oltre a ciò, fu tra i primi consiglieri e poi Segretario Generale e Presidente della « Società Archeologica Cristiana », e consigliere della « Società Archeologica » di Atene.

A queste cariche corrispose un numero analogo di onorificenze; fu nominato socio ordinario e membro onorario degli Istituti Archeologici Tedeschi di Atene e di Berlino, dell'Istituto Archeologico di Vienna, dell'Istituto Kondakov di Praga, della Società dei Bollandisti di Bruxelles, dell'Accademia di Romania e dell'Accademia dei Lincei di Roma. Ottenne anche l'ambìto premio francese per la Bizantinologia « Gustave Schlumberger ».

Non è facile riassumere l'attività del Prof. Sotiriou come studioso e come archeologo, attività eccezionalmente feconda, che sta alla base della fiducia accordatagli e degli onori concessigli. Gli « Atti » di numerosi congressi internazionali, varie riviste e numerose pubblicazioni indipendenti testimoniano tale attività, che ebbe come oggetto precipuo i monumenti della Grecia cristiana antica e medievale. Ci basti ricordare che per opera del Prof. Sotiriou sono stati portati alla luce il *Martyrium* di Leonida in Atene, la basilica cruciforme eretta ai tempi di Giustiniano sulla tomba di S. Giovanni Evangelista ad Efeso, la basilica di S. Nicone Metanoite a Sparta, la città paleocristiana di Tebe nella Tessaglia, ecc. Delle sue pubblicazioni ricorderemo soltanto: *Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 1927; *Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, 1935; *Κειμήλια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Πατριαρχικὸς Ναὸς καὶ Σκευοφυλάκιον*, 1938; *Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, I (*Κείμενον*), II (*Λεύκωμα*), 1952 (quest'ultima opera fu scritta dal Sotiriou in collaborazione con la sua signora, dopo aver diretto la ricostruzione, secondo la forma primitiva, del famoso santuario tessalonicese, distrutto dall'incendio del 1917); *Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, I *Εἰκόνες*, (1956), II *Κείμενον*, (1958), ecc.

Questi titoli non sono che una frazione della bibliografia del Prof. Sotiriou, la quale ne comprende oltre duecento.

Sul valore scientifico degli scritti di questo archeologo proveniente dalla teologia non ci sembra il caso di insistere. Tralasciando la sua serietà metodologica e la sua magistrale perizia nell'illustrare un reperto archeologico o un'opera d'arte cristiana e bizantina, ci limitiamo a rilevare che la fecondità del suo spirito ebbe modo di dare spesso tutta la misura di se stessa appunto per la sua rara preparazione teologica,

la quale gli permetteva di spingere lo sguardo ben oltre l'àmbito degli interessi di un archeologo comune.

Della sua « humanitas » possono testimoniare tutti coloro che hanno avuto la fortuna di averlo come insegnante e maestro. Del Prof. Sotiriou ricorderanno a lungo non solo l'onestà e l'entusiasmo scientifico, ma anche e soprattutto la sua ammirabile prontezza ad affrontare qualunque sacrificio per il progresso dell'Archeologia Cristiana e della Verità da essa testimoniata.

COSTANTINO CHARALAMPIDIS

RECENSIONES

Theologica et Spiritualia

Endre von Ivánka, *Plato Christianus, Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Väter*, Johannes Verlag Einsiedeln 1964, 496 Seiten.

Seit mehr als 30 Jahren beschäftigt sich der Verfasser des vorliegenden Werkes mit der Frage nach dem Einfluß des Platonismus auf die Lehre der (vor allem griechischen) Väter. Handelt es sich um Übernahme, Umformungen, Umdeutungen? Die Untersuchung wurde sehr bald auf den christlichen Westen ausgedehnt, erst Augustinus, dann die beginnende Hochscholastik.

Im Buche sind zahlreiche Einzeluntersuchungen — über die am Schluß (S. 494 ff.) ein « Herkunftsnachweis » Auskunft gibt — zu einem Ganzen vereint. Da jeder Einzelbeitrag ein in sich abgerundetes Ganzes bildet, ließen sich mehr oder weniger häufige Überschneidungen oder Wiederholungen nicht vermeiden. Die zur Gliederung eingeschalteten häufigen Untertitel erleichtern ohne Zweifel die Lesung, die streckenweise hohe Anforderungen an den Leser stellt. Die zum Teil später hinzugefügten Anmerkungen bringen wertvolle bibliographische oder sachliche Ergänzungen.

Zum Inhalt: 1. Das erste der 10 Kapitel handelt vom Platonismus als Grundlage. Es wird die Vieldeutigkeit des Begriffs " Platonismus " aufgezeigt. Ist doch Platonismus keine einheitliche Größe, sondern eine Geistesströmung. Daher ist jeder christliche Platoniker gesondert zu betrachten. Dann wird der Platonismus als System in seinen Grundideen dargelegt, mit dem Aristotelismus verglichen, sein Ort auch unter einigen modernen philosophischen Systemen (wie Cartesianismus und Kants Erkenntnislehre) bestimmt. Hernach wird der Neuplatonismus in seiner Eigenlehre und in seiner Abhängigkeit vom Stoizismus charakterisiert.

2. Das ganz kurze zweite Kapitel berichtet von einer ersten Begegnung mit dem Platonismus, nämlich von seiten der Apologeten, die sich abwehrend verhalten, und von seiten des Alexandriners Klemens, der jedoch Platonisches nur bildhaft verwendet, nicht inhaltlich philosophisch.

3. Die erste bedeutende Begegnung aber fand statt in Origenes, dessen Schrift « Über die Prinzipien » dafür besonders aufschlußreich ist. Eingehend wird untersucht, inwieweit Origenes den Standpunkt des Christentums einhält oder aber der Gnosis oder auch der sich bildenden

neuplatonischen Philosophie verhaftet ist. V. Ivánka kommt zum Ergebnis, daß bei Origenes « eine im wesentlichen völlig christliche Denkabsicht » dominiert, aber wegen des Mangels eines christlichen Schöpfungsbegriffs der christliche Gehalt dann doch durch die Einwirkung der neuplatonischen Stufenontologie und die formale Ähnlichkeit mit dem gnostischen Seinsmythos in bedenklicher Weise entstellt wird (143-4). Kurz wird dann noch die Auswirkung des Origenismus betrachtet, besonders bei Euagrios.

4. Eine radikale Verchristlichung der platonischen und neuplatonischen Gedankenmotive (151) sieht v.I. erst bei Gregor von Nyssa, der in seiner Lehre vom rationalen und mystischen Erkennen wie in seiner Ontologie des Geschöpflichen die echte Geschöpflichkeit der menschlichen Geistseele herausstellt und ihre pantheistische Identität mit der Gottheit überwindet.

5. An dieser Stelle wird ein Kapitel über Augustinus eingeschaltet. In der Darlegung der Gottes- und Selbst-, der Begriffs- und Erfahrungserkenntnis schließt sich Augustinus nach v. I. in der Formulierung der Probleme « in großen Zügen » an Gregor von Nyssa an. Doch hat Augustins Lehre « ihre ganz besonderen, von der Lehre Gregors verschiedenen Akzente; denn sie beruht — sowohl wo sie eine Assimilierung, als wo sie eine Modifizierung platonischer Motive ist — auf einer ganz selbständigen Auseinandersetzung mit der platonischen Tradition » (189). Gregors mystische Gotteserkenntnis aus Liebe berührt sich mit dem christlichen Voluntarismus Augustins.

6. Für die Aufnahme des Platonismus und seiner Umdeutung im christlichen Sinne bleiben dann von entscheidender Bedeutung die Schriften des Pseudo-Areopagiten. In Frage kommt vor allem seine Schrift « Über die göttlichen Namen ». Wichtig ist seine Auffassung vom Teilhaben, vom Hervorgang der Schöpfung aus Gott und von der hierarchischen Ordnung der Geschöpfe. Von I. sieht zwar, daß bei Ps.-Dionysius emanatistische Formeln und Bilder neben deutlichen Bekenntnissen zur Schöpfungsidee stehen, unterscheidet aber zwischen « Gewand » und wahrem christlichen Inhalt, ja er stellt bei ihm « eine sich deutlich anbahnende Gnadenlehre » fest, da der Areopagite « die göttliche und vergöttlichende Kraft der Liebe, die Gott der Seele mitteilt, um ihre Erhebung zu ihm zu ermöglichen » (285), ins rechte Licht rücke. Gleichwohl gibt v. I, zu, daß in der Folge die areopagitische Tradition manchmal Anlaß zu einem erneuten « Einbruch » des « Hellenischen » ins christliche Denken geboten hat (288-9).

7. Einen zweiten solchen « Einbruchsort » « reaktivierter, dabei zugleich aber christianisierter platonischer Gedankenmotive » stellt v. I. in den Werken Maximos des Bekenners fest, dessen « denkerische Situation » er treffend « sehr komplex » nennt (293). Aber in gewissen « Residuen platonischen Denkens » bei ihm sieht v. I. « nur Verbalismen, die für die eigentliche Seinsanalyse des Maximos keine Bedeutung haben » (306). Gelang doch diesem hl. Vater eine « wirklich tiefdurchdachte Synthese », die den idealen und realen Aspekt « in eins zusammenschauen gestattet und so den aristotelischen und den platonischen Aspekt in einer wirklich christlichen (und damit wirklich geschichtlichen) Seinsschau zu vereinigen vermag » (305).

8. Im 8. Kapitel unternimmt der Verfasser einen Vorstoß ins westliche Mittelalter bis zum 12. Jahrhundert, wo die augustinische Auffassung wegweisend war und wo er deutlich das platonische Erbe feststellen kann (309). Klar zeigt die Lehre der Theologen und Mystiker — vor allem gehören hierher Hugo und Richard von St. Viktor, Alcher von Clairvaux und Wilhelm von St. Thierry — von der « apex mentis », vom « Seelengrund », von der « Geistsphäre », von der « intelligentia » oder der « principalis affectio » ihre Verwandtschaft mit platonisch

neuplatonischen Ideen. Entschieden wird eine Überwindung des neuplatonischen Intellektualismus angestrebt.

9. Es folgt ein — wie das vorhergehende — langes Kapitel über den östlichen Hesychasmus und Palamismus, über seinen « unbewußten Platonismus » (391 ff.), seine philosophische und geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung, über den Hesychasmus als Methode und Erlebnis, über Palamismus und Tradition der Väter (insbesondere eines Gregor von Nyssa, Basilius, Ps.-Dionysius, und Maximus Confessor), über den Apophatismus im palamitischen Osten wie im Westen. Am Ende des Kapitels versucht v. I. eine Versöhnung des palamitischen und des gegnerischen Standpunktes.

10. Den Abschluß der ganzen Untersuchung bildet ein zwar nicht kurzer, aber sehr nützlicher « Rückblick », in dem aufmerksam gemacht wird auf Vorzüge und Gefahren sowohl der aristotelischen als der platonischen Denkweise für die christliche Theologie. Beide, wie auch ganz allgemein die östliche und die westliche Art, erscheinen als einander ergänzende, einander bereichernde, nicht voneinander zu trennende Sichten der christlichen Überlieferung.

Diese unsere gedrängte Inhaltsangabe des Werkes vermittelt jedoch nur eine unvollkommene Kenntnis von der Fülle der behandelten Fragen, von der Tiefe und Verschlungenheit der untersuchten Probleme, vom Reichtum der ständig und allseits anregenden dargelegten Gedankengänge und Ideen.

Mehrmals faßt v. I. klar und knapp jene Ideen zusammen, die vom Platonismus übernommen wurden, bzw. umgedeutet werden mußten. Hierher gehört die Entstehung des Endlichen aus dem Unendlichen, des Vielen aus dem Einen; die Frage, ob es sich um einen wesensnotwendigen Prozeß handelt, der erkenntnismäßig nachvollzogen werden kann — wie die begriffliche Ausgliederung der Ideen aus dem ununterschiedenen, überbegrifflichen Einen (im Sinne Platons) oder die stufenweise Emanation immer tieferer und vielfältigerer Seinsordnungen aus einer jeweils höheren Seinsstufe, um « Kräfte » und « Ausstrahlungen » (im Sinne des Proklos) oder um einen « Fall » der Seelen (im Sinne des Origenes) —. Es geht ferner um die Frage, ob der Menschengeist in seiner Erkenntnis immer schon von der Schau des Einen ausgeht, von einer Kenntnis des Urseins, von einem Wissen um den Urstand, woraus sich dann alle Einzelideen ergeben; und schließlich um die Fähigkeit der Geistseele im eigenen « Seelengrunde » eine unmittelbare Erkenntnis des allgemeinen Seinsgrundes zu besitzen, so daß sie eigentlich und wesentlich mit ihrem Ursprung identisch ist. Stets kehrt nun die Frage wieder, ob die platonisierenden Väter und Theologen wirklich den Pantheismus (263 ff.) — und Idealismus — überwunden haben.

Es würde weit über den Rahmen einer Rezension hinausgehen und auch die Zuständigkeit des Rezensenten übersteigen, wollte dieser zu allen mit großer Sachlichkeit erörterten Problemen Stellung nehmen. So mögen nur zu einigen Ansichten oder Darlegungen des Verfassers Bemerkungen und Fragen vorgelegt werden.

Anregend sind die wiederholten Erörterungen über das Problem « Natur und Übernatur » (siehe z.B. 69; 170 f.; 194 f.; 207; 213; 298 f.;

311; 351); wichtig ist die Feststellung, daß der Platonismus « als denkerische Haltung » (225; vgl. 461 ff.) sich besser eignet für eine organische Gesamtschau beider, während der Aristotelismus mit seiner innerweltlichen Philosophie mehr die Grenzen der menschlichen Natur einhält und aufweist.

Mögen auch die einzelnen Beiträge ursprünglich nicht gedacht gewesen sein als Teile eines Ganzen, so vermittelt das Werk in seiner Gesamtheit doch diese einheitliche Schau. Doch hätten gewiß noch mehr Väter, Theologen und auch moderne Philosophen in die eigentliche Untersuchung mit einbezogen werden können; so Bessarion, der Schüler des Gemistos Plethon (vgl. 390; dazu: Ludwig MOHLER, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, I, Paderborn 1923, S. 335 ff.; 346-398, auf Grund seines umfangreichen Werkes: *In calumniatorem Platonis*, Libri IV, Paderborn 1927), so neben Kant, Hegel und Schelling auch Fichte, so unter den neueren russischen Religionsphilosophen Soloviev (vgl. 417; 479; 480), Chomjakov (417; 482), Bulgakov und Berdjaev (vgl. 482).

Zu den einzelnen Kapiteln: 1. Platonismus und Aristotelismus werden vom Verfasser « *die* zwei Denkformen » genannt, mit denen man an die Grundprobleme der Philosophie herantreten kann (26; vgl. 461 ff.). Hier entsteht die Frage, ob sich diese beiden Strömungen auch in der althergekommenen indischen (siehe *Or.Chr.Per.* 31 (1965), S. 443 ff.) und chinesischen und überhaupt in jeder menschlichen Philosophie unterscheiden lassen.

Die Grundinkonsequenz des Platonismus sieht v. I. darin, daß die Seele, was sie nur als Zielpunkt ihres Strebens erleben kann, bereits als Voraussetzung jedes wirklichen Erkenntnisaktes, aktuell in seiner Fülle besitzen soll (42). Ganz in diesem Sinne ist Berdjaev Platoniker (vgl. 469ff.).

3. Zu Origenes sind die neueren Studien von Henri Crouzel noch nicht berücksichtigt. Mit Recht wendet sich unseres Erachtens v. I. gegen die Tendenz mancher « interpretierender » und « uminterpretierender » Theologen, die Ideen des Origenes von vornherein zu rechtfertigen (104 Anm. 1; 108-9). Die Feststellung, daß für die Zeit des Origenes die Alternative « Philosophie oder Gnosis » nicht galt (120), gilt gleichfalls für die neuen russischen Philosophen von Soloviev bis Berdjaev und Bulgakov. Auch wird bei Soloviev der christliche Glaubensgehalt in ein « zyklisches Weltbild hineingestellt » (123.).

Eine eigenartige Parallele besteht zwischen Euagrios und Berdjaev. Man kann nach Euagrios — so schreibt v. I. — beim « geistigen Eindringen in das Innere Gottes... sogar den 'Ausgliederungszustand' der Gottheit, den die Heilige Dreifaltigkeit darstellt, transzendieren » (147). Dasselbe gilt bei Berdjaev vom Verhältnis der Dreifaltigkeit zum « Ungrund » (vgl. Böhme).

4. Interessant und zum großen Teil treffend ist die Behauptung Gregors von Nyssa, daß der Mensch weder das Wesen der eigenen Seele noch das Wesen Gottes erkennen könne (156). (Auch nach Thomas von Aquin gehört die Lehre über die Seele zur Metaphysik). Gerade in der Erkenntnislehre dieses hl. Vaters wird das Ungenügende sowohl der aristotelischen wie der platonischen Gotteserkenntnis deutlich (158). Denn die Gedankenelemente des Platonismus erlangen erst dann volle Wahrheitsbedeutung, wenn sie als Formulierung übernatürlicher Vorgänge aufgefasst werden (172), wenn die geschaffene Wesenheit in ihrer « Offenheit » für die Gnadenvermittlung Gottes gesehen wird (176).

5. Augustins Erkenntnislehre gibt noch manche Rätsel auf. Wenn nach seiner Meinung die Seele nicht durch die Erkenntnis gottähnlich wird (192-3), sondern durch den Gott zugewandten Willen, wie steht es dann mit dem trinitarischen Bild Gottes im Sünder, im Atheisten? Von I. sucht auf diese oder ähnliche Schwierigkeiten zu antworten (194 ff.; 200 ff.). Einerseits ist, was Augustinus über die unverlierbare Hinordnung, über das aktuelle Hingerichtetsein des Menschen auf Gott sagt, von Nutzen für die Beurteilung des Atheismus. Andererseits gesteht v. I., daß die augustinische Erkenntnislehre « gewissermassen immer noch mit den Eierschalen eines noch nicht ganz überwundenen Platonismus herumläuft » (213). Daher wendet er sich auch gegen eine « Verharmlosung » der augustinischen Illuminationslehre, wie sie der Aquinate versuche (213-4). Eigenartig ist wiederum eine Parallele: in der chomjakovschen wie in der augustinischen Erkenntnislehre ist die Liebe Bedingung der rechten Erkenntnis (vgl. 220 und 417).

6. Zur neuesten Hypothese über den Autor der areopagitischen Schriften (Petrus Fullo) nimmt v. I. keine Stellung (228 ff.; 247 Anm. 1). Das Urteil über die Lehre des Ps.-Areopagiten lautet sehr positiv: « Der christliche Schöpfungsbegriff hat den neuplatonischen Emanationsbegriff überwunden » (259); « das Prinzip der stufenweisen Mitteilung des Seins und das Prinzip der diese Mitteilung vollziehenden Mittelstufen ist durchbrochen » (261). Wenn nun v. I. bei Ps.-Dionysius vom « bewußten Schillern seiner Ausdrucksweise zwischen Christlichem und Neuplatonischem » spricht (265-6), wäre dann nicht auch inhaltlich bisweilen ein Schwanken oder eine Inkonsequenz möglich wie z.B. gerade in der wenig klaren oder sogar widerspruchungsvollen Lehre über das « hierarchische Wissen », « das die Hierarchien der Engel von Stufe zu Stufe weitergeben und die Engel den Menschen » (274 ff.)? Nach v. I, hat diese vom Neuplatonismus übernommene Formel im Denken des Areopagiten keinen Platz und keine Bedeutung mehr (274). Derartige neuplatonische Elemente fanden aber später nach v. I. gelegentlich eine « Reaktivierung » (261), wurden wieder « virulent » (288). Als Beispiel dafür könnte man aus der Mariologie einiger Palamiten (z.B. des Nikolaus Kabasilas oder Isidorus Glabas) die Tatsache anführen, daß sie der Mutter Gottes als der hierarchisch höher, zwischen Christus und den Menschen Stehenden nicht nur einen Einfluß auf die zweite Schöpfung, d.h. die Neuschöpfung durch die Erlösung, zuschreiben, sondern auch auf die Erschaffung der Welt.

Nach unserer Meinung zeigt v. I. klar, daß die « Teilhaben » bei Ps.-Dionysius nicht im Sinne der palamitischen Energien aufgefasst werden können (278-9). Ist jedoch wirklich die Mystik des Areopagiten « Erlebnismystik und Gnadenmystik » (286) oder aber nur die Theorie einer solchen? Ist wirklich die « ekstatische » Einigung mit Gott keine Erkenntnis mehr, sondern « Einigung über aller Erkenntnis » (287)? Gibt es tatsächlich in der vernünftigen Kreatur etwas Bewußtes, was nicht zugleich Erkenntnis wäre?

7. ·Als Bestätigung zu Kapitel 7 verweisen wir auf M. Candal S.J., *La gracia increada del « Liber Ambiguorum » de San Máximo, Or.Chr. Per.* 27 (1961), S. 131-49.

8. Treffend scheint uns v. I. das Anliegen des Voluntarismus gegenüber dem Intellektualismus in der Gotteserkenntnis (bei Gregor von Nyssa, dem Ps.-Areopagiten und bei Augustinus) zu beschreiben, wenn er hinweist auf die « Einsicht, daß die höchste Form der Erkenntnis Gottes, die eine Unmittelbarkeit besitzt, wie sie das denkende Erkennen nie verleihen kann, nur die *Liebe* zu Gott ist » (339). Nur in diesem Sinne kann man verstehen, wie Erkenntnis in Liebe übergeht (vgl. 338).

9. Was den Vorläufer des Palamismus betrifft, Symeon « den Neuen Theologen », so läßt v. I. auch die schwer beweisbare Form « den Jüngeren, den Theologen » gelten (389). Dann aber bestätigt er sehr ein-

dringlich, daß die palamitische Unterscheidung nicht apophatisch ist, sondern durchaus kataphatisch, d. h. mit seinen Worten, daß die Energienlehre das Hervorgehen der geschöpflichen Vielheit aus Gott begreiflich machen will « im Namen der Unbegreiflichkeit Gottes » (392). — Zu S. 397 könnte als Ergänzung der spätere Artikel von I. HAUSHERR S. J. hinzugezogen werden, *A propos de spiritualité hésychaste*, *Or. Chr. Per.* 3 (1937), S. 260-72. — Von I. betont wohl zu stark, daß die Gegner des Palamismus sein eigentliches mystisches Anliegen übersahen. Er selbst weist wiederholt auf Isaak Argyros hin (407; 416; 418) (vgl. auch CANDAL, *Or.Chr.Per.* 22 (1956), S. 92-137 und 23 (1957), S. 80-113), bei dem dies nicht der Fall sei. Dazu kommt auch der entschiedene Antipalamit Gregorios Akindynos (in seinem Glaubensbekenntnis: CANDAL, *La Confesión de fe antipalamitica de Gregorio Acindino*, *Or.Chr.Per.* 25 (1959), S. 215-64; *218*; vgl. auch vom selben Verfasser in *Or.Chr.Per.* 16 (1950), S. 303-57; 20 (1954), S. 247-97; 29 (1963), S. 357-400; *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, III, *Studi e Testi*, Città del Vaticano 1946, S. 65-103). — Eine weitere Frage ist, ob wirklich der Palamismus für den Osten « die Entscheidung für den Irrationalismus » (407 ff.) bedeutet . Sieht doch v. I. die moderne Interpretation des Palamismus, in Übereinstimmung mit der Auffassung der hl. Väter darin, daß es sich bezüglich der Unterscheidung zwischen Wesen Gottes und Energien nur um eine Denknotwendigkeit unseres endlichen Denkens handle; ja er hält den Palamismus als sinnbildliches — aber eben nicht als rationales — Denkschema für Natur und Gnade für völlig berechtigt und vertretbar (444). Liegt vielleicht hierin nicht doch der Versuch einer rationalen Synthese, wie sie — im Anschluss an Duns Scotus — bereits vom Palamiten Georgios Scholarios angestrebt wurde? Vielleicht sind deshalb auch die späteren westlichen Einflüsse in der östlichen Theologie (vgl. 417) vom Verfasser zu negativ gewertet. — Ist nicht sodann die Behauptung, daß nach Palamas in Gott Wesenheit und Energien « real getrennt » seien (428), mißverständlich ? Dies wird übrigens in PG 150, 941-44 auch gar nicht ausdrücklich gesagt.Teilung bedeutet ja nach Palamas keine Trennung, sondern nur reale Unterscheidung — was gewiß v. I. nur sagen will.

10. Mehr als einmal weist der Verfasser hin auf die « Hybris » des Menschen (59; 88; 90 f.), die sich im « Anspruch der (prinzipiellen) völligen Begreifbarkeit des Alls für den Geist » (453) offenbart — so im Neuplatonismus, bei Descartes, Hegel, Kant — und, so kann man hinzufügen, im dialektischen Materialismus. Er sieht darin, eben im « *Verstehenwollen*, wie das All aus Gottes eigenem Wesen notwendig hervorging » (88-9), « die höchste Versuchung des Wegphilosophierens des Schöpfungsbegriffes » (454). Diese Formulierungen zeigen, daß v. I. in seiner Kritik auf das Wesen der Sache geht. Aufs Ganze gesehen aber strebt er eine Versöhnung an, einen Ausgleich zwischen Plato und Aristoteles, zwischen Intellektualismus und Voluntarismus, zwischen Ost und West.

Des öfteren drängt sich dem Leser die Frage auf: Zu welchem Ergebnis würde der Forscher gelangen, wenn er als Thema nicht nur nebenher — wie es v. I. in seinem Werke schon weithin getan hat —, sondern hauptsächlich den Gegenstand gewählt hätte: « Aristoteles Christianus, Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Aristotelismus durch die Väter ». Ohne Zweifel hat sich der Verfasser als Lebenswerk das ergiebigere, inhaltsreichere und tiefere Thema gewählt. Und für diese Arbeit und für die Synthese der Ergebnisse seiner Forschung schulden wir ihm — wie auch dem Verlag für die vorzügliche Ausstattung des Bandes — unseren Dank.

B. SCHULTZE S.J.

F. J. LEENHARDT, *Two Biblical Faiths, Protestant and Catholic*, Lutterworth Press, London, 1964, 120 pages, 9s. 6d.

The Author writes with an ecumenical purpose. Protestants and Catholics have so much in common, yet they remain separate. They accept the same Bible, even make the same theological assertions, yet remain apart. Why? They have different mentalities. " Protestants and Catholics are what they are, fundamentally, because they cherish a certain inner attitude, because they have adopted a certain basic position which affects their whole being and increasingly determines all their intellectual and emotional reactions " (pp. 15-6).

These attitudes are as old as revelation. Abraham typifies the one; Moses, the other. God's message to Abraham was direct; his faith was original and spontaneous. Moses met God in fire and cloud, and his task was to continue in history the faith once given. Abraham received the promise unilaterally; Moses, the Covenant bilaterally. In much later history, Luther through St Paul inherited the prophetic Abrahamic tradition; Catholicism through St Pater and the Church, the Mosaic. Modern Protestantism and modern Catholicism are their progeny.

Real ecumenism today will not be obtained by ' seasoning protestantism with a sprinkle of catholicism, or catholicism with a sprinkle of protestantism ". Protestantism should become ' authentically Abrahamic ' and Catholicism ' authentically Mosaic ' and then they would be complementary and could become a Church that was neither Protestant nor Catholic, or perhaps, both Protestant and Catholic.

This is a most interesting book and will repay careful and reflective reading.

J. GILL, S.J.

E. R. DODDS, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine.* Cambridge Univ. Press 1965, XII+144 pages. 27s. 6d.

The four chapters of this book are the Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University, Belfast, in 1963. Their titles explain the scope, *Man and the Material World, Man and the Daemonic World, Man and the Divine World, The Dialogue of Paganism with Christianity.* Men had lost confidence in themselves and in the values of this terrestrial world, which led to an excessive depreciation of the material and excesses of austerities and ascetism, to dominate the ' prison of the soul ', the body (chap. I). Nevertheless contact with the supranatural remained. It showed itself partly in a kind of prophetic spirit, whether in dreams when the ' divine ' influenced the unconscious, or in ' ecstatics ' when the ' divine ' spoke through the conscious; and this in both Christians and pagans (chap. II). Further,

on a higher level there was among both pagans and Christians a 'mysticism' or contact with the fundamental principle of being, which involved a knowledge different from the normal, a divinization in which the individual was, or felt himself to be, one with God (chap. III). The final chapter recapitulates somewhat and collates. In the pagan-Christian world there was first confusion of ideas in both camps, then an ordering of ideas as in men like Origen and Plotinus, and finally persecution of Christians as a hostile society within society.

« One reason for the success of Christianity was simply the weakness and weariness of the opposition: paganism had lost faith both in science and itself. Christianity, on the other hand, was judged to be worth living for because it was seen to be worth dying for » (p. 132).

J. GILL, S.J.

Paul VAN DEN VEN, *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (521-592), Tome I., Introduction et texte grec (= Subsidia hagiographica, 32), Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles 1962, in-8°, pp. 221*-224.

Le livre publié en 1923 sur les Saints Stylites, du P. H. DELEHAYE, a été le couronnement des travaux approfondis que l'illustre Bollandiste a consacrés à ce sujet. Selon le souhait de l'auteur, il devait être complété par la publication de la Vie de Siméon Stylite le Jeune, longtemps retardée par des circonstances contraires. C'est aujourd'hui chose faite.

La biographie originaire de S. Syméon se présente sans nom d'auteur dans tous les manuscrits. Si elle a été généralement attribué à Arcadios, archevêque de Constantine en Chypre, c'est uniquement sur la foi de S. Jean Damascène. Devant le silence unanime des manuscrits, il sera prudent de considérer la Vie comme l'œuvre d'un auteur anonyme. Elle est l'une des œuvres hagiographiques les plus étendues que nous ait léguée la littérature byzantine. Elle renferme un nombre considérable de récits relatant des visions et des miracles qui renseignent souvent d'une manière fort instructive et exacte sur l'époque et le milieu ausquels ils appartiennent. Une autre catégorie d'éléments intéressants dans le texte concerne les habitudes de vie de l'illustre stylite, son séjour au sommet d'une colonne, le développement du monastère qu'il fonda au sommet du Mont Admirable. Ces éléments sont susceptibles de fournir une contribution importante à l'étude de cette extraordinaire forme d'ascèse chrétienne que constitue le stylitisme.

TH. ŠPIDLÍK, S.J.

Liturgica

'Ιωάννου Μ. Φουντούλη, *'Η εἰκοσιτετράωρος ἀκοίμητος δοξολογία*, éd. 'Αστήρ, Athènes 1963, 135 pp.

Cette thèse de doctorat, présentée par J. M. Phountoulis à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Salonique, traite en substance de l'office des moines acémètes, où la divine louange se poursuivait jour et nuit sans interruption.

Le livre est divisé en trois chapitres. Le premier résume, sur la base de documents et des études déjà faites, la vie et l'activité de s. Alexandre et de ses monastères. Le deuxième décrit l'office des acémètes byzantins et les offices semblables qu'on trouve dans le monachisme éthiopien et dans les anciens usages mozarabes et gallicans. Le troisième chapitre considère la décadence, la disparition et aussi la survivance partielle de l'office acémète des vingt-quatre heures.

C'est le deuxième chapitre celui qui offre les éléments les plus originaux: la description et l'analyse de deux manuscrits — *Paris grec* 331 (XIe siècle) et *Leimon* 295 (XIIe s.) — contenant un office pour chaque heure du jour de et de la nuit, qui a probablement été en usage dans quelque communauté acémète. En appendice, une table synoptique compare le contenu des documents analysés avec l'office actuel; une autre, la structure du mésorion de Sexte et une troisième, l'utilisation des psaumes dans l'office.

Parmi les survivances de l'office des vingt-quatre heures, Ph. compte les « canones diurni et nocturni psalmorum », qu'il a trouvé dans le cod. *Athènes Bibl. Nat.* 7, psautier du XIe-XIIe s. Ces « canons » ont été publiés par *Migne Patr. Gr.* vol. 23, 1395-96, les attribuant à Eusèbe de Césarée. Nous pensons qu'ils doivent être communément insérés parmi les appendices des psautiers grecs, car nous les avons trouvés aussi dans le cod. *Oxford Bodl. Auct. D.* 4. 1., psautier de la fin du IXe s., et ils apparaissent dans l'édition d'un psautier du XIIe s. du Musée Rumiantsev faite par l'archimandrite Amfilochij, dans le livret Археологическия замѣтки о греческой псалтири, Moscou 1866, fol. 169r-v. Bien que la recension donnée par Migne est certainement défectueuse, car elle est la seule à attribuer le ps. 140 au matin et au soir, celle d'Athènes présente de sa part un texte interpolé, car elle seule, contre les autres trois, prescrit deux psaumes au lieu d'un pour la 7e, 8e, 9e et 11e heure du jour, et pour la 1ère heure de la nuit.

L'ouvrage de Ph. aide l'histoire de l'office byzantin en un point très particulier, qui contribuera à éclaircir certaines questions difficiles, surtout à propos de l'office de la nuit.

J. Mateos S.J.

Hans-Joachim SCHULZ, *Die byzantinische Liturgie, Vom Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt* (= Sophia, Quellen östlicher Theologie, Band 3), Lambertus-Verlag, Freiburg im Breisgau 1964, pp. 226.

L'Auteur avait déjà publié une étude sur l'interprétation symbolique de la Liturgie byzantine (*Symbolik des orthodoxen und orientalischen Christentums*, von E. Hammerschmidt, etc., voir OrChrPer XXIX [1963], p. 492); cette étude s'est maintenant developpée en un livre de remarquable interêt.

L'ouvrage commence par exposer l'interprétation liturgique que donnent les plus anciens témoins de la liturgie antiochienne: Chrysostome, Théodore de Mopsueste et le pseudo-Denis. Ensuite il analyse les commentateurs de la Liturgie byzantine: s. Maxime le Confesseur, s. Germain de Constantinople, Théodore d'Andide, Syméon de Thessalonique et Nicolas Cabasilas.

L'analyse est très éclairante; S. a su dégager la tournure d'esprit de chaque commentateur et expose l'évloution de la pensée à travers les différentes époques, évolution qui n'a pas toujours abouti à un progrès. Après Chrysostome, selon lequel la présence du mystère pénètre toutes les actions liturgiques, Théodore interpréte ces actions comme une représentation efficace des mystères historiques de la rédemption, et ensuite le pseudo-Denis considère la liturgie terrestre comme une projection de la liturgie céleste.

Examinant les commentateurs proprement byzantins, S. place leurs interprétations de la Liturgie dans le cadre de l'évolution théologique et de leurs répercussions architecturales et iconographiques. Ce furent précisement les dévéloppements théologiques ceux qui provoquèrent l'introduction de nouveaux textes liturgiques ou de nouvelles cérémonies: la théologie du temps de Justinien, qui trouva son expression dans la cathédrale de Sainte-Sophie, se reflète aussi dans le commentaire de s. Maxime; la réaction iconophile laisse sa trace dans celui de s. Germain; la nouvelle orientation iconographique de l'époque des Comnènes trouve son exposition liturgique dans le commentaire de Théodore d'Andide. Chez Syméon de Thessalonique, le commentaire à une liturgie déjà fixée se fait par la juxtaposition indiscriminée d'anciennes interprétations de valeur très inégale, ce qui occasionne un allégorisme compliqué et peu logique. C'est le mérite de Cabasilas de se rendre indépendant des anciens commentateurs et de redonner à chaque partie de la Liturgie la valeur qui lui revient, selon sa signification théologique et sa fonction dans le cadre d'ensemble de la célébration eucharistique.

C'est un ouvrage excellent, qui fait saisir l'esprit de la Liturgie byzantine. En même temps, il aide à lire les commentateurs, distinguant ce qu'ils ont de vraiment traditionnel de ce qui est conditionné par leur époque. Pour le renouveau liturgique byzantin, ce livre stimulera à aller en avant cherchant une interprétation, et même une

ligne d'évolution liturgique, qui corresponde aux besoins spirituels de la nouvelle époque que nous vivons.

J. MATEOS S.J.

Canonica

P. P. LOZOVEI, OSBM, *De Metropolitarum Kioviensium potestate (988-1596)*. Dissertatio ad Lauream in Fac. Juris Canonici. Romae 1962, pp. XX-140.

Is. J. PATRYLO, OSBM, *Figura iuridica Archiepiscopi Metropolitani Kievo-Haliciensis. Attentis praescriptis M. P. « Cleri sanctitati »*. Romae 1962, pp. XVI-142 (PP. Basiliani, Via S. Giosafat 8, Roma).

Obiectum huius recensionis sunt theses ad Lauream duorum Patrum Basilianorum, prima in Pont. Univ. Gregoriana, altera in Pont. Univ. Lateranensi, de eodem themate fraterne diviso, nempe de figura iuridica Metropolitarum Kioviensium usque ad 1596, postea eorum successorum Kievo-Haliciensium ac Leopoliensium et Haliciensium: sic thema hoc apte divisum est et complete tractati potuit.

P. Lozovei limitat suas investigationes ad periodum quae decurrit a formatione Metropoliae in Patriarchatu Cpolitano usque ad exitum eius iuridicum ex eodem per unionem cum Sede Romana (988-1596). Etsi tota haec periodus paucitate fontium denotetur, A. tamen satis bene, ex iis quae haberi possunt, tractat post brevem introductionem historicam imprimis cap. I de Metropolita et Patriarcha, agendo de Metropolitarum institutione, iudicio apud Patriarcham, eorumque obligatione P. visitandi; dein sequentibus quinque capitibus, de ipsius potestate ac privilegiis, et quidem cap. II quoad Synodos, describendo earum convocationem, membra et competentiam, postea cap. III-IV, quoad Episcopos, nempe considerando eorum ac Coadiutorum institutionem, Episcoporum translationem, iudicium de iis, depositionem, appellationem ac poenarum inflictionem; denique cap. V, quoad eparchias, i. e. earum erectionem, delimitationem, visitationem; tandem cap. VI, quoad privilegia, i. a. chrismatis consecrationem, commemorationem in Liturgia, titulum, lampades in processionibus, vestes liturgicas. Adiungit ad dissertationem elenchum Metropolitarum Kioviensium, et Patriarcharum Cpolitanorum, insuper elenchum eparchiarum Metropoliae Kioviensis, et in fine Indicem nominum.

Dissertatio P. L. videtur solide constructa, nec frequentes citationes, de quibus A. timet, labori obstant, cum de disquisitione historico-iuridica agatur. Conclusiones tamen nimis cautae sunt et forte nimia sobrietate peccant, ut ex comparatione cum altero opere patebit. Varia enim quae ipse enumerat, ambitum potestatis, etiam classicae, Metropolitarum excedere videntur et potestati Archiepis-

coporum Maiorum vel Patriarcharum magis propria sunt, ut v. g. quae de eparchiarum erectione, delimitatione ac visitatione dicuntur; idem valet de chrismatis consecratione, quae independentiam potius innuit. In his proin conclusio, respectu textuum quos adducit, nimis timida apparet, eo magis, quod nec dubitative conceptio illa amplior insinuatur. Secus vero diligentia investigationis et serietas elaborationis omnino laudandae sunt.

Animadverti potest tamen translationes, saltem s. XVI praecedentes, si quae revera adduci possunt, exceptiones constituunt quae regulam in contrarium firmant: nam in casu Saraj-Perejaslavl', de unione sedium potius agitur, in alio adducto, de translatione Sedis metropolitanae potius, quae ut consequentiam, aliam secum ferebat; sed ex uno exemplo nihil concludi potest; ceterae vero iam forte sub influxu occidentali locum habuerunt (p. 74 s.). Quoad renunciationes, quae sub titulo depositionum ponuntur, opportunius esset, si distincte in titulo enuntiarentur, cum de re omnino differenti agatur (pp. 84-86).

Minora quod attinet, non placet transliteratio librorum russice scriptorum ac si ucrainice scripti essent, utpote non satis obiectiva; « duchovnye osoby » melius quam « spirituales » ecclesiasticae dicuntur, et similiter Superiores « spirituales » dicendi ecclesiastici (pp. 40, 41); « Missalia » saec. XIV forte melius Pontificalia intelligenda sunt (p. 59); loco Exarcha rectius Exarchus dicitur, utpote ex graeco exarchos proveniens (cf. Mp « Cleri »); confraternitas stauropegiana melius stauropegiaca vocatur (p. 40, nota 31); citatio in p. 37, nota 10 debet esse Zonarae, non Balsamonis.

Quibus animadversionibus autem valor operis, ut patet, non substantialiter tangitur, hinc illud meritum suum pro historia ecclesiastico iuridica instituti Metropolitae apud Slavos orientales non diminutum conservat.

Alterum opus, P. Patrylo, apte continuat et complet dissertationem praecedentem, investigationem usque ad ultimum tempus perducens, et facta historica cum legislatione Mp « Cleri » comparans, ut inde clarius ex ambitu potestatis Metropolitarum Kievo-Haliciensium, figura iuridica eorum appareat. Et conclusio eius est Antistites Kievo-Halicienses Archiepiscopos veros (intelligitur maiores) fuisse, imo potestatem eorum etiam praerogativas Archiepiscoporum maiorum saepius excedisse et potestati Patriarcharum potius in pluribus aequiparari posse, ita ut iuxta opinionem F. Ingoli, Secretarii C. Prop. Fidei, hunc titulum mererentur (p. 117); quae in genere probari possunt. Momentum dissertationis P. Patrylo ex hoc etiam aestimari potest, quod ipsa non parum ad attributionem tituli Archiepiscopi maioris Metropolitis Leopoliensibus ac Haliciensibus contulerit, confirmationem optimam asserti sui fundamentalis sic obtinendo.

Auctor in thesi, post brevem Introductionem, in qua significationem terminorum Metropolitae, Archiepiscopi, Patriarcahe et similium explicat, opus suum in duplicem partem dividit, primam nempe quae usque ad Unionem Brestensem (1596) pertingit, alteram quae tempus sequens amplectitur.

In prima tractat cap. I de Patriarchatu Cpolitano, seu de eius positione in Oriente, relatione ad Imperatorem, modo constitutionis Patriarcharum, eorum habitudine ad Metropolitas, ad Synodum patriarchalem et endemousam, tandem de ipsorum potestatis singulis formis. Dein in cap. II transit ad Primates Kievo-Halicienses, ibique agit de eorum titulo, utrum nempe Metropolitae an Archiepiscopi fuerint, de fundamento autocephaliae in Ecclesiis orientalibus, de iure Ecclesiae Ucrainae ad autocephaliam, de potestate Praesulum Kievo-Haliciensium, de eorum relatione ad Sedem Cpolitanam, tandem de statu iuridico ipsius Metropoliae Kievo-Haliciensis.

In altera parte iterum duo capita continente, in I tractat de persona Primatum Kievo-Haliciensium, incipiendo investigationem a terminis Archiepiscopi et Metropolitae in Mp « Cleri » traditis, dein cum his documenta Unionem Brestensem respicientia comparando; postea agit de titulo horum Praesulum, de eorum electione ac provisione ac tandem de electione Coadiutorum cum iure successionis. In cap. II vero potestatem horum Primatum quoad Episcopos et eparchias pertractat, agendo singillatim de electione et institutione Episcoporum eorumque Coadiutorum, de translatione Episcoporum, visitatione eparchiarum suffraganearum ex parte Archiepiscoporum, de potestate Episcopos iudicandi, denique de eorum potestate circa delimitationem ac divisionem eparchiarum. Dissertationi adiungit Epistolam Archiep. J. Smogorzevskyj de iuribus Metropolitarum, Elenchum Archiepiscoporum-Metropolitarum Kievo-Haliciensium, tandem Indicem nominum.

Etiam haec dissertatio est sine dubio serio conducta. Intentum vero eius nempe potestatem Archiepiscoporum maiorum vindicandi clarius in II parte apparet successu coronatum, ubi ex documentis pontificiis argumentatur, quae indubie, quoad rem potius quam quoad nomen, talem potestatem Praesulibus Kievo-Haliciensibus et eorum successoribus Leopolitano-Haliciensibus tribuunt vel agnoscunt. Haec in I parte non tanta cum certitudine deducitur, etsi non negari posse videatur: status enim autonomiae maior quam simplicis provinciae eccl., specie post s. X, qui non alibi apparet, eam insinuat, et forte recte explicari potest ut hereditas partialis organizationis initialis Ecclesiae Kioviensis ut archiepiscopatus (p. 31). Conclusiones thesis in genere admitti possunt.

Desideraretur vero, ut etiam in ipso titulo clarius diceretur Praesules ucrainos Leopolitano-Halicienses hodie esse heredes potestatis illius Archiepiscoporum Kievo-Haliciensium, id quod in thesi semper ostenditur et partem argumenti theseos efficit: nam hodie tantum isti existunt et ipsis titulus Archiepiscopi maioris est agnitus. Insuper aliquantum anachronisticum videtur primis saeculis de Ecclesia ucraina loqui velle, ut in prima parte fit, nisi forte ultima decennia excipiantur, similiter ac si quis pro tempore Caroli M. et proxime sequentibus de « Francia » sermonem faceret: haec non sat obiectiva sunt.

Minores animadversiones quod attinet, notari potest v.g. mira scriptio C. Nycaenum loco Nicaenum (p. 3 etc.); in C. Const. II (381) non adhuc de potestate Praesulum Cpolitanorum actum est sed potius de

honore, nec de Ephesino, Caesareensi Cap. (et Heracleensi) explicite sermo est (p. 5); patriarchatus Bulgariae II, sedem Tirnovo habuit non Trnavae (p. 6); quoad praecedentiam P. Cpolitani, adest contradictio inter pp. 7 et 17, notam 5, ubi rectius de ea iudicatur; stauropegion imprimis monasteriis conceditur, et tamen in p. 9, n. 8 non enumerantur; si et usquedum Metropolitae Kiovienses ad patriarchatum Cpolitanum pertinebant, potestas P. fundamentum legale habebat (p. 30); Primas Graeciae habet titulum Archiepiscopi, dum ceteri Episcopi Metropolitae vocantur, non viceversa, ut in p. 56, nota 40 affirmatur. Non noscuntur ex historia « imperatores moscovitae » (p. 60).

Animadversiones adductae, quae facile vitari poterant, non substantiam operis tangunt; hoc praeterea etiam clare ostendit conatum Prop. Fidei et aliquorum Nuntiorum in Polonia, forte ex ignorantia iuris orientalis provenientem, iura Archiepiscoporum Kievo-Haliciensium et Leopolitano-Haliciensium ad limites Metropolitarum latinorum reducendi, qui modus agendi, per recentem restitutionem tituli Archiepiscopi maioris partim reparatus est, etsi forte quaedam adhuc desiderentur.

Sic utraque thesis optima de Ecclesia Ucraina merita sibi acquisivit et desiderandum est ut etiam quoad alias Ecclesias Orientales labores similes multiplicentur.

J. Řezáč S.J.

Historica

Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche évêque melkite de Sidon* (*XII*e *s.*) (= Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, XXIV). Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth 1964, in-8º, 220 + 113 S.

Paul von Antiochien, dessen apologetische Traktate P. Khoury hier herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert hat, ist ein christlich-arabischer Schriftsteller des XII. Jahrhunderts. Der V. schickt seiner Edition eine umfangreiche Einleitung voraus, in der er die Bedeutung Pauls von Antiochien und überhaupt der arabischen christlichen Literatur eingehend würdigt. Die melkitischen Schriftsteller, so auch Paul, standen vor der Aufgabe, das Christentum der arabischen, d.h. der islamischen Welt nahezubringen. Sie sind ganz und gar von der byzantinischen Kultur geprägt. Die ersten christlichen Apologeten, die vom Judenchristentum herkamen, haben es verstanden, die christliche Religion in ein griechisches Gewand zu kleiden und sie so der hellenischen Welt annehmbar zu machen. Den arabischen Christen ist es dagegen nicht gelungen, dem Christentum wirklich eine arabische Form zu geben, die wesentliche Botschaft des Evangeliums von der griechischen Theologie, in die sie eingekleidet war, zu unterscheiden. Sie haben nicht eine wirklich arabische Theologie geschaffen,

sondern den Moslems einfach die christliche Religion in ihrer byzantinischen Form im arabischen Sprachkleid dargeboten. Diesen Mangel stellt der V. klar heraus.

Der Bischof Paul von Sidon zeichnet sich jedoch durch sein Bemühen um Verständnis der andern und durch den durchaus irenischen Ton seiner Schriften aus. Er sucht den Moslems das Christentum nahezubringen und es gegen deren Einwände zu verteidigen, ferner setzt er sich polemisch mit den christlichen Gemeinschaften anderer Bekenntnisse auseinander. Hierhin gehören die Nestorianer, die Jakobiten und die Maroniten. Aus den Schriften Pauls, die vor der Anknüpfung ausdrücklicher Beziehungen zwischen den Maroniten und Rom (1181) geschrieben sein müssen, ist es klar, dass der Unterschied zwischen Melkiten und Maroniten mindestens von den Melkiten als dogmatisch begründet angesehen wurde. Den Lateinern gegenüber ist die Haltung Pauls durchaus freundlich. Er zählt sie nicht als Christen eines andern, vom melkitischen verschiedenen Bekenntnisses auf. Mindestens, was die Christologie angeht — und hierum ging es — weiss er sich mit ihnen eins.

Der V. untersucht die Authentizität der 24 dem Paul von Sidon zugeschriebenen Werke und erkennt als sicher echt nur fünf von ihnen an. Kh. bietet weiter eine eingehende Beschreibung der erhaltenen Handschriften, die er für den kritischen Apparat seiner Edition benutzt hat, und eine Aufzählung der bereits vorhandenen Editionen von Teilen der Werke seines Autors.

Die sicher authentischen Werke Pauls, die Kh. herausgibt und übersetzt, sind folgende:

1. *Court traité raisonné*, eine kurze Darstellung der christlichen Lehre, geschrieben an die Adresse der Nichtchristen, aber auch der Christen, um sie zu befähigen, auf Einwände gegen ihren Glauben zu antworten.

2. *Exposé aux Nations et aux Juifs*, ein Traktat, der in Dialogform den Heiden (aber auch den Moslems) und den Juden die christliche Lehre auseinandersetzt, um sie zu gewinnen.

3. *Lettre aux Musulmans*, eine Apologie des Christentums an die Adresse der Moslems, in der Paul aus dem Koran selbst darzutun sucht, dass Mohammed den Christen seinen Islam gar nicht auferlegen, sondern sie bei ihrer Religion belassen wollte.

4. *Sectes chrétiennes*, eine Darlegung der Unterscheidungslehren der verschiedenen christlichen Gruppen. Es geht hier, wie gesagt, gegen die Nestorianer, die Jakobiten und die Maroniten, denen Paul Monotheletismus vorwirft. Lateinner und Armenier werden nicht genannt, die Lateiner nicht, weil Paul sich im wesentlichen mit ihnen eins wusste, die Armenier nicht, weil sie in der Christologie der Lehre der Jakobiten folgten.

5. *Unicité et union*. Dieser Traktat zeigt, dass die Trinitätslehre der Christen durchaus mit einem wahren Monotheismus vereinbar ist.

Paul beruft sich in seinen Traktaten auf die Hl. Schrift und auf den Koran, bedient sich aber vor allem der Vernunftbeweise. Es fehlt völlig die sonst bei den Byzantinern übliche Berufung auf die Lehre der Väter, weil Paul bei seinen Gesprächspartnern mit solchen Argumenten keinen Eindruck machen konnte.

P. Khoury hat uns mit seinem gründlichen Werk einen dankenswerten Einblick in das arabische christliche Schrifttum gegeben.

WILHELM DE VRIES, S.J.

Dieter LYKO, *Gründung, Wachstum und Leben der evangelischen christlichen Kirchen in Iran* (= Ökumenische Studien, V). E. J. Brill, Leiden/Köln 1964, in-8°, VII + 285 S.

Der V. bietet nach einer kurzen Einführung in die Frühgeschichte des Christentums in Persien einen historischen Überblick über die Entwicklung der evangelischen Missionen in Iran in den letzten 130 Jahren, ferner über die Methoden der Evangelisation, die literarische Arbeit, die Tätigkeit in Schule, Internaten und Jugendgruppen, die ärztliche Arbeit usw.

Darüber hinaus setzt sich der V. in den überaus aufschlussreichen Teilen III-VI mit den durch die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen in Iran gegebenen allgemeinen Problemen auseinander. Es geht hier vor allem um die Begegnung des Christentums mit dem Islam, die Auseinandersetzung mit der Zivilisation und dem Nationalismus des 20. Jahrhunderts, ferner um die mit den Beziehungen der iranischen Kirche mit den Mutterkirchen gegebenen Probleme. Im VI. Teil werden die ökumenischen Verbindungen und die Unionsversuche der evangelischen Kirchen in Iran, nämlich der presbyterianischen und der anglikanischen Bischofskirche behandelt. Ein VII. Teil bringt eine Anzahl interessanter Originaldokumente aus der Geschichte und dem Leben der evangelischen Kirchen in Iran. Am Schluss gibt der V. ein eingehendes Literaturverzeichnis und ausührliche Angaben über das reiche Quellenmaterial, auf das sich seine Darstellung stützen kann.

Besonders anzuerkennen ist in der gesamten Darstellung die unbedingte Aufrichtigkeit des V., der keinerlei Schönfärberei bringt und sich nicht scheut, die realen und ganz konkreten Schwierigkeiten, mit denen die evangelischen Kirchen in Iran zu ringen haben, darzulegen. Diese Schwierigkeiten liegen einmal in der verschiedenartigen rassischen und sprachlichen Zusammensetzung der Gemeinden, deren Mitglieder zum Teil von der armenischen oder von der nestorianischen Kirche herkommen, zum anderen Teil vom Islam oder vom Judentum. Ferner liegt eine nicht geringe Schwierigkeit im Übergang von der reinen Missionskirche, geleitet von auswärtigen Missio-

naren und von deren Geist geprägt, zu einer wirklich eigenständigen iranischen Kirche, die auf eigenen Füssen stehen und das Werk der Evangelisation selbständig weiterführen kann. Dieser Übergang geht nicht ohne Spannungen vor sich. Der V. stellt dies in aller Ehrlichkeit dar, wenn er schreibt: « In Iran ist der Kirche ein im Ausland hergestelltes — dort bewährtes — System aufgezwungen worden, wobei die Tradition und Vergangenheit dieses orientalischen Volkes als unwichtig angesehen wurde. Die westliche Verpackung der Kirche bereitet ihr heute grosse Schwierigkeiten » (S. 185). Es ist aber jetzt Bereitschaft zur Anpassung bei den Missionaren vorhanden, und man bemüht sich ehrlich, eine wirklich bodenständige, iranische Kirche aufzubauen.

Besonders wertvoll scheint uns das Kapitel über die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam zu sein. Es ist ein unleugbares Verdienst der evangelischen Missionsarbeit in Iran, das dornige Problem der Evangelisierung der Moslems von vornherein mutig in Angriff genommen zu haben. Die auf diesem Gebiet gesammelten reichen Erfahrungen verdienen ein eingehendes Studium.

Weniger befriedigt uns die Art, wie der V. an das Problem des Verhältnisses zwischen der evangelischen Kirche und den alten Ostkirchen herangeht. Zu bemängeln ist hier zunächst, dass das katholische Schrifttum zur Sache fast völlig übergangen wird. Anfangs gingen die evangelischen Missionare — wobei die Anglikaner oft eine rühmliche Ausnahme machten — mit souveräner Verachtung der orientalischen Tradition an die Evangelisierung der Anhänger der alten Ostkirchen heran. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass sie der Meinung waren, diesen ungefähr genauso wie den Moslems und den Juden das Evangelium völlig neu verkünden zu müssen (vgl. z.B. S. 43,49). Das geschah gewiss mit tiefer Überzeugungskraft und grosser Opferbereitschaft. Aber lag nicht auch ein Gutteil unbewusster Anmassung darin, wenn man meinte, christlichen Gemeinschaften, deren Geschichte bis in die ersten Jahrhunderte zurückreicht, das Evangelium als eine Neuheit bringen zu müssen? Die amerikanischen Missionare machten sich nicht die Mühe, nach dem inneren Wert der orientalischen Liturgien zu forschen. Sie sahen in ihnen nichts als Erstarrung, Aberglaube und wertloses Zeremonienwesen. Es ist wirklich nicht zu verwundern, das ein solches Vorangehen der Missionare die erbitterte Gegnerschaft der orientalischen Hierarchen hervorrief (S. 15).

Die Missionare versuchten zwar anfangs, die Ostkirchen innerlich zu kräftigen, damit sie selbst an die Aufgabe der Islam-Mission herangehen könnten. Aber dieser Versuch schlug fehl (S. 15). Lag das nicht auch an der Verständnislosigkeit der Missionare für die orientalische Eigenart? Recht spät, erst auf S. 105, stellt der V. die eigentlich grundlegende Frage: Hätte man nicht die alten Kirchen erhalten und von innen heraus erneuern sollen, statt neben sie evangelische Gemeinden zu stellen, gebildet — zum Teil wenigstens — aus früheren Anhängern der alten Kirchen, die damit ihrem angestammten Christen-

tum, das doch auch seine echten Werte aufzuweisen hatte, entfremdet wurden? Das Überlegenheitsbewusstsein der meisten Missionare liess diese Frage lange überhaupt nicht aufkommen.

Heute freilich, im ökumenischen Zeitalter, sieht auch die evangelische Kirche die Dinge anders an. Der V. stellt (S. 208) die Frage: « Mit welchem Recht dürfen Christen andern Christen predigen und sie lehren? Wo liegen die unbrüderlichen Fehler und Irrtümer, wenn Christen beeinflusst werden, ihre Kirchengemeinschaften zu verlassen und sich einer andern anzuschliessen »? Er versichert, dass die evangelische Kirche in den letzten Jahren den Ostkirchen gegenüber keine aggressive Polemik und keinen Proselytismus mehr treibe.

Es ist also eine entscheidende Entwicklung zum Besseren hin im Verhältnis zwischen den evangelischen Kirchen und den alten Kirchen des Ostens festzustellen, wenn auch, wie der V. (S. 207) betont, die evangelischen Christen die Form der Anbetung der Ostkirchen auch heute noch nach wie vor ablehnen.

Man hätte gewünscht, dass dieser ganze Problemkreis von vornherein vom V. deutlicher hervorgehoben worden wäre. Es ist dies die Hauptausstellung, die wir an dem sonst so verdienstvollen Buche zu machen haben.

Es sei zum Schluss noch auf einige andere kleinere Schwächen hingewiesen. Die Einführung in die Frühgeschichte des Christentums in Persien ist etwas rudimentär und nicht frei von historischen Irrtümern. Der V. stützt sich hier auf sehr sekundäre Literatur, lässt das katholische Schrifttum zur Sache und die Quellen selbst beiseite. — Der angeblich nestorianische Patriarch Elias XIV. von Alqoš (S. 6) ist, wie wir nachgewiesen zu haben glauben, (vgl. W. DE VRIES, *Elias XIV., letzter nestorianischer Patriarch von Alqoš?*, in: *Orientalia Chr. Periodica* XXVI (1960) 141-148) mit dem katholischen Patriarchen Johannes Hormez identisch. Die Angaben über die hierarchischen Verhältnisse der Armenier (S. 107/108) sind unvollständig.

Trotz dieser kleinen Mängel bleibt dieses Buch von hohem Wert, vor allem wegen seiner eingehenden Darstellung der Methoden der Mission unter den Moslems und der Bemühungen, eine wirklich einheimische iranische Kirche zu schaffen.

WILHELM DE VRIES S.J.

J. M. FIEY, O.P., *Assyrie Chrétienne*, I. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques de l'Iraq. (= Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, XXII). Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth 1965, in-8°, pp. 324.

Der V. bietet einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Geschichte des Mönchtums bei Nestorianern und Jakobiten im Gebiet, das er « das christliche Assyrien » nennt, d.h. im westlichen Teil des Perserreiches

der Sassaniden. Er behandelt freilich dieses Gebiet nicht in seiner ganzen Ausdehnung, sondern beschränkt sich auf die Gegend östlich des oberen Tigris nördlich und südlich von Mossul, und zwar im Norden bis an den Fuss der Berge und im Süden bis zum kleinen Zab-Fluss.

Der V. hat eine schier unglaubliche Forschungsarbeit geleistet, indem er die überaus zahlreichen Klosterruinen dieses weiten Gebietes aufsuchte, sie identifizierte und zusammenstellte, was sich über die Geschichte und die Bedeutung dieser Klöster aus den verschiedensten Quellen nur ermitteln lässt.

Das einfachste Mittel, die Klosterruinen, von denen vielfach wenig mehr als die Fundamente erhalten ist, aufzufinden, wäre ein Flug im Hubschrauber gewesen. Aber ein solcher stand dem V. nicht zur Verfügung. Bei der Auffindung des Limes zwischen dem Römerreich und Persien hat ja bekanntlich P. Poidebard S. I. sich mit gutem Erfolg des Flugzeugs bedient.

Der V. macht nicht den Anspruch, eine Einführung in das Studium des mesopotamischen Mönchtums zu geben, aber er vermittelt uns doch einen Einblick in die grosse Bedeutung der Klöster für das Leben der nestorianischen und der jakobitischen Kirche. Die Klosterruinen, die er fand, sind geradezu unwahrscheinlich zahlreich. Das erklärt sich einmal dadurch, dass die Mönche und Nonnen einen grossen Teil der Bevölkerung ausmachten. Fiey schätzt diesen Anteil — vielleicht doch ein wenig zu hoch — auf ein ganzes Drittel (S. 15). Auch seine Annahme, die Hälfte der Bevölkerung « Assyriens » sei christlich gewesen, scheint uns schwer beweisbar zu sein.

Die grosse Zahl der Klöster wird ferner verständlich durch den geradezu übergrossen Eifer, neue Klöster zu gründen. Der V. spricht sogar von einer « Manie » (S. 15). Vielfach wurden auch Klöster an geeignetere Plätze verlegt, wobei der Wunsch nach grösserer Sicherheit eine Rolle spielte.

Als Quellen dienten dem V. die Werke mohammedanischer Geographen, dazu christliche Spezialschriften, wie z.B. das « Buch der Keuschheit » des Bischofs Išoʿdnaḥ (9. Jhrh.) und das von E. A. Wallis Budge herausgegebene « Buch der Obern » (The Book of Governors, London 1893), dazu die bekannten historischen Werke syrischer Autoren. Der V. hat diese Quellen mit grossem Scharfsinn ausgewertet, um über die Klöster möglichst viel Wissenswertes ans Tageslicht zu bringen.

In einem Punkte müssen wir dem V. widersprechen, nämlich, was seine Bewertung der «Chronik von Arbela » betrifft. Er nennt diese Stadt östlich des oberen Tigis « Erbil », während sie sonst für gewöhnlich « Arbela » genannt wird. Die Kritik, die im Jahre 1925 von P. Peeters gegen den historischen Wert der Chronik vorgebracht wurde, ist — was der Verfasser nicht erwähnt — durch G. Messina, einen anerkannten Fachmann in iranischen Dingen, als im wesentlichen unbegründet dargetan worden (vgl. G. MESSINA S.I., *La celebrazione della festa* ܣܗܪܐ ܕܦܘܪ *in Adiabene*, in: *Orientalia* 6 (1937) 235).

Messina bleibt auch trotz der im Jahre 1936 durch I. Ortiz de Urbina vorgebrachten Kritik an der Chronik bei seinem positiven Urteil (a.a.O. S. 237 ff; vgl. auch: G. MESSINA, *La Cronaca di Arbela*, in: *La Civiltà Cattolica* 83 (1932) III 362-376 und: W. DE VRIES, *Antiochien und Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Patriarch und Katholikos?* in: Mélanges Eugène Tisserant, Vol. III (Studi e Testi 233), Vatikan 1964, S. 437 ff, wo durch den Vergleich des Berichtes der Chronik über die Entstehung der Zentralverwaltung der Persischen Kirche mit anderen Quellen die Zuverlässigkeit der Chronik erneut empfohlen wird).

Das Werk des P. Fiey ist ein überaus dankenswerter Beitrag zur Geschichte der Klöster Assyriens.

WILHELM DE VRIES S.J.

Sacrum Poloniae Millenium. Rozprawy – Szkice – Materialy historyczne. Tomi VIII-IX et X. Romae 1962 et 1964, in-4°, pp. 897 et 567.

Questi due volumi chiudono l'importante pubblicazione intrapresa per l'occasione del millennio della Polonia cristiana (966-1966). In ciascuno dei due volumi c'è una dissertazione che riguarda direttamente l'Oriente cristiano, e che qui vogliamo recensire.

Nel tomo VIII-IX ci interessa il contributo: *Le Concordat de 1847 avec la Russie d'après les documents authentiques*, scritto da Sofia OLSZAMOWSKA-SKOWROŃSKA (pag. 447-877). L'oggetto principale di questo lavoro è la pubblicazione completa delle fonti finora pubblicate o no. Difatti, il testo dei documenti (colle relative note) occupa le pp. 489-862, mentre l'Introduzione si restringe soltanto alle pp. 455-487. Il resto è occupato dalla bibliografia, dagli elenchi e dagli indici. La pubblicazione dei documenti, divisa in diverse sezioni con relative note, è molto bene curata, e perciò l'autrice merita la riconoscenza degli studiosi. Per quanto riguarda l'Introduzione, essa ci narra la storia della genesi del Concordato, la sua promulgazione e, brevemente, anche la sua abrogazione nel 1864. Questa Introduzione e i Documenti pubblicati sono ora un'ottima base per uno studio più approfondito del Concordato dal punto di vista storico, giuridico, canonico etc. Qui mi permetto di fare soltanto qualche piccola osservazione. Parlando della situazione dei cattolici di rito bizantino-slavo nell'Impero russo nei decenni prima del Concordato, l'autrice menziona il metropolita Giosafat Bulhak di Kijów (usando il nome polacco di questa città). Ora il Bulhak non è stato più metropolita di Kiev, ma « metropolita della Chiesa Unita in Russia ». — Uno dei punti del Concordato stabilisce la erezione della diocesi latina di Cherson, avvenuta difatti con la Bolla di Pio IX nel 1848. Invano però si cerca una tale diocesi nell'Annuario Pontificio. Sarebbe stato utile se l'autrice — magari in una nota — avesse spiegato la sorte di questa diocesi, di cui il vescovo mai risiedette in Cherson, e neanche

in quella città che fu poco dopo data come titolo alla nuova diocesi, cioè Tyraspol. Dal 1856 la residenza del vescovo era a Saratov. (cfr. J. A. KESSLER, *Geschichte der Diözese Tyraspol*, Dickinson 1930). — In connessione con questa diocesi l'autrice usa anche un termine poco chiaro: « fidèles du rite arméno-géorgien ».

Nel tomo X ci interessa l'articolo (pag. 295-318): *Historia missionis bulgaricae Congregationis a Resurrectione D.N.J. Christi*, il cui autore è il R. P. Giuseppe SCHAEFFER C.R. — L'articolo fu scritto in occasione del centesimo anniversario della fondazione di questa missione, e fu inserita nel « *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium* », perchè la gran parte dei missionari furono Polacchi. Infatti la missione fu iniziata nel 1863 per espresso desiderio del Papa Pio IX. I Padri Resurrezionisti si dedicarono in primo luogo ai Cattolici Bulgari di rito bizantino-slavo, adottando molti di loro questo rito, ciò che fu piuttosto raro nel secolo XIX. Il loro centro si trovava fino al 1922 ad Adrianopoli, dove fondarono alcune scuole e, nel 1873, anche il seminario bulgaro. L'autore di questa storia si basa specialmente sulle relazioni ed altri documenti conservati nella Curia generalizia della Congregazione dei Resurrezionisti, e perciò la sua narrazione è piuttosto circoscritta alla storia interna delle singole case. All'inizio però ci dà un breve riassunto del movimento unionistico bulgaro, nel quale rileviamo qualche inesattezza. I due vescovi Paisios e Metetios unitisi alla Chiesa cattolica non erano Bulgari, ma Greci. Il sacerdote Pietro Arabadžiski non ha voluto mai passare al rito bizantino-slavo, e proprio per questa ragione dovette rinunziare all'incarico di Amministratore Apostolico dei Bulgari cattolici di rito bizantino-slavo. Su questi argomenti cfr. I. SOFRANOV, *Historie du mouvement bulgare vers l'Église catholique au XIXe siècle*. Vol. I 1855-1865. Roma 1960.

M. LACKO S. J.

Alexander BARAN, *Eparchia Maramorošiensis eiusque Unio* (= Analecta OSBM, Series II, Sectio I, Vol. XVIII), Romae 1962, in-8°, pag. XII+107.

Quod ipsemet in dissertatione de *Unione Užhorodensi* (*OrChrAn*, 143) per transennam tantum tetigi, Rev. A. Baran ex professo tractat in hoc opere. Maramoroš etenim est districtus conterminus antiquae Hungariae cum Moldavia, qui diutius omnium restitit in admittenda Unione Užhorodensi. Auctor collegit omnia documenta sive iam nota, sive ab eo nunc primum in archivis inventa, et simul praesentat hic processum Unionis usque ad eius acceptationem definitivam. Pars omnino nova et ab auctore magis investigata est circa episcopum Seraphinum Petrovan et eius conamina unionistica. Similiter bene exposita est controversia inter episcopum Mukačoviensem et episcopum Fogarasiensem circa iurisdictionem in ista regione, cuius radix

est mixta populatio districtus Maramorošiensis. Itaque mea dissertatio de *Unione Užhorodensi* et haec dissertatio A. Baran se invicem complent.

M. LACKO S.J.

Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni. Series II, Sectio II, Tomus IV(IX), *Miscellanea Cardinalis Isidori;* et Sectio III, Tomus *Audientiae Sanctissimi de rebus Ucrainae et Bjelarusjae*, Vol. I. Romae 1963, in-8°, pp. 569, 585.

Vertente anno 1963, quingentesimo anniversario mortis Isidori metropolitae quondam Kioviensis (1463-1963), Patres Basiliani Sti. Josaphat supra mentionata scripta eius memoriae dicarunt.

Tomus *Audientiae Sanctissimi de rebus Ucrainae et Bjelarusjae*, Vol. I (a. 1658-1779) praeter brevem notam biographicam nihil continet directe ad personam vel periodum Isidori pertinens, sed adnotationes negotiorum, quae interventum Summorum Pontificum requirebant, et proinde Illis ab officialibus Dicasteriorum Romanae Curiae (praesertim S. Congr. de Propaganda fide) in audientiis proponebantur. Statim initio voluminis habentur « audientiae », in quibus tractabatur de pace Hadiacensi. Quia totum hocce negotium maximi momenti est pro ipsa existentia Unionis Berestensis, editor adjecit etiam documenta alligata. In ceteris, quae maxima ex parte spectant confirmationem electionis episcoporum, vel varias dispensationes, editor affert solum brevem synopsim negotii, cum responso Summi Pontificis. Modus editionis idem est, ac in aliis voluminibus huius seriei. Ad Doc. nr. 45 notare velim, hic agi de confirmatione electionis episcopalis Pauli Zorčić pro Unitis in Croatia. In textu etenim et in Indice habetur Torchich. Utile fuisset explicare in nota veram lectionem huius nominis.

Tomus IV Seriei II inscribitur: *Miscellanea in honorem Cardinalis Isidori (1463-1963)*. Constat duabus partibus. Prima continet elucubrationes linguis occidentalibus, secunda autem lingua ucrainica conscriptas. In eis directe ad Isidorum spectant articuli: J. GILL, *Isidore's Encyclical Letter from Buda* (pp. 1-8) — M. WAWRYK, *Quaedam nova de provisione Metropoliae Kioviensis et Moscoviensis ann. 1458-1459* (pp. 9-26) O. HALECKI, *Isidore's Tradition* (pp. 27-43), M. WAWRYK, *Florentijski unijni tradiciji v Kyjivskij mitropoliji 1450-60 rr.* (pp. 329-362). — O. Halecki in sua dissertatione publicat memoriale probabiliter a P. Antonio Possevino conscriptum anno 1595 et hucusque incognitum in relatione ad Unionem Berestensem, etenim inscribitur: *Relatione della Russia e come introdurre vi si possa la fede Cristiana Catholica*. De facto autem continet reflexiones P.ris Possevino circa colloquium habitum Paduae cum duobus episcopis Ruthenis Romam peregrinantibus anno 1595 ad Unionem cum Ecclesia catholica paci-

scendam. Cyrillus Terleckyj retulit Patri Possevino, etiam Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum Jeremiam tempore visitationis Metropoliae Kioviensis a. 1589 laudavisse propositum Unionis: « ... *il Patriarca replicò il pensiero esser santissimo, et che felici dovevano reputarsi quelli, a chi non era vietato l'esseguirlo...* » (p. 39). Possevino Unionem tunc paciscendam explicat uti actuationem propositi metropolitae Isidori: « *Isidoro che venne al Concilio di Fiorenza, et poi fu fatto Cardinale, fu Metropolita di Chiovia, ma ritornando non poté persuadere la verità alla gente ingannata, perchè non era gionto il tempo riservato nell'eterna sapienza per maturare un tanto negotio, al quale hora si vede dato un principio propriamente dal Cielo...* » (p. 39). Hoc sensu debet intelligi titulus huius articuli O. HALECKI.

Aliae dissertationes generatim de historia Ecclesiae in terris Ucrainae tractant, praeter articulum M. WOJNAR, *De divina obligatione Unionis* (pp. 190-221). In eo auctor iustificat Uniones etiam partiales Ecclesiarum orientalium decursu saeculorum pactas, et refutat opinionem eorum qui putant, illas Uniones magis obesse quam prodesse Unioni generali aliquando in futuro paciscendae. Sententia Patris Wojnar de argumento hodie tam actuali et discusso, sine dubio suscitabit attentionem Oecumenistarum.

M. LACKO S.J.

P. K. CHRESTOU, *'Αθωνική Πολιτεία*, Salonica 1963, in-8°, 712 pages.

This formidably big book is divided into sections. The historical section contains *The Holy Mountain Past and Present*, the only historical contribution, written by the editor of the volume, Prof. CHRESTOU, giving a general picture of the earliest history, of the rise of monasticism there (900 years in 40 pages), present life, practice, treasures of architecture, books, pictures etc.

The second section again has one article (pp. 101-149), with the texts of the first and the last *typicon*. The first covers 9 pages with 54 signatures and legislates peaceably about straying cattle and straying monks, forbids abbots to cheat monks of an agreed salary and lays down conditions for the sale of products and of kellia — not to seculars. The second is 38 pages long, has 188 articles, declares that it is signed by the 20 constituent monasteries and names 19.

Section 3 is entitled " Theological Symposium " and contains 10 contributions: the Archimandrite KOTSONIS: *St Basil the Great's Ideas on the Cenobitic Life* (pp. 151-75: he was all in favour of it; if in places he seems otherwise, he is rather advising people in the world); S. AGOURIDES: *The Possession of Property in the Primitive Church* (pp. 181-206); J. ANASTASIOU: *The Oft-reported Persecution of the Inhabitants of Athos by Michael VIII and John Beccus* (pp. 211-57: there was not one); E. THEODOROU: *The Holy Mountain as Carrier and Factor of Civilization* (pp. 259-79); I. KALOYIROU: *Christianity*

from the Objective and Subjective a Fulfilment of the Noteworthy Religious Liturgy in Man (pp. 281-312): K. KALOKYRIS: *Outstanding Post-Byzantine Temples of the Mountain* (pp. 313-45, i. e. richly carved iconostases that tower up to the roof in the monastic churches, with illustrations); B. TATAKIS: *Gregory Palamas* (*Methodology*) (pp. 347-57: Palamas used Greek philosophy and met syllogism with syllogism. This is the only contribution written in the 'demotiki'); G. MANTZARIDIS: *Presuppositions and Factors of the Place of Man according to the Teaching of Gregory Palamas* (pp. 361-426: a long disquisition on the 'divinization' of man in Palamas's theology); I. KORNARAKIS: *Elements of Ascetical Psychology* (pp. 429-89: a survey of the stages of prayer and their effect on the individual); A. A. TACHIAOS: *The Relations of the Holy Mountain with Russia until the XIVth Century* (pp. 491-508: there is trustworthy evidence of Russian monks from the end of the Xth century and of a Russian monastery from the early XIth century).

Section 4 is devoted to the flora of the promontory of Athos, in two articles by K. GKANIATSAS and Ch. MOULOPOULOS, with illustrations, plans, tables, and exhaustive catalogues of plants.

This large volume is the homage of the University of Salonica to the Holy Mountain on its millenary, a worthy homage, for its contents cover a wide field. But some of the subjects chosen by the writers are too big to be dealt with in an 'article', even if the 'article' becomes a small book in the process. They result in a very general treatment, suitable perhaps for the reader who comes new to the subject, but adding little to the knowledge of those somewhat familiar with it. The book is well produced (with a colour map in the beginning of the promontory with its monasteries, and another at the end to show the areas of different flora), well printed and, as far as I could see, there are no printer's errors in 712 pages — a feat indeed. Congratulations to the University of Salonica and its staff for a worthy and monumental production.

J. GILL, S.J.

A. FRANCHI, *Il Concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio Concilii Generalis Lugdunensis* (= Studi e Testi Francescani N. 33), Edizioni Francescane, Roma 1965, 188 pages and 8 plates. 3000 Lit.

This book is divided into 4 sections. The Introduction describes what the 'Ordinatio' is, lists and collates the MSS that contain it and outlines its subsequent history in the printed collections of councils. Part II gives the text according to Ottob. 2520 of the Vatican Library, which the A. has shown to be the fullest and the most accurate. Part III is a 'Diary of the Council', drawn up by

the A. on the basis of the 'Ordinatio', and Part IV consists of a series of short notes of the A. prompted by the 'Ordinatio' and a tiresomely long demonstration that the names of St. Bonaventure, Innocent V and St. Thomas Aquinas are erroneously connected with the 'Union of the Greeks,.

The 'Ordinatio', of 5 fol. in the MS and 424 lines as printed here, occupies 33 pages of this book, of which the half is taken up with the apparatus criticus and rich footnotes. The whole book manages to comprise 188 pages (and so to cost 3000 Lit). It could well have been shorter (and cheaper). It is a good production, printed on good paper (with misprints on line 110 'penteconsten' (?); p. 112 'dubitabantur'; p. 122 'sussdi'; p. 153 'defuctus'(?)).

The A. has conferred a benefit on students by publishing a good text of this 'Ordinatio' which is unique in the information it gives about the council. It settles doubts about the nature of the constitutions the council issued, puts an end to disputes about dates and discloses how little discussion there was about the measures taken — in fact, in the council itself, none. What debate and negotiation there was took place between the sessions, which followed each other at intervals of from 0 to 19 days. Between the 24 June, when the Greeks arrived, and the IVth session, when George Akropolites made Manuel's profession of faith, there were 11 days, and between the IVth session and the VIth, when the decree on the Procession of the Holy Spirit was read, there were 10 days. Whether there was any discussion between Latins and Greeks and what it was, if there was such, we do not know. It could not have been much. The 'Ordinatio' is silent about it, but it does not exclude it for certain. It would be interesting to know more about the formulation of the decree on the Holy Spirit. At least it did not run counter to the views of the Emperor's legates in Lyons, who chanted the *Filioque* three times for good measure.

Fr Franchi is to be encouraged to continue his studies and to publish documents, as many as possible, connected with the numerous embassies of his Franciscan brethren in the period of Lyons. They will unquestionably illuminate many a dark corner of our knowledge and clarify much that is at present obscure.

J. Gill, S.J.

Theodore Papadopoullos, *Social and Historical Data on Population (1570-1881)* (= Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus 1). Nicosia 1965, xi+248 pages.

The Cyprus research Centre is a government institution set up in 1964 for the promotion of research in " Greek History, Archaeology, Linguistics and Ethnography, more especially in the domain of Cyp-

rological research in the same fields », and for the suitable publication and diffusion of results. This volume is the first publication of the Centre.

The Author in his introduction discusses the theories of demography with a view to establishing and justifying his own procedure. The three chapters of Part I deal with the periods 1570-1600 immediately after the Turkish conquest, and 1600-1878 for established Moslem rule, with a detailed exposition of a British census of 1881. Documents of all sorts — archives, tax returns, travellers accounts, statistics from censuses — are examined to decide the proportions of Christians to Moslems at the various periods. Part II explains 32 lists of capitation taxes for the island of the years 1820 and 1825, and of contributions in wheat. These occupy pp. 111-214, and are followed by a list of toponymics (pp. 215-34), an index of authorities and a general index, with a few reproductions of pages of MS-lists and finally an elaborate graph summing up the Author's conclusions.

This is a scholarly work and a happy harbinger of a notable enterprise.

J. Gill, S.J.

H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte. Der christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur.* Styria 1965, in-8°, S. 472, Tafeln 29.

Gleichsam als Ehrengabe zu Beginn des siebten Jahrhunderts ihres Bestehens widmet der Wiener Byzantinist H. Hunger seiner Wiener Rudolfs-Universität dieses Buch zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Kultur. Er will darin zeigen, dass diese Kultur durch die 1000 Jahre des Bestehens des byzantinischen Reiches zutiefst eine christliche Kultur war.

Das Buch ist als ein Lesebuch für klassisch gebildete Menschen gedacht, die nicht notwendig Fachwissenschaftler der Byzantinistik sein müssen. Es entwickelt also nicht im wissenschaftlichen Streitgespräch bestimmte Schul-Anschauungen. Statt dessen legt es in flüssiger Darstellung die durch zahlreiche geschickt dargebotene Anmerkungen gestützten Ergebnisse offenbar langjähriger Studien vor. Dabei verdient bemerkt zu werden, dass der Verfasser trotz der vielen Quellen, die er vorlegt, nicht schwerfällig und mühsam lesbar wird; auf der anderen Seite vermeidet er mit Erfolg den oft romanartigen Ton, dem nicht wenige andere Bücher ähnlicher Art sich hingeben.

In kluger Voraussicht der Unkenntnis, die nicht wenige seiner zukünftigen Leser über die byzantinische Geistesgeschichte haben würden, schickt der Verfasser seinen Ausführungen eine Skizze der politischen und kulturellen Geschichte von Byzanz (S. 13-37) voraus.

Das Thema des Buches wird in sechs grossen Abschnitten vorgelegt: I. Konstantinopel als neue Mitte (41-61); II. Das byzantinische Kaisertum als Nachahmung Gottes (61-109); III. Religion und Kirche im Mittelpunkt byzantinischen Lebens (109-229); IV. Mönchtum und Askese als formende Kräfte (229-279); V. Wissenschaft und Bildung im Ringen um den Ausgleich zwischen Heidnischem und Christlichem (229-371); VI. Byzantinische Ausstrahlungen auf die europäische Kultur und Geistesgeschichte (371-391).

Der Verfasser berichtet nicht nach der Art eines Jahrbuchschreibers die einzelnen Ereignisse der byzantinischen Geistesgeschichte; er benützt auch nicht die Abfolge der verschiedenen regierenden Kaiser und ihrer Familien, um daran die Rolle der Stadt Byzanz als einer « neuen Mitte » des Mittelmeerkulturraums lebendig vor dem Leser erstehen zu lassen. Er behandelt vielmehr die einzelnen für sein Ziel wichtig erscheinenden Fragengebiete der Reihe nach.

Es ist unmöglich zu all diesen Fragen an dieser Stelle im einzelnen Stellung zu nehmen. Die eine oder andere soll aber doch herausgegriffen werden.

Schon das zweite Kapitel, welches den etwas erstaunlichen Titel führt: « Das byzantinische Kaisertum als Nachahmung Gottes », legt in eindrucksvoller Weise dar, in welcher Art nach Auffassung des Verfassers in Byzanz die Beziehungen des Kaisers zu Gott, zum Staat, zum Volk und zur Kirche aufgefasst wurden. Das Wort: « Theokratie » erhält dabei einen anderen Inhalt als es ihn im Abendland hat. Es drückt nicht so sehr ein rechtliches Verhältnis als eine fast mystische Beziehung zwischen den genannten Gruppen aus. Man kann also über viele Äusserungen dieser Theokratie nicht nach abendländischen Massstäben und mit abendländischen Begriffen urteilen. Es lohnt sich aber doch, etliche ganz anders urteilende Werke wie z.B. die bekannten — wie mir scheint — einseitigen Artikel von Michel zum selben Thema in den ersten Bänden der: « Ostkirchlichen Studien » zu lesen.

Sehr wertvoll scheint mir auch das vierte Kapitel des Buches über: « Mönchtum und Askese als formende Kräfte » zu sein. In sehr einleuchtender Weise zeigt H. hier auch die Einflüsse auf, die von Syrien aus, z.B. bei dem Phänomen der « Styliten » in die byzantinische Geistessphäre hineinwirkten. Auch die sonderbare Vermengung von sozialen Strömungen der Zeloten und ganz anders gearteten mystischen — in die Theologie hinüberspielenden — Gedankengängen der Palamiten und Hesychasten, die im XIV. Jahrhundert in den Thronkämpfen Johannes V. des Paläologen mit Johannes VI. Kantakuzen eine so grosse Rolle spielten, vermag der Verfasser sehr eingängig darzulegen.

Dagegen scheinen mir seine Ausführungen über die byzantinische Kunst unter dem Titel: « Die bildende Kunst als Ausdruck christlicher Weltanschauung » eher mager zu sein. Auch das letzte grosse Kapitel über: « Byzantinische Ausstrahlungen auf die europäische Kultur und Geistesgeschichte » ruft laut nach einer breiteren

und manchmal auch weniger « modernen » Behandlung dieser Einflüsse.

Wer das ganze Buch gelesen hat, wird ohne Zweifel das umfassende Wissen und die der bei Einteilung und Darlegung dieser Kenntnisse bewiesene Meisterschaft des Verfassers mit Dank anerkennen.

A. M. Ammann, S.J.

Johannes Chrysostomus OSB, *Kirchengeschichte Russlands der neuesten Zeit*, I: Patriarch Tichon (1917-1925). München-Salzburg 1965, S. 420.

In der im Verlag Anton Pustet erschienenen Sammlung: « Wissenschaft und Gegenwart » hat der bekannte Benediktinerpater Johannes Chrysostomus von Niederaltaich den ersten Band seiner « Kirchengeschichte Russlands der neuesten Zeit » erscheinen lassen. Dieser beschäftigt sich mit dem ersten Patriarchen der nachsynodalen russischen Kirche, nämlich mit dem Leben und der Kirchenregierung des Patriarchen Tichon (1917-1925). Offenbar hatte der Verfasser Gelegenheit, sich mit einigen Leuten der näheren Umgebung des Patriarchen zu unterhalten. Er bringt, was gewöhnlich nicht bekannt ist, die Geschichte der Jugend dieses tapferen Kirchenmannes, Nachrichten über dessen Aufenthalt als Bischof im amerikanischen Alaska und dann über seine Tätigkeit als Bischof in Russland, die Schwierigkeiten, die er schon vor der Revolution überwinden musste, seine, ganz offenbar der Führung Gottes überlassene Wahl, die ihn als dritten vorausgesehenen Kandidaten auf den ersten Platz setzte. Der Verfasser erzählt uns, mit welcher selbstverständlichen Unmittelbarkeit der Bischof, inmitten der bolschewistischen Strassenkämpfe in Moskau, sich auf den seit 200 Jahren leerstehenden Patriarchenthron setzte. P. Johannes Chrysostomus berichtet uns aber nur wenig über das eigentlich innere und religiöse Leben seines Helden. Ganz offenbar überstieg dasselbe das gewöhnliche Ausmass auch leidgeprüfter Bischöfe. Wir erfahren sehr viel, aber fast nur als Tatsachenbericht, von den Schwierigkeiten, die der Patriarch von seiner eigenen Kirche, sowohl von übereifrigen Freunden, wie z.B. von den Mitgliedern der Bischofssynode von Karlowitz in Jugoslawien, wie auch von Gegnern im eigenen Lager, die sich schliesslich zur Gründung einer Art Gegenkirche im Staat verdichtete, hat erdulden müssen. Wir hören fast alles, was man sagen kann, über die sogenannte « lebendige Kirche ». Der Verfasser erzählt uns auch etliches über die Gefängnisaufenthalte des Patriarchen; er verschweigt aber dabei, wohl aus Mangel an Quellen, welche Gründe den Patriarchen dazu geführt haben mögen, dem kommunistischen Staat nicht das Versprechen der Anhänglichkeit, wohl aber die Zusage, ihn nicht zu bekämpfen, zu geben. Sehr interessant berichtet Johannes Chrysostomus über die

Krankheit und das Hinscheiden des Patriarchen, der doch der Grundstein der neuen russischen Hierarchie geworden ist.

Der zweite Band dieser « Geschichte » soll die Tätigkeit des Metropoliten Sergij Stragorodskij umfassen. Man möchte glauben, dass die Darstellung des Lebens dieses Mannes und seiner Leiden im eigenen Land dem verdienten Verfasser dieser « Kirchengeschichte Russlands der neuesten Zeit » noch grössere Schwierigkeiten bereiten werde, als die schon veröffentlichte Darstellung des Lebens des Patriarchen Tichon.

Man möchte ihm aber zu dieser Arbeit Kraft und Mut und zu ihrer künftigen Vollendung Glück wünschen.

A. M. Ammann S. J.

Kirche im Osten, Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde, In Verbindung mit dem Ostkircheninstitut herausgegeben von Robert Stupperich, Band 8 – 1965, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht in Göttingen, 1965, 214 Seiten (mit 2 Bildtafeln: L. A. Zander und Erzbischof D. Teodors Grünbergs).

Wir geben dem Herausgeber in seiner Tendenz vollauf recht, wenn er im Vorwort betont: « Das Jahrbuch läßt sich durch die zeitbedingte Fragestellung nicht allein in Anspruch nehmen » und wenn er meint, « daß die Gegenwartserkenntnis der Kirchen des Ostens nur auf solider historischer Basis erarbeitet werden kann ».

Das Jahrbuch ist in vier Teile gegliedert: Aufsätze, Chronik, Literaturberichte und (erstmalig) Buchbesprechungen.

Zuvor aber steht (S. 9-10) ein kurzer Nachruf auf den wegen seiner langjährigen ökumenischen Tätigkeit weit bekannten Professor des orthodoxen St.-Sergius-Institutes in Paris L. A. Zander. (Dazu eine Bemerkung: N. Berdjaev hat nie am genannten Institut gelehrt).

Die Aufsätze behandeln diesmal in der Hauptsache Gestalten und Entwicklungen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Ausgenommen ist nur der erste Aufsatz: Robert Stupperich, *Priestertum und Mysterium im östlichen Kirchenverständnis* (S. 11-24). Dieser Beitrag ist mit großer Einfühlung geschrieben. Eingehend kommt aus der patristischen Literatur nur die Lehre des Damaszeners und des Areopagiten zu Wort. Ohne Zweifel hat der Pseudo-Areopagite im Osten (wie im Westen) bis in die Neuzeit die Rolle eines Kirchenlehrers gespielt. Aber war er Mystiker? Für den Verfasser ist Johannes von Damaskus selbst kein Mystiker (S. 17, Anm. 17), wohl aber der Areopagite (S. 19), dessen Gotteslehre er vorher sehr richtig als « abstrakt philosophisch » charakterisiert hat (S. 17). Der V. meint sodann, Chomjakov lehne unter anderen russischen Theologen den Begriff der Transsubstantia-

tion ab (S. 21). Dies ist jedoch nur mit Einschränkung so. Chomjakov schreibt in einer seiner französischen Flugschriften: « L'Eglise ne rejette pas, il est vrai, le mot de transsubstantiation » (*L'Eglise latine et le protestantisme au point de vue de l'Eglise d'Orient*, Lausanne et Vevey 1872, S. 144, Anm. 2). Er will diesen Begriff nur verstehen im Sinne eines « changement général, sans aucune trace de définitions scolastiques ». Ausführlich haben wir Chomjakovs einschlägige Lehre behandelt in der Untersuchung: *Chomjakows Lehre über die Eucharistie, Or. Chr. Per.* 14 (1948) 138-161, und zu zeigen versucht, daß Chomjakov weitgehend die katholische Eucharistielehre mißversteht. — Der folgende Aufsatz: Karl-Christian FELMY, *Patriarch Tichon im Urteil der Russisch–orthodoxen Kirche der Gegenwart* (S. 25-54), bildet eine sehr sachliche, wertvolle Ergänzung zu dem kurz nachher erschienenen Werk von Johannes CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Kirchengeschichte Rußlands der neuesten Zeit,* I *Patriarch Tichon* 1917-1925, Anton Pustet, München/Salzburg 1965. Unsere einzige Einschränkung betrifft den Schlußabschnitt *Märtyrer im gottfeindlichen Staat* (S. 53-54). Was als anfechtbare Behauptung im Text steht, wird durch Anm. 157 wieder aufgehoben. — Drei weitere Beiträge sind mit großer Objektivität geschrieben: Eberhard TREULIEB (†), *Metropolit Sergij von Riga und die « Orthodoxe Mission » in Pleskau* (S. 55-66); Ralph RUHTENBERG, *Erzbischof Prof. D. Teodors Grünbergs* (S. 96-121) (Mit großer Sympathie folgt der Leser der Darstellung des Lebens und der Tätigkeit dieses lutherischen (deutsch-)lettischen « Vater-Erzbischofs »); Martin LACKNER, *Union und Agende in Ostpreußen* (S. 122-142). Im Aufsatz von Nikolaus OLEJKO, *Der polnische Altkatholizismus* (S. 67-95; vgl. unten in der Chronik S. 163 und 167 f.). vermißt man jedoch zu stark das: « Audiatur et altera pars ». — Mit großer Genauigkeit und Sachlickeit ist wieder von verschiedenen Autoren die Chronik: *Das kirchliche Leben in Osteuropa und Griechenland 1963-1964* (S. 143-191) zusammengestellt worden. Doch fehlen Angaben über den Stand der katholischen Kirche in der Tschechoslowakei und in Jugoslawien (auch Bulgarien). — Nicht unerwähnt bleiben darf im Literaturbericht der sehr nützliche Beitrag von Günter RISTOW, *Deutschsprachige Literatur zur Ikonenmalerei seit 1945* (S. 192-208). Zu S. 197-198 vermerken wir als Ergänzung: Rudolf MAINKA, *Andrej Rublev's Dreifaltigkeitsikone, Geschichte, Kunst und Sinngehalt des Bildes,* Ettal 1964, Buch-Kunstverlag. — Über die gegenwärtige religiöse Lage in Rußland muß der Herausgeber in seiner an letzter Stelle veröffentlichen Rezension des Buches von Günter SPECOVIUS: *Die Russen sind anders,* Mensch und Gesellschaft im Sowjetstaat, Düsseldorf/Wien 1963, leider mit vollem Recht vermerken: Es ist « durchaus richtig, wenn der Verfasser unterstreicht, wie fern das heutige russische Volk der Religion und Kirche gerückt ist » (S. 214).

B. SCHULTZE S. J.

Raymonde FOREVILLE, *Latran I, II, III, et Latran IV* (= Histoire des Conciles oecuméniques, 6) publiée sous la direction de Gervais DUMEIGE, S.J. Éditions de l'Orante, Paris 1965, 448 pages, 8 planches.

Rarement le Moyen Age fut plus décrié qu'aujourd'hui. Le « scientisme » du XXe siècle imite sur ce point les « philosophes » du XVIIIe. Et cependant, rarement d'aussi bons travaux scientifiques ont paru sur le Moyen Age. Il faut savoir gré à Mlle R. Foreville, professeur à l'Université de Caen, d'avoir consacré son temps, son érudition, et son talent d'écrivain pour faire revivre les Conciles du Moyen Age, les plus importants et les moins connus: les quatre Conciles du Latran.

L'Auteur pose avec clarté et précision (pp. 10-12) « la problématique de la réception des conciles pour oecuméniques », mais son puissant raccourci sur « Autocéphalie et principat apostolique » pourrait susciter quelques réserves. On n'a pas attendu « le VIe concile, qui condamna le monothélisme » pour voir « apparaître le rôle de la papauté en tant que gardienne de l'orthodoxie » (p. 13). De même n'est-ce qu'à « partir du VIIIe siècle » que l'Eglise romaine commença d'« instaurer un régime de centralisation »? (p. 14).

Sans épiloguer sur quelques brillantes synthèses de l'augustinisme politique (pp. 13-16), l'Auteur résume en quelques phrases denses et profondes les causes et les conséquences du schisme de 1054 (pp. 16-18), puis il aborde l'histoire des grands conciles réformateurs du Latran.

Si les deux premiers conciles trop proches du schisme de 1054, ne bénéficient d'aucune « représentation valable des Eglises d'Orient », au troisième Concile du Latran (1179) les patriarcats latins, issus de la conquête franque en Terre Sainte déléguèrent huit de leurs membres. L'empereur Manuel Comnène « dont on ne saurait méconnaître les efforts de rapprochement avec l'Occident » se fit représenter officiellement; les Orthodoxes eurent un « observateur », à vrai dire « hostile par principe » (p. 139). C'était Nectaire, abbé de Casula, procureur du métropolite Georges de Corfou (pp. 205-206).

Le Concile s'occupe dans le détail des rapports entre chrétiens, juifs et musulmans. C'est ainsi que le canon 24 interdit aux « chrétiens de livrer aux Sarrasins des armes et des matériaux de construction pour leurs galères; d'assumer le commandement de leurs navires de guerre et piraterie. Dans tous les ports maritimes on renouvellera souvent de tels avertissements sous peine d'excommunication » (p. 148).

L'Auteur souligne avec raison les appels pathétiques et infructueux d'Alexandre III en faveur de la paix entre chrétiens d'Occident. Son but était de « diriger les armes des princes vers les nécessités de la Terre Sainte. De Montpellier en 1165, il avait lancé un appel à la croisade. De Bénévent en 1169, alerté par la mission de l'archevêque de Tyr en Occident, il réitéra son appel » (p. 148). « Il y a donc lieu

de croire que le concile se pencha sur le Moyen-Orient et la croisade de Terre Sainte. Pourtant aucune suite immédiate ne fut donnée » (p. 149). Pendant que le Concile se réunissait, Saladin continuait ses vertigineuses conquêtes. Ce n'est que le 16 janvier 1181, que le Pape lancera enfin sa troisième bulle de croisade.

Il était réservé à Innocent III d'être à la fois le Pape de la IVe croisade et du IVe Concile du Latran. Il lance, parallèlement à l'indiction du concile, la grande encyclique de croisade » (1213), (p. 233).

Au IVe Concile de Latran « l'Orient chrétien se trouvait plus largement présent en 1215 qu'aux précédents conciles » (p. 256). L'évêque de Tortosa représentait le patriarche d'Antioche, malade. Les rites orientaux envoyèrent quelques représentants, par exemple, Jérémie, patriarche des Maronites.

« Aux dires de certains chroniqueurs, Nicolas I, patriarche melkite d'Alexandrie, aurait délégué un diacre, son propre frère, tandis que Jean XIV, patriarche jacobite, aurait assisté personnellement au concile », mais « ni le melkite, ni le jacobite ne figurent sur la liste des Pères conciliaires » (p. 255).

Le jugement de l'Auteur sur le problème de l'union des Eglises en 1215 est sévère (p. 257). « Paradoxalement, le concile oecuménique suggéré par Innocent III lui-même dès 1199, favorablement accueilli par l'empereur Alexis, instamment requis par les Orthodoxes après la conquête latine, réuni enfin par le pape en 1215, ignore ou nie le problème de l'union des Eglises, parce qu'il le ramène à l'unité de juridiction. Ce concile préparé avec un soin exemplaire, unique peut-être dans toute l'histoire conciliaire jusqu'à nos jours, a négligé en ce domaine toute préparation valable » (pp. 256-257).

Au sujet de l'union des Maronites, l'Auteur renvoie au livre de Mgr Dib: « Histoire de l'Eglise maronite » I, pp. 53-58.

La « construction pyramidale » de l'église grecque « sous la juridiction d'archevêques latins et l'autorité du patriarche latin de Constantinople auquel dès 1203 le Pape avait reconnu le second rang dans la hiérarchie universelle, immédiatement après le Pontife romain (p. 256), toute cette belle construction s'effondrera en même temps que l'empire latin d'Orient. Seul l'évêque Théodore de Nègrepont en Eubée figurera sur la liste conciliaire de 1215 à côté du patriarche Gervais.

« La plupart des membres de l'Episcopat byzantin s'étaient réfugiés dans l'exil auprès du basileus Théodore Lascaris et du « patriarche de Nicée ». La hiérarchie grecque n'était donc pas valablement représentée au Latran en 1215 » (p. 256).

Pour s'en convaincre, il n'y a qu'à lire la liste des Pères conciliaires scrupuleusement rétablie (pp. 391-394), mais peut-être l'Auteur aurait-il pu préciser davantage s'il s'agit d'évêques de rite latin ou grec?

Mlle R. Foreville ouvre des horizons sur le problème œcuménique en 1215. Un index méthodique permettra de s'orienter sur les questions des croisades (p. 425) et des patriarches (p. 434).

PAUL GOUBERT, S.J.

L. A. DELASTRE, *Saint Damase I* (= Papes d'hier, Eglise d'aujourd'hui). Tolra éditeur, Paris 1965, 208 pages, 8 planches.

Non sans hardiesse l'Auteur a lancé récemment une nouvelle collection historique: « Papes d'hier, Église d'aujourd'hui ». A. Gareau a publié un « Saint Léon IX ». M. de Lesseps un « Paul III », G. de Beauville un « Jules II »; un « Jean XXII, un Jean XXIII » sont annoncés pour paraître prochainement. On voit que la collection ne néglige pas les grands hommes et les grands sujets. A propos de la vie du grand Pape présenté avec quelque emphase comme « défenseur de la Doctrine, de la Primauté de Pierre, des Saintes Écritures, et Patron des Archéologues », l'Auteur esquisse avec verve une synthèse de l'histoire du IVe siècle. Les problèmes les plus ardus, comme celui du « signe » vu par Constantin, du « labarum » (pp. 34-35), du rôle du Pape et de l'empereur dans la convocation du Concile de Nicée, la question du Pape Libère (pp. 78-80) sont traités avec délicatesse.

L'auteur s'abrite souvent derrière l'autorité de Daniel Rops. On pouvait choisir un plus mauvais guide. Mais peut-être trouvera-t-on des longueurs dans la première partie de l'ouvrage où Damase disparaît souvent dans l'ampleur de la fresque historique.

Les derniers chapitres, trop courts, sont excellents. Sous le titre « le portail de Saint Damase » l'Auteur évoque les grands Saints, ses contemporains. Relevons «du côté oriental»: St Athanase, St Basile et St Grégoire de Nazianze, avec une rapide mention de St Grégoire de Nysse, St Pierre d'Alexandrie, St Jean Chrysostome, St Ephrem (pp. 152-165).

Les pages sur le « patron des archéologues » et « le chantre des martyrs » (pp. 186-199) sont denses de riches citations et ouvrent de larges horizons.

8 illustrations éclairent ce volume, qui se veut pour un large public. Mais alors pourquoi avoir reproduit trois médiocres clichés du Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne?

Ouvrage de vulgarisation? sans doute mais aussi de foi et de doctrine. Il faut souhaiter que beaucoup d'ouvrages de vulgarisation aient la même tenue littéraire et scientifique.

PAUL GOUBERT, S.J.

Jean MÉCÉRIAN, S.J., *Histoire et Institutions de l'Église Arménienne*, Évolution nationale et doctrinale, Spiritualité, Monachisme. En Appendice, une étude critique sur le plan primitif de l'Église de Vagharschapat per l'Architecte Pascal PABOUDJIAN. (= Institut de Lettres orientales de Beyrouth, tome XXX). Imprimerie catholique, Beyrouth 1965, in-8o, 388 pages, 38 planches.

Cet ouvrage est à la fois un testament et un monument. Testament, car l'Auteur qui signa la préface le 31 juillet 1965 fut brusquement rappelé par Dieu deux mois plus tard. Ce bon ouvrier avait accompli

sa tâche. Il avait élevé à la gloire de sa patrie douloureuse un monument impérissable.

La liste des articles du volume, publiés par le P. Mécérian, est impressionnante, mais « cet ouvrage, que des années de recherches et d'études ont préparé, veut être un Précis sur l'Histoire et les Institutions de l'Église arménienne » (p. 7). A part la Liturgie, les principaux sujets ont été abordés. Un « avant-propos historico-géographique » (pp. 14-17) préparera le lecteur européen ou américain à cette résurrection d'un passé trop peu connu. Quoiqu'il en soit des traditions relatives au martyre des apôtres Saint-Barthélemy et de Saint Thaddée en Arménie et à la légende d'Abgar, roi d'Edesse, transformé en roi de l'Arménie, l'Auteur reconnait avec Mgr Duchesne que « le vrai courant traditionnel est celui qui dérive de Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur » (p. 21).

« C'est Grégoire l'Illuminateur qui est le fondateur de l'Eglise arménienne avec une hiérarchie organisée et légitimement constituée », mais l'Auteur tente de remonter plus loin. Sans parler d'Abgar IX, roi d'Edesse (179-214), il signale en 252 (cf. Eusèbe H. E. VI, 46) les Arméniens « lapsi » sous l'évêque Mérouzanès et la résistance armée des Arméniens chrétiens contre la persécution de Maximin Daïa (286-313). Franz Cumont (Analecta Bollandiana XXIII 1904, p. 488) admettait que « Mélitène avait une église dès l'époque des persécutions » et que « le testament des 40 martyrs de Sébaste adressé à l'Eglise de Zimara nous fournit une indication intéressante sur la diffusion du Christianisme le long de la frontière orientale de l'empire ». Deux inscriptions, de la seconde moitié du IIe siècle, nous apprennent qu'un détachement de la « Légion Fulminata » tenait garnison à Kaenepolis = Vagharschapat au temps de Marc Aurèle. Or la plupart de ces soldats étaient « originaires de la région de Mélitène, arméniens en majeure partie » (p. 29). Négligeons deux fautes de frappe: Co(n)s(ulo) pour Consule, Im(eratore) pour Imperatore; mais retenons comme un fait communément admis la présence de chrétiens arméniens parmi les soldats de la « Legio Fulminata ». Saint Grégoire de Nysse pensait de même que les martyrs de Sébaste étaient arméniens.

Quand il traite de « la domination sassanide » l'Auteur souligne à bon droit les résultats de la politique de l'empereur Maurice, vis-à-vis des Arméniens. Il l'appelle avec raison un « chalcédonien convainçu » qui « regardait la doctrine chalcédonienne comme une partie intégrante de sa politique; il voulut donc l'imposer dans le tronçon arménien nouvellement annexé » (p. 73). Le P. Mécérian n'admet pas l'hypothèse audacieuse de N. Adontz et d'H. Grégoire qui font de Maurice un arménien monophysite et partisan des « Verts ». Pour l'étude de « l'Église arménienne sous la domination arabe » (640-862) l'Auteur suit les travaux de J. Laurent sur « l'*Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* », Paris 1919, et de J. Muydermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, Louvain 1927. L'étude de « l'Église arménienne dans l'Arménie émancipée » (862-1071) met en relief les deux causes du relèvement de l'Église arménienne: « la faiblesse croissante du Califat

arabe », et « le prestige croissant de l'empire byzantin » sous la dynastie macédonienne.

Mais c'est surtout « l'Église arménienne dans la mêlée internationale de l'Asie antérieure (1071-1453) qui retiendra notre attention. L'Auteur distingue justement les deux Arménies: « l'Arménie transcaucasienne ou orientale » et « l'Arménie cilicienne ou occidentale » animées par un esprit très différent (p. 101) « conservateur, isolationniste et sectaire chez les Arméniens de Transcaucasie, brandissant comme drapeaux les monastères de Haghbat et Sanahine au nord du lac de Sévan; Tathère et Orodn dans le sud du même lac en Siounie », s'opposant fortement aux Frères Uniteurs (branche arménienne de l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs) [1] (pp. 101-102). Les Arméniens ciliciens au contraire avec un esprit nouveau, plus civilisé, plus « compréhensif » se mirent vite « au diapason du milieu nouveau ». « Avec le Pape et Saint Louis, ce sont les rois arméniens de Cilicie, qui seuls en Orient virent clairement tout le parti qu'on pouvait tirer au point de vue chrétien de la puissance nouvelle que furent les Mongols au XIIIe siècle; « ce fut une des plus brillantes périodes de l'histoire d'Arménie « (p. 102).

En esquissant l'histoire douloureuse de « l'Eglise arménienne dans les temps modernes » (de 1453 à nos jours), l'Auteur renvoie (p. 142) à ses ouvrages antérieurs, plus développés, et exhume quelques pages oubliées du R. P. H. Riondel sur « le Bienheureux Gomidas de Constantinople, prêtre arménien et martyr » (1656-1707), Paris 1929 [2]. Mais surtout il brosse le tableau exact de la « situation dans l'empire ottoman » (pp. 116-120) « en Perse » (pp. 120-121) st « sous le régime moscovite » (pp. 121-122) l'œuvre des « Missions catholiques auprès des Arméniens » (pp. 122-128), et « l'émancipation de la communauté protestante » (pp. 139-141).

Si le premier livre (pp. 1-142) présente une excellente vue panoramique de l'Histoire d'Arménie, avec ses clartés et ses ombres, ses sommets et ses bas fonds, le deuxième livre retiendra davantage l'attention de tous ceux qu'attire la « spiritualité arménienne ».

Saint Grégoire de Narek (940-1010?) est étudié spécialement grâce aux travaux du Père Isaac Kéchichian, S. J., (Collection Sources chrétiennes nº 78, cf. O.C.P. vol. XXVII, 1961, pp. 455-457). L'Auteur reconnaît dans le « panégyrique de la Mère de Dieu une certaine ressemblance avec l'Hymne Acathiste, si célèbre dans toutes les Églises de rite byzantin (p. 172). Les auteurs spirituels de l'Arménie cilicienne du XIe au XIVe siècles » sont étudiés successivement: Grégoire le martyrophile (pp. 176-177), Saint Nersès Schnorhall (pp. 177-

[1] Les Frères Uniteurs s'installèrent plus tard à Smyrne; ils arrivèrent dans cette ville avec une relique de la lance qui perça le côté du Christ.

[2] Der Gomidas Keumurgian, prêtre arménien fut martyrisé par les Turcs dans la banlieue de Psalmatia et fut enseveli dans le cimetière grégorien à Baloukli, où se trouvè encore de nos jours son tombeau.

184), Saint Nersès de Lambron (pp. 185-197), dont les pages délicieuses sur l'Assomption de la Vierge évoquent Saint Bernard de Clairvaux, son contemporain. Le chapitre sur les « auteurs spirituels du XIVe siècle à nos jours » paraîtra bien exigu (pp. 198-199).

Le livre III sur « le Monachisme et les monastères arméniens » groupe « quelques notions générales sur les institutions monastiques arméniennes » (pp. 205-234) puis des « notices sur quelques monastère arméniens » (pp. 235-341). L'Auteur passe en revue les monastères de l'Arménie méridionale (pp. 239-283) d'Aschtischat, Sourb-Karapet, Mousch, Amrtol, Narek, Varag, sans oublier Akhtamar qui fut si remarquablement mis en lumière par Mlle Serarpie der Nersessian. Parmi les monastères de l'Arménie septentrionale (pp. 260-283) il insiste sur l'ensemble Vagharschapat-Etchmiadzine, les monastères d'Ayrivank, Haghbert et Sanahine, Guédik et Nor-Guédik, Khoranaschat et Khorakert. Il consacre plusieurs chapitres aux monastères de la Siounie (pp. 284-300), aux monastères de l'Arménie Cilicienne (pp. 301-314) en insistant particuliérement sur ceux de la Montagne noire, aux monastères arméniens dans le Proche-Orient (pp. 316-331) enfin aux monastères arméniens en Europe (pp. 332-341) en s'attardant sur la belle œuvre entreprise par l'abbé Mékhitar de Sébaste, et continuée par les deux branches, plus littérairement et artistiquement par celle de Venise, plus scientifiquement par celle de Vienne (p. 341).

Ne pouvons-nous pas conclure, que, comme il le dit de l'œuvre des Mékhitaristes, l'œuvre du R. P. Jean Mécérian « mérite grandement la reconnaissance de la Nation Arménienne », et ajoutons-le, du monde savant?

En appendice, Pascal Paboudjian étudie « la cathédrale d'Etchmiadzine à la lumière des découvertes récentes » (pp. 345-380). Retenons-en les conclusions:

1) « Dans la seconde décade du IVe siècle, une basilique à trois nefs du type archaïque tel que Qassakh, Achdarag, Tégor, a été construite probablement par les mains de Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur ». Elle était décorée de mosaïques et peintures dignes du roi Drtade III premier roi arménien chrétien ».

2) « En 483-484, sur les fondations de la basilique grégorienne, une cathédrale a été élevée par Vahan Mamigonian. Ce fut la première utilisation du plan tétraconque avec quatre points d'appui isolés, apprétés à porter une coupole en pierre ».

Non sans fierté l'Auteur peut conclure: « Byzance a eu sa Sainte Sophie, Rome, son Saint-Pierre, Paris son Panthéon, Washington son Capitole » (p. 380) L'Arménie a sa cathédrale d'Etchmiadzine.

Clair, complet, bien présenté par l'excellente typographie de l'imprimerie catholique de Beyrouth, cet ouvrage du R. P. Mécérian mérite sa place dans toute bibliothèque orientaliste er rendra service à tous ceux, qui s'intéressent à l'histoire et à la spiritualité de l'Arménie.

PAUL GOUBERT, S.J.

Ivan DUJČEV, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I. *Saggi di storia politica e culturale* (= Storia e Letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 102). Roma 1965, pp. XXXVII-580, tav. 10.

Dans sa brillante préface (pp. IX-XII) le professeur Bruno LAVAGNINI explique les raisons de la publication à Rome de cet important recueil.

Elève du célèbre historien V. N. Zlatarski, le jeune Ivan Dujčev, né à Sofia, vint à Rome en 1932 pour conquérir le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe à la Scuola dell'Archivio Vaticano. Au Studium Urbis il eut pour maître S. G. Mercati. De retour à Sofia en 1936, successivement assistant puis professeur titulaire des chaires d'histoire bulgare byzantine et balkanique, il eut le courage tenace de mener de front à l'enseignement de nombreuses recherches scientifiques. Les 314 numéros, inscrits dans sa *Bibliographie* publiée avec un soin consciencieux par Mlle. Enrica FOLLIERI (pp. XIV-XXXVI) en témoignent. On y relève une remarquable contribution à des revues scientifiques bulgares, russes, allemandes, tchèques, italiennes, françaises etc.

Parmi ces travaux, édités en diverses langues, dans des revues scientifiques, qui ne sont pas toutes à la portée des lecteurs ordinaires, on a choisi les plus importants ou les plus difficiles d'accès.

Il en résulte une grande variété, non dépourvue d'unité, et que l'on peut ordonner sous quelques chefs principaux: l'histoire politique, religieuse, artistique du peuple bulgare dans ses rapports avec Byzance et les peuples slaves. Des addenda précieux et un index méthodique complètent ces articles judicieusement choisis et en rendent le maniement plus facile.

PAUL GOUBERT S.J.

A. N. STRATOU, ΤΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΣΤΟΝ Ζ' ΑΙΩΝΑ. I, 602-626. Athènes 1965, in-8°, pp. XIV-484. – II, 626-634. Athènes 1966, in-8°, pp. 485-960.

Monsieur André Stratos, qui fut ministre et joua un rôle bienfaisant dans la politique grecque, a consacré plusieurs années de sa vie à étudier le règne de Phocas et d'Héraclius.

La période 602-634, que l'Auteur examine impartialement et scientifiquement dans ces deux volumes est une des périodes les plus obscures et les plus importantes de l'histoire byzantine. *Obscure*, malgré les travaux de Spintler sur Phocas, et de Pernice sur Héraclius, travaux, qui malgré leur valeur n'ont guère eu d'écho dans le grand public. Les touristes, qui visitent le forum romain, et apprennent que la colonne, située près de l'Arc de Septime Sévère, fut érigée en l'honneur de Phocas, sont loin de penser que ce personnage, magnifié par l'inscription laudative, fut un des plus grands destructeurs de

l'empire byzantin et de la « Pax Romana ». *Importante,* car la situation politique entre ces deux bornes-frontières (602-634) évolue considérablement. En 602, avant la mort de l'empereur Maurice, l'empire byzantin, malgré l'avance des Lombards en Italie, des Avars et des Slaves sur le Danube, était encore le grand empire universel, latin et grec, héritier des efforts et des rêves de Justinien.

En 634 ce n'était plus qu'un empire mutilé, oriental, et de langue grecque. La Méditerranée n'était plus une mer latine, « mare nostrum », mais un champ de bataille entre Arabes et Byzantins. Comme nous avons essayé de le montrer en conclusion de notre premier volume « Byzance avant l'Islam », I. 'Byzance et l'Orient': « En 602, la situation de la Syrie et de l'Arabie était prospère. L'agitation provoquée par la capture d'Al-Moundhir était apaisée. La révolution de Phocas vient tout compromettre. Le pays est ravagé par les Perses. Héraclius rétablit la situation, mais il a le tort de sous-estimer le péril arabe et de mécontenter par une mauvaise politique financière et religieuse les populations. Il n'est pas interdit de conjecturer, que sans le massacre de Maurice et de sa famille, l'Orient fut resté calme et la Perse alliée. L'Hégire aurait été un épisode banal d'une cité arabe sans importance et non le début d'une ère nouvelle. ' 602 expliquerait 622' » (pp. 271-272). On nous pardonnera la longueur de la citation, mais elle résume les deux ouvrages de M. André N. Stratos.

Le premier tome s'ouvre par une élogieuse préface de M. D. A. Zakythinos, professeur à l'Université d'Athènes (pp. v-viii). Suivent la table des matières et une excellente carte, que l'on aurait voulu plus détaillée en ce qui concerne les possessions byzantines en Espagne et en Afrique. La Bibliographie, rangée par ordre alphabétique (sources et ouvrages) (pp. 1-21) est complète. Relevons une légère anomalie: les lettres F.X.H. et J, sont mises à la fin après la lettre W, tandis que le G est avant le D, le Z est entre E et K. Mais on comprend très bien que l'imprimeur ait préféré l'ordre de l'alphabet grec.

Une vue d'ensemble claire (pp. 25-92) présente une synthèse de la politique intérieure et extérieure de l'empire byzantin au VIe siècle. Mais pourquoi lorsque l'Auteur cite Diehl, Finlay, Pirenne, Bury, etc. ne renvoie-t-il pas à une référence précise? Il insiste avec raison sur l'organisation des dèmes (pp. 36-41) et sur l'action religieuse et diplomatique de l'évêque Domitien de Mélitène (p. 44). L'Espagne n'est pas oubliée, mais l'Auteur, qui, dans la Bibliographie, mentionne nos articles sur l'Espagne wisigothique (R.E.B. II, 1944 et III, 1945) aurait pu souligner l'importance de la conversion et du martyre d'Herménégild, et le rôle des Conciles de Tolède (p. 91) Malgré les efforts du Pape S. Grégoire, l'Espagne devenue catholique échappe de plus en plus à l'emprise byzantine.

Le premier livre décrit la révolution de 602 et la mort de Maurice (pp. 93-133 en s'appuyant sur les meilleures sources, contemporaines comme le « Chronicon paschale », Théophylacte Simocatta, Jean d'Antioche, plus tardives, comme Théophane, et Zonaras (pp. 94-95). Suivent trois chapitres (pp. 134-165) sur le règne désas-

treux de Phocas, et sa fin tragique. Les chapitres suivants décrivent la situation militaire sur le front perse et en Europe, au début du règne d'Héraclius. Le deuxième livre (622-628) nous fait assister à la lente remontée de l'empire (pp. 326-456). On lira avec intérêt l'entente survenue entre les Arabes et Byzance (pp. 361-375).

Le tome second, qui en principe décrit l'histoire byzantine de 628 à 634, raconte la défense héroïque de Constantinople (pp. 491-542) et la protection miraculeuse de la Panaghia (p. 527). Puis l'on suit Héraclius dans le Caucase (pp. 543-563) et sa deuxième campagne contre les Perses (pp. 564-615). L'Auteur raconte ensuite la révolution perse, et la mort de Chosroès II (pp. 616-643), le retour d'Héraclius à Constantinople, son triomphe, la délivrance de la Vraie Croix (pp. 647-687). On assiste aux luttes des dèmes et à la nouvelle organisation des thèmes (pp. 688-736). La situation religieuse est évoquée (pp. 727-776). L'Auteur suit peut-être de trop près l'opinion de Pernice (p. 771) au sujet de la naissance et des conséquences du monothélisme. L'ouvrage se termine par l'exposé de la situation politique en Asie, dans les Balkans, en Italie, en Espagne et en Afrique (pp. 777-828).

On appréciera le solide documentation de l'Auteur, mettant à la portée des lecteurs grecs les conclusions des meilleurs ouvrages allemands, anglais, italiens ou français sur cette période obscure et relativement peu étudiée, et surtout le recours constant aux sources grecques, persanes ou arabes. Mais peut-être l'Auteur procède-t-il trop souvent d'un façon narrative ne montrant pas assez l'enchaînement des causes et des effets. D'abondantes notes (pp. 864-929) et un court lexique géographique (pp. 931-955) rendront de grands services aux érudits.

Tel quel, cet ouvrage solide et bien construit constitue un fragment d'épopée à la gloire d'Héraclius et du courageux et tenace peuple grec. Peut-être l'Auteur aurait-il pu faire pressentir davantage derrière la gloire du premier des Croisés les craquements sinistres, qui vont se produire dans l'Orient arabe et faire s'effondrer l'empire universel rêvé par Justinien. Cet ouvrage d'une pareille valeur scientifique mériterait une large audience, en dehors du public strictement byzantiniste Une traduction en anglais, en allemand ou en français ne s'imposerait-elle pas?

P. Goubert S.J.

Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963. Études et Mélanges, II. Actes du « Convegno internazionale di studio » à la « Fondazione Giorgio Cini » (3-6 septembre 1963) à Venise. Venezia. Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Éditions de Chévetogne, Weteren 1964, in-8°, 500 pp. XX pl.

Ricorrendo nel 1963 il millenario della fondazione della Grande Laura al Monte Athos, per dare ai loro confratelli, i monaci orientali,

una testimonianza di venerazione e di unione nella carità, i padri benedettini del monastero di Chévetogne intrapresero la pubblicazione di una raccolta di studi intorno al monachesimo athonita. Un primo volume andava alle stampe già durante le celebrazioni che ebbero luogo sulla Sacra Montagna dal 21 al 24 giugno. Quindi, insieme ai benedettini di S. Giorgio il Maggiore a Venezia, con l'attiva collaborazione del Prof. Agostino Pertusi dell'Università Cattolica di Milano, sotto la presidenza del Cardinale Giovanni Urbani, Patriarca di Venezia, venne organizzato un Congresso internazionale che si tenne dal 3 al 6 settembre. La fondazione Cini concesse a questo fine i suoi magnifici locali e si assunse tutte le spese del Congresso. Gli atti di questo, con l'elenco dei partecipanti e l'indicazione delle manifestazioni che vi ebbero luogo, si trovano esposti nell'introduzione al presente volume. Vi furono tenute dieci conferenze di cui alcune riprendevano temi pubblicati nel primo volume; altre si trovano nel presente mentre altre ancora sono apparse in varie collezioni. Lo stesso dicasi di alcune brevi communicazioni. Diamo qui appresso l'elenco delle conferenze con l'indicazione del luogo di pubblicazione: Paul LEMERLE, *La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite* composée au début du XIe siècle par Athanase de Lavra (vol I p. 59-100); Jean DECARREAUX, *Du monachisme primitif au monachisme athonite* (vol. I pag. 19-57); Alphonse RAES S. J., *Les livres liturgiques grecs imprimés à Venise,* (Mélanges Eugène Tisserant, III, Città del Vaticano 1964, «Studi e Testi» 233); Jean LECLERCQ, *L'influence orientale dans le monachisme bénédictin au moyen-âge* (vol. II p. 49-80); Manolis CHATZIDAKIS, *La peinture murale et les icônes des différents monastères de la Sainte Montagne* (non pubblicata); Paul M. MYLONAS, *Les caractéristiques de l'architecture athonite,* pubblicata per la maggior parte nel presente volume, pag. 229-246; A. PERTUSI, *Moines bénédictins et monastères italiens au Mont Athos dans le haut moyen-âge* (vol. I pp. 217-251); Emmanuel LANNE, *L'interprétation palamite de la vision de S. Benoît* (in questo volume pp. 21-47); André SCRIMA, *Réflections sur la fonction et les rythmes de la tradition athonite* (vol. II pp. 145-152). Hamilcar ALIVIZATOS tenne la conferenza di chiusura sul tema «*L'état actuel du Mont Athos*», (vol. II pp. 285-300). Il Cardinale G. Urbani rivolse ai convenuti alcune parole di conclusione sottolineando il carattere di continuità della preghiera monastica e la sua importanza nella vita della Chiesa (Vol. II pp. 325-331).

Il presente volume oltre alcune delle conferenze sopra indicate, contiene studii di Giuseppe SCHIRÒ, *Gregorio Palamas e la scienza profana* (pp. 81-96); Serge BOLSHAKOFF, *Parfeny Aggeev hegoumenos of Guslitsy (1807-1868) and some other Russian Athonite Monks of his time,* (pp. 97-101); M. J. LE GUILLOU, O.P., *L'Athos et la vie eucharistique* (pp. 111-120); Ivan DUJCEV, *Le Mont Athos et les slaves au moyen-âge* (pp. 121-144); Bruno LAVAGNINI, *Una missione all'Athos del monaco Azale* (pp. 153-158); Antoine-Émile TACHIAOS, *Controverses entre Grecs et Russes à l'Athos* (pp. 159-179); Giuseppe VALENTINI, S.J., *Sviluppi teologici nell'arte pittorica dell'Athos* (pp. 181-228); A.

XYNGOPOULOS, *Mosaiques et fresques de l'Athos* (pp. 247-262); A. EMBIRICOS, *Manuel Pansélinos* (pp. 263-266); Grigore NANDRIŠ, *Contribution à l'étude de la peinture murale de Lavra* (pp. 267-274); P. S. NASTUREL, *Un épitrachilion roumain inconnu du monastère de Karakallou* (pp. 275-283).

Prima di terminare questa rassegna rileveremo due contributi a questa pubblicazione: il primo del « γέρων » Pantéleimon LAVRIOTIS, per il suo carattere di commovente evocazione. Il caro bibliotecario della Grande Laura, di cui gli studiosi che hanno visitato il celebre monastero ricorderanno la pronta disposizione a rendersi utile e a facilitare la consultazione dei manoscritti, ha inviato alla Redazione una lista con i nomi degli studiosi che dal novembre 1897 fino al 9 settembre 1961, hanno visitato la biblioteca della Grande Laura. Preziosa invece per la sua utilità pratica è la *Bibliographie de la Sainte Montagne* raccolta con assidua fatica dal Rev. P. Irénée DOENS del monastero di Chévetogne; tra libri, articoli e scritti varii riguardanti il Monte Athos vi troviamo segnalate ben 774 pubblicazioni, in greco, e 1860 in altre lingue. Un indice accurato ne rende ancora più agevole la consultazione.

Ai Padri benedettini di Chévetogne per la loro iniziativa di fraterna partecipazione alle celebrazioni athonite e per il contributo che ne è derivato alla scienza vada un ben meritato plauso.

PELOPIDAS STEPHANOU S.J.

Demetrios TSAKONAS, *Geist und gesellschaft in Griechland.* H. Bouvier und Co.-Verlag, Bonn 1965, in-16°, pp. 189, s.p.

Da oltre vent'anni l'A. si occupa intensamente delle strutture religiose e civili della Grecia moderna, cercando di deteminarne non solo i caratteri attuali, ma anche i relativi precedenti storici.

Questo volume si inserisce nel quadro di tale ricerca. Come suggerisce già la formulazione molto comprensiva del titolo, l'opera non intende essere un contributo di ricerca originale, ma una sintesi divulgativa dei risultati conseguiti dall'A. stesso e da altri studiosi greci e stranieri nell'indagare il tema in questione: quali sono state le forze culturali, religiose, sociali e politiche che, fin dalla caduta dell'impero bizantino, hanno preparato lentamente la rinascita della Grecia? Come si configurarono e si schierarono tali forze prima della guerra di liberazione (1821-1828) e dalla sua fine sino ad oggi?

Apparentemente semplice, questo tema in realtà è molto complesso.

Il propolo greco attuale è l'erede più diretto del mondo bizantino; e, come quel mondo, specialmente dal sec. XII in poi, fu culturalmente composito, così l'anima del popolo greco è stata e continua

ad essere composita: nel suo fondo si agitano ancora e si intrecciano tendenze e ideali contrastanti.

Ora, la complessità delle forze storiche suaccennate è un riflesso immediato di tale carattere composito dell'anima greco-bizantina, che, per sopravvivere, ha dovuto lottare a lungo su tutti i fronti, esponendosi agli influssi culturali e politici più eterogenei.

Accenneremo a due situazioni giustamente sottolineate dall'A.

Caduta Costantinopoli in mano ai Turchi (1453), si formarono tre centri propulsori di vita greca, espressione di tre mentalità diverse: il Fanar nella Capitale del Bosforo, la colonia greca di Venezia, le comunità nazionalistiche delle zone montagnose della Penisola ellenica (« Clefti »).

Questi tre centri perseguivano in fondo lo stesso scopo: la rinascita politica e religiosa del popolo greco. Ma, poiché i primi erano filo-turchi e anti-latini, i secondo anti-turchi e filo-latini e i terzi anti-turchi e anti-latini, seguirono vie diverse, spesso opposte, intralciandosi a vicenda. Basti ricordare la politica ecumenica, conservatrice e rigidamente « ortodossa » del Fanar, soddisfatto di un'egemonia del popolo greco nell'ambito dell'impero ottomano; e la politica nazionale, aperta agli influssi occidentali, propria dei Greci di Venezia, i quali, come i fieri organizzatori della resistenza anti-turca dei villaggi montani, aspiravano alla creazione di uno stato greco indipendente a spese di quello ottomano (cfr. pp. 17-49).

Quando scoppiò la guerra di liberazione contro i Turchi (1821), avvenne qualcosa che era nella logica di tali condizioni. In quel periodo, il popolo greco non fu soltanto oggetto di simpatia in Europa, ma anche di protezioni interessate. Russia, Austria, Francia ed Inghilterra cercarono di influirvi ciascuna in modo esclusivo. La mancanza di unità ideologico-politica dei Greci servì a contentarle più o meno tutte: sorsero tre partiti politici che si chiamarono appunto « russo », « francese », « inglese » (cfr. pp. 59-62).

Tale diversità di ideali e di programmi politici ha perdurato negli anni dell'assolutismo neo-greco (1828-1862), del parlamentarismo (1862-1909) e nell'ultimo periodo — il più tempestoso — che va dalla rivoluzione di Goudi (1909) al presente dopoguerra. Essa è testimoniata dalla diversità di tendenze che caratterizza la cultura greca dal contenuto di pensiero fino all'uso della lingua. Come sul piano politico-sociale s'è oscillato continuamente fra feudalismo e liberalismo, assolutismo e costituzionalismo, individualismo occidentalizzante e « cenobitismo » orientalizzante, così sul piano culturale s'è pencolato fra lingua classicheggiante e lingua demotica, fra tradizionalismo « ortodosso » e libertà di pensiero, ecc. Queste oscillazioni sono stati incarnate da tutte le figure più rappresentative della cultura neo-greca. L'A. ne inserisce un buon numero nel corso della sua esposizione, accennando brevemente al significato culturale politico della loro persona e della loro opera. È una serie interessante di medaglioni che va dal secolo XVIII (Cosma d'Etolia, Rhigas, ecc.) fino ai nostri giorni (N. Kazantzakis, Chatzipateras, Daskalakis, ecc.).

Il travaglio spirituale espresso da questi uomini di cultura, non è stato ancora totalmente superato. Ma le esperienze dolorose del 1922 e degli anni che precedettero e seguirono immediatamente la seconda guerra mondiale, non sono rimaste sterili. Molti contrasti si vanno smussando; il demotico, la lingua viva della Grecia attuale, si afferma sempre più vittoriosamente; le concezioni moderne del mondo occidentale vengono accettate con maggior senso critico e coscienza delle tradizioni nazionali.

L'A. vede la salvezza e la possibilità del progresso della Grecia proprio in questa fusione armonica di stimoli esterni e di imprescindibili esigenze tradizionali: « Soltanto mediante un ripensamento della tradizione si può attuare un ordinamento armonico del mondo neo-greco. La questione decisiva per il futuro della Grecia è se la cultura greca contenga in sé le forze per il futuro della Grecia è se la cultura greca contenga in sé le forze necessarie per una prospera rinascita » (p. 131).

Il Prof. Tsakonas si fonda su una vasta bibliografia di indagini di prima mano. Dominando perfettamente la materia, riesce a farne un'esposizione limpida, tutta dati di fatto e formulazioni precise. Data anche la notevole oggettività che lo caratterizza, pensiamo che il suo volume renderà buon servizio a chiunque desideri una buona introduzione sugli aspetti politici, sociali, religiosi e culturali della Grecia d'oggi.

C. CAPIZZI S.J.

Salvatore IMPELLIZZERI, *La letteratura bizantina da Costantino agli iconoclasti* [Università degli Studi di Bari - Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna, Saggi 5]. Dedalo Libri, Bari 1965, in-16°, pp. 388, L. 3700.

La letteratura bizantina è stata finora oggetto di ricerche prevalentemente storico-filologiche. Le opere generali più note in materia, come quelle ormai classiche del Krumbacher, del Moravcsik e del Beck, sono indubbiamente vasti e diligenti repertori, strumenti indispensabili per lo studioso, ma non costituiscono una vera e propria *storia* della letteratura bizantina nel senso moderno del termine. I dati vi sono raccolti, vagliati, esposti, ma non interpretati ed articolati in una visione unitaria. Perciò non esagerava nel 1925 Nicola Jorga, quando affermava della letteratura bizantina che essa « non solo dev'essere scritta, ma è ancora da definire; bisogna fissarne il significato, notarne le divisioni, farne un grande spettacolo d'insieme, pieno di quella vitalità che esiste in questa come in qualunque altra letteratura » (cit. dall'A. a p. 9).

Che ci si trovi di fronte a una delle più gravi lacune della nostra cultura storico-letteraria, non c'è dubbio. Perciò siamo portati ad apprezzare con maggior simpatia il coraggioso tentativo del Prof.

Impellizzeri, che, in questo volume, ci offre l'inizio di un'opera destinata a colmare tale lacuna, precisamente.

Egli è consapevole delle difficoltà a cui va incontro. Ma ha una visione precisa della mèta da raggiungere e della via da seguire: « L'esistenza, l'essenza, la formazione e lo sviluppo della letteratura bizantina vengono, dunque, qui intese a spiegate nel quadro delle connessioni storiche dell'intiera vicenda dell'impero bizantino. L'espressione letteraria vien considerata come una parte del processo storico totale della società bizantina; di quel processo generale e unitario per cui l'uomo si appropria del mondo che lo circonda, filtrandolo attraverso la sua coscienza. La letteratura, insomma, viene considerata come l'occhio della società bizantina che esplora se stessa» (p. 8).

Non è questa la sede per discutere tali prospettive. Ci basti osservare che esse impegnano l'A. a lavorare su una base immensa di dati positivi teologici, filosofici, storici, letterari, ecc. E, per quanto possiamo giudicare da questo primo volume, egli non viene meno a tale impegno. Anche se altri lettori troveranno da ridire sull'esattezza di certe definizioni dei rapporti tra Cristianesimo ed ellenismo o Impero (cfr. pp. 17-19; 41-62), noi preferiamo sottolineare un pregio che ci sembra incontestabile: la chiarezza della visione organica con cui vengono messi in rilievo ed articolati logicamente i vari elementi costitutivi della letteratura bizantina e i fattori storici che l'hanno condizionata: evoluzione sociale e politica della tarda antichità, ellenismo filosofico e letterario, rivoluzione cristiana, dialettica fra ideologia monarchica « ecumenica » e insopprimibili tendenze nazionalistiche, ecc.

A questo pregio bisogna accostarne un altro: la ricchezza e la solidità dei dati, su cui si fonda continuamente l'interpretazione dell'A., anche se non sia *formalmente* appoggiata da un apparato scientifico.

Del resto l'ottima bibliografia (pp. 313-374) posta in fondo al volume, mostra le fonti da cui l'A. ha attinto e rende possibile, a chi volesse, non solo la verifica delle posizioni dell'A., ma ricerche ulteriori.

CARMELO CAPIZZI S. J.

Archaeologica

Il tesoro di San Marco (Opera diretta da H. R. HAHNLOSER). *La pala d'oro*. Texte von W. F. VOLBACH – A. PERTUSI – B. BISCHOFF – H. R. HAHNLOSER – G. FIOCCO. — Florenz 1965 (Sansoni), in fol., Seiten xv und 145. Farbige Tafeln 59; Schwarz-weiss Tafeln 25. Preis 45.000 Lit.

Der vorliegende bei Sansoni in Florenz verlegte Prachtband ist dem Andenken Papst Johannes' XXIII. gewidmet, der seinerzeit

Patriarch von Venedig gewesen war. Daher die Ausstattung, welche der Auftraggeber, die Stiftung GIORGIO CINI, in Venedig dem Werk gegeben hat: Alle Farbtafeln und alle Schwarz-Weissbilder im Text und auf den entsprechenden Tafeln sind eigens für dieses Werk neu hergestellt. Daher auch die Art, den Gegenstand — also in diesem ersten Band die Pala d'oro — zu behandeln. (In einem zweiten Band sollen die Schätze des Tesoro gezeigt werden). Es werden nämlich alle Emailles (VOLBACH), die Edelsteine und ihre Brücken (HAHNLOSER), die griechischen (PERTUSI) und die lateinischen (BISCHOFF) Inschriften und die Malereien, mit denen die Vorderseite an Ferialtagen und die Rückseite ständig bedeckt waren (FIOCCO) sehr genau behandelt. Nur wird eigentlich nirgendwo — soweit ich sehe — gesagt, wo eigentlich im Kirchenraum die Pala aufgestellt war und heute ist.

Der unstreitig bedeutsamste Teil dieses ersten Bandes des Gesamtwerkes ist der Beitrag von W. F. VOLBACH (S. 3-74). Er ist seiner ganzen Anlage nach ein « Führer », beziehungsweise ein « Katalog » durch diese wahrscheinlich grösste, jedenfalls ganz einzigartige Ansammlung byzantinischer Kunstwerke aus dem X. bis XIII. Jahrhundert.

Um ihn zu erstellen, wurde die Pala auseinandergenommen, so dass man die losen Goldtafeln, beziehungweise Scheiben einzeln und von allen Seiten studieren konnte. Reichliche Literaturangaben helfen den eingehend erläuternden Text zu vertiefen. Die einzelnen Objekte werden dabei rein als Kunstwerke betrachtet: auf ihre künstlerische Herkunft hin, wobei die Unterschungen sich bis nach Georgien und nach Nordrussland ausdehnen, und auf die Festlegung der geographischen und des historischen Raumes, aus dem sie stammen. Da die Pala wesentlich ein religiöses Kunstwerk ist, hätte es nahegelegen, auch ausdrücklich in einem Abschnitt auf den religiös tragenden Gedanken derselben hinzuweisen.

Die Reihenfolge der Behandlung vor allem der ersten drei Tafeln, nämlich der Jungfrau Maria, der Kaiserin Irene und des Dogen Ordelaf Falier (1002-1118), geht einer solchen Auffassung des Gesamtwerkes aus dem Weg. Der Verfasser behandelt zuerst eingehend die Figur des Dogen, die wahrhaftig genug historische und kunstgeschichtliche Probleme zur Lösung aufwirft, sodann die in jeder Hinsicht leichter zu behandelnde Figur der Kaiserin Irene und erst zuletzt die Mittelfigur: nämlich Maria die « Gottesmutter ». Diese bildet aber zusammen mit der « Hetimasie » ganz oben und mit dem « Weltenherrscher » in der Mitte die Achse der ursprünglichen Pala.

Es muss betont werden, dass der Verfasser — wohl gerade von der Aufgabe angelockt — sein Werk gleich mit dem schwersten Bild begonnen und dass er viel Fleiss und Findergabe auf dessen Behandlung verwandt hat. Das konnte er aber nicht tun, ohne unmittelbar auf die Kaiserin zu sprechen zu kommen, und damit rückte das Bild Mariens von selbst auf den dritten Platz.

Die Bilder aus dem Leben Christi und aus dem Leben des hl. Markus auf der ursprünglichen Tafel werden dabei natürlich eingehender behandelt als die Reihen der Engel, der Apostel und der Propheten. Zur Person des Erzengels Uriel, der der Luzifer der lateinischen Legende ist, und zur Figur des Diakons Petrus von Alexandrien, der zum mindesten einen gleichnamigen Kollegen, den mystisch begnadeten Bischof Petrus von

Alexandrien hat, wären einige Bemerkungen im begleitenden Text wohl angebracht gewesen. VOLBACHS Bemerkungen zu den sieben grossen Goldtafeln des im XIII. Jahrhundert hinzugefügten Teiles der Pala beschränken sich zumeist auf beschreibende Hinweise.

Ganz ohne Zweifel hat VOLBACH ausserordentliche Arbeit auf die Behandlung der kleineren Emaille-bilder verwandt. Man könnte aus diesem Teil der Arbeit allein ein ganzes Werk zusammenstellen. Diese oft kaum hervortretenden Kunstgegenstände, die im Ganzen der Pala mehr Schmuck als selbständige Wertgegenstände sind, werden einzeln als vollwertige Erzeugnisse der Kunstfertigkeit und des jeweiligen künstlerischen Zeitempfindens dargestellt. Es wird auf gleichgerichtete andere dergleichen Scheiben verwiesen, so dass sie nicht mehr allein aufscheinen, sondern als Werke eines mit anderen ihresgleichen identischen Kunstempfindens. Dadurch wird dieses Buch auch zu einen Werk über byzantinische Kulturgeschichte.

Hier ergibt sich die Gelegenheit zu sagen, dass der Korrektor dieses Buches manche Namen offenbar nicht richtig kannte. So nennt er die Hauptstadt Georgiens stets: TIBILISI statt richtig: TBILISI oder den nordrussischen Fürsten, dessen wertvollen Bucheinband F. VOLBACH zu seinen Ausführungen heranzieht: MATISLAV statt, wie es richtig heissen muss: MSTISLAV.

H. R. HAHNLOSER spricht in seinen eingehenden Ausführungen auch über die sieben grossen Metalltafeln, die heute fest mit der ursprünglichen Pala verbunden sind und damit in etwa das geistige Gesamtbild derselben stören. Er kann eingängig zeigen, dass wenigstens sechs derselben aus dem heute verschwundenen Pantokratorkloster in Konstantinopel stammen, das zur Zeit des lateinischen Kaiserreichs den venezianischen Behörden als Amtssitz diente. Diese Tafeln sind selten prachtvoll gestaltet. Die Figur des Erzengels Michael in der Mitte hingegen ist in einem ganz anderen Stil gearbeitet. Die aus Gold überhöht aufgesetzte rechte Hand wirkt eher störend. Man findet aber solche Hände auch auf gemalten Ikonen z. B. in Rom auf einer grossen Ikone der Madonna, die vor wenigen Jahren in der staatlichen Restaurationswerkstatt überholt wurde. Sie befindet sich jetzt in der Madonna del Rosario genannten Kirche auf dem Monte Mario.

H. R. HAHNLOSER sagt an einer Stelle, dass die Venezianer die Madonna « Hodigitria » aus Konstantinopel nach Venedig gebracht hätten. Die Madonna auf einem der Nebenaltäre des linken Querschiffes ist die « Nikopoia », welche vor allem die makedonischen Kaiser verehrten. Es wird jedenfalls berichtet, dass die Griechen im Jahre 1453, als der Fall der Stadt unmittelbar bevorstand, das Gnadenbild der Hodigitria gleichsam als « Apotropaion » in das Kloster χώρα τῶν ζώντων, welches am nächsten an der gefährdeten Stelle lag, gebracht hätten. Dort sei es im Laufe der dem Einbruch der Türken folgenden Kämpfe zugrunde gegangen.

Man kann der Fondazione GIORGIO CINI, dem Verlag SANSONI in Florenz und allen Byzantinisten, vor allem denjenigen, die sich mit der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte beschäftigen, zu diesem einzigartigen Werk nur von Herzen Glück wünschen.

A. M. AMMANN S.J.

Basile VANMAELE, O. Praem., *L'Église Pudentienne de Rome* (Santa Pudenziana), avec plans du Prof. Louis LEPORINI (= Bibliotheca Analectorum Praemonstratensium, 6). Averbode (Praemonstratensia) 1965, in-8°, 192 pages, 12 planches.

Dans le très littéraire et élogieux avant propos, le T. R. Père Norbert Calmels, abbé général de l'Ordre des Prémontrés souligne une des particularités de ce livre. Il est écrit par un religieux prémontré « qui avait eu l'audace de présenter à 60 ans sa thèse de doctorat devant l'Institut Pontifical d'Archéologie chrétienne sur cet extraordinaire monument de la Rome chrétienne » (p. 11).

Soutenue en 1949, publiée en 1965, elle est le fruit d'une longue patience et d'un labeur assidu. Pendant des années, desservant ce sanctuaire, l'Auteur « a ausculté les pierres les unes après les autres, s'est penché sur les mosaïques, a demandé aux briques le nom de leur fabrique » (p. 12).

On trouve dans cet ouvrage l'essentiel de ce qu'il faut savoir sur cette église célèbre, une des plus antiques de Rome.

Profitant des fouilles et des restaurations accomplies grâce à la munificence de S. Em. le Cardinal Albert di Jorio, il complète heureusement le livre de l'architecte A. Petrignani sur « La Basilica di S. Pudenziana in Roma », Città del Vaticano, 1931, et admet ses conclusions: Dans la 2e Epître à Timothée (IV.21) St Paul mentionne Pudens et Claudia. S'agit-il des hôtes de St. Pierre, d'après une « tradition plusieurs fois séculaire » (p. 95) exposée par A. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici 1788, t. I, II, ad ann. 44, 47, 159, 162? Le vieux « Titulus Pudentis » est « encore en substance la salle centrale de l'installation thermale du IIe siècle, mise à la disposition de la Communauté chrétienne du « Vicus Patricius » selon toute probabilité déjà dès le IIIe siècle, par son propriétaire Pudens, converti au christianisme » (p. 31). « Nous savons avec certitude que l'église Pudentienne existait à la fin du IVe siècle, sous le Pape St. Damase (366-384) (p. 41).

La fameuse mosaïque de l'abside, « la plus ancienne après celle du mausolée de Constance » (p. 56), remonterait d'après J. B. de Rossi à l'an 398. « La salle liturgique primitive du Titulus Pudentis est-elle la salle thermale transformée du IIe siècle, telle que nous la connaissons, ou bien occupait-elle un autre endroit de la demeure patricienne? Nous l'ignorons complètement » (p. 47). Mais l'Auteur admet que « la chapelle funéraire Caetani actuelle est la transformation, au XVe siècle, d'un *oratoire antique préexistant*, appelé au Moyen Age *Titulus Pastoris*.

Les vieux murs originaux de cet édifice présentent eux aussi la même caractéristique à *opus spicatum* que la salle thermale et les autres constructions environnantes. Il date donc, sans aucun doute, de la même époque, c'est-à-dire du IIe siècle » (p. 43).

En tout cas une brique trouvée au cours des fouilles de 1894 porte cette inscription: cf. Servilius Pudens et est datée de 128-133

(C.I.L.XV 14439). Serait-il ce Pudens un petit-fils du Pudens mentionné par l'Epître de Saint Paul?

Sans éclaicir tous les problèmes historiques, cet ouvrage construit avec un véritable esprit scientifique, apporte d'utiles documents et prouve que les fouilles récentes n'infirment pas les antiques traditions.

PAUL GOUBERT, S.J.

Per BESKOW, *Rex Gloriae. The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church*, Almqvist and Wiksell, Stokholm-Göteborg-Uppsala 1962, in-8°, pp. 381.

Sotto l'influsso di teorie formulate e divulgate da alcuni storici dell'arte tardo-antica e cristiana (ad es. F. Gerke, A. Grabar, A. Alföldi, J. Kollwitz), s'è fatta strada nella storiografia politica e religiosa la convinzione che, in epoca precostantiniana, l'idea della regalità di Cristo fosse o assente o poco curata nel pensiero cristiano. Essa sarebbe sbocciata o, almeno, si sarebbe propagata fulmineamente, dopo la conversione di Costantino e grazie alla teologia cortigiana di Eusebio di Cesarea, favorita, in seguito, nei suoi riflessi politici, dal trionfo del Cristianesimo nell'epoca di Teodosio I. È certo che i monumenti d'arte figurativa rappresentanti più o meno chiaramente la regalità di Cristo si moltiplicano e, come tipi iconografici, si cominciano a delineare, soltanto nella seconda metà del sec. IV; ma i testi letterari che testimoniano tale regalità risalgono, si può dire all'origine stessa del Cristianesimo, e la loro continuità fino al sec. IV non subisce interruzioni. Colpa degli storici della Chiesa e del dogma, se tali testi non siano stati finora tenuti nel debito conto per ricostruire con maggior oggettività il pensiero cristiano dei primi tre secoli intorno alla regalità di Cristo.

Per BESKOW ha inteso colmare tale lacuna con questo volume; anzi s'è proposto di mostrare quale sia stata « l'origine della crisi che condusse infine alla figura teodosiana di Cristo come Re celeste » (p. 28). Egli impiega tutta la prima Parte per fare l'esposizione documentatissima di tale *status quaestionis*, determinare lo scopo della sua indagine e farci intravvedere il metodo che seguirà. Le altre tre Parti si succedono in modo logico:

a) *Studio prevalentemente linguistico* della regalità di Cristo nei testi del NT e dei Padri Apostolici, nell'esegesi dei Padri ai *testimonia* del VT relativi a tale regalità, nella letteratura apocalittica, nei testi liturgici precostantiniani, negli accostamenti formali di Cristo Re all'imperatore pagano (pp. 33-186).

b) *Studio prevalentemente teorico* della regalità di Cristo, in epoca precostantiniana, in quanto sistema speculativo-teologico: il Logos come Re o Sovrano; il « Cristo incarnato » come Re nella teolo-

gia alessandrina, nella tradizione antiochena e nelle concezioni politiche delle Pseudo Clementine (pp. 187-257).

c) *Studio linguistico e teorico* sulla regalità di Cristo presso Eusebio di Cesarea e gli Ariani da una parte, e S. Atanasio e i Padri di Nicea dall'altra: caratteristiche convergenti e divergenti delle due concezioni (pp. 259-312); riflessi di tali caratteristichenel la concezione ariana e nella concezione nicena dell'imperatore cristiano e, quindi, dei rapporti fra *sacerdotium* (Chiesa) e *imperium* (Stato) (pp. 313-330).

Qui ci basti accennare appena alle numerose conclusioni originali e di notevole solidità scientifica, che l'A. può trarre alla fine delle sue indagini: presenza e forza dell'idea della regalità di Cristo nei primi tre secoli del Cristianesimo, alla quale contribuirono tutte le correnti teologiche allora operanti; importanza delle Pseudo-Clementine riguardo alla formazione sistematica della concezione di Cristo Re; valore e limiti del pensiero di Eusebio di Cesarea rispetto allo sviluppo di tale concezione in epoca costantiniana, ecc.

L'impegno del Beskow, s'è concentrato, ovviamente, nella ricerca diretta delle fonti letterarie. Ciò gli ha permesso una magnifica serie di approfondimenti formali e concettuali dei vocaboli che costituiscono il linguaggio precostantiniano e costantiniano della regalità di Cristo: βασιλεύς, κύριος, θεός, ἀρχιερεύς, σωτήρ, σωτηρία, παρουσία, ἐπιφάνεια, φιλανθρωπία, εὐεργεσία, εἰρήνη ... e poi παντοκράτωρ, ὕψιστος, ἡγεμών, ἡνίοχος, κυβερνήτης, στρατηγός.

Era logico che tale contatto diretto con le fonti gli mostrasse quanto ci sia di valido e di arbitrario in tante posizioni del Gerke, del Kollwitz e di altri studiosi, come E. Peterson, C. Schneider, C. Schmitt, H. Berkof, G. H. Williams.

Secondo noi, il merito maggiore dell'A. sta nell'aver presentato con prove incontestabili il pensiero teologico-politico di Eusebio come qualcosa di complesso e che non si lascia facilmente incasellare negli schemi storici tradizionali. Il punto più debole starebbe, sempre a nostro giudizio, nell'aver escluso troppo facilmente l'attribuzione del termine παντοκράτωρ a Cristo (= *Verbo incarnato*, e non, come dice l'A., « Incarnate Christ ») in *Apoc.* 1,8; 4,8; e di ritenere che tale attribuzione si incontri per la prima volta in S. Atanasio in polemica con gli Ariani (pp. 295-307). Sarà bene rilevare che, in realtà, S. Atanasio (*Ep. II ad Serap.* 2: PG 26, 609) attribuisce παντοκράτωρ a Cristo prendendo anche a testimonio precisamente *Apoc.* 1,8. Ma, in ciò, S. Atanasio non fu il primo. Già Origene si era richiamato a tale testo dell'Apocalisse e ad altri del VT per attribuire esplicitamente παντοκράτωρ al Verbo incarnato, cioè a Cristo (*Comment. in Johann.* III, 29: Koetschau IV, p. 520; III, 31: p. 521; cfr. I, 31: pp. 38-40; per la discussione di altri testi del I libro del *De principiis*, vedi il nostro *Pantokrator* [*Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica*], Roma 1964, pp. 72s.).

Questo intanto non sminuisce per nulla il valore complessivo del volume, che s'impone per vastità d'erudizione e perspicacia critica.

Carmelo Capizzi S. J.

Islamica

L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto Medioevo, I-II (= Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, XII). Spoleto 1965, pp. 1019 (tom. I, 535), tav. 16.

Il est superflu de recommencer l'éloge des « Congrès de Spolète ». Chaque année, peu après Pâques, ils réunissent dans l'ancienne et si pittoresque capitale du duché lombard une élite scientifique, venue non seulement d'Italie et de France, mais aussi d'Allemagne, des pays anglo-saxons, nordiques etc... et toujours accueillie avec cette générosité et cette gentillesse, si caractéristiques de l'Italie. Pendant plusieurs jours, coupés par des excursions dans l'Ombrie et les provinces limitrophes, les congressistes, que les habitants de Spolète appellent respectueusement « i Longobardi » explorent le haut Moyen Age. En 1964 le sujet était particulièrement vaste. Il s'agissait d'étudier les rapports de l'Occident et de l'Islam dans le haut Moyen Age». Nous ne pouvons citer toutes les conférences, ni toutes les interventions, parfois très remarquables. Bornons nous à quelques aspects plus importants.

Comme il convenait, la contribution espagnole n'y fut pas négligée. Claudio SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ étudie *El Islam de España y el Occidente* (I, pp. 149-308) qui, à lui seul, pourrait former un vrai volume. Il y montra avec clarté et érudition qu'à travers les siècles de l'histoire politique l'Islam n'a pas pu détruire l'« Hispanidad » mais a ajouté une nouvelle couche à la stratification de ce pays complexe et illustre, à la fois réaliste et idéaliste. Glanons deux détails assez curieux ... Les musulmans avaient si peu assimilé les espagnols, que ceux-ci leur transmirent le goût des vins généreux... (pp. 385-386). Les chants mozarabes de Tolède ressemblent à certains thèmes musicaux de Kabylie, et doivent provenir « de certaines formes musicales préislamiques, probablement d'origine romaine, peut-être même préromaine » (p. 389). — Juan VERNET s'attaque à un problème plus abstrait et très discuté: *La ciencia en el Islam y Occidente* (II, pp. 537-572). — C'est en allemand que les professeurs Helmut SCHLUNK et O. K. WERCKMEISTER traitèrent de deux questions touchant l'histoire de l'Art, et richement illustrées: *Die Auseinandersetzung der christlichen und der islamischen Kunst auf dem Gebiet der iberischen Halbinseln bis zum Jahre* 1000 (II, pp. 903-933, 39 planches), *Islamische Formen in spanischen Miniaturen des 10. Jahrhunderts und das Problem der mozarabischen Buchmalerei* (II, pp. 933-967, 16 planches).

Comme il fallait s'y attendre, la contribution italienne est de beaucoup la plus importante. Elle émane soit d'arabisants italiens, soit de savants étrangers utilisant la langue italienne. En premier lieu il faut citer le discours inaugural du professeur Francesco GABRIELLI sur *l'Islam e l'Occidente nell'alto Medioevo* (I, pp. 13-36) et le discours de clôture du professeur Enrico CERULLI sur *l'Islam nella storia dell'Alto Medioevo* (II, pp. 983-1007). Gustav E. VON GRÜNEBAUM décrivit *L'espansione dell'Islam, la struttura della nuova fede* (I, pp. 65-91). —

Umberto Rizzitano révèla quelques aspects peu connus de la pénétration en Italie: *Gli arabi in Italia* (I, pp. 93-114) et Raoul Manselli étudia les rapports entre *La respublica christiana e l'Islam* (I, pp. 115-147). — Avec une compétence très appréciée Roberto S. López montra *L'importanza del mondo islamico nella vita economica europea* (I, pp. 433-460). — Lorenzo Minio-Paluello essaya d'expliquer *Aristotele dal mondo arabo a quello latino* (II, pp. 603-637) avec un exemple tiré du « De Veritate » de St. Thomas (pp. 633-636). — S.M. Stern s'efforça d'examiner si *Esistono dei rapporti letterari tra il mondo islamico e l'Europa occidentale nell'alto Medioevo* (II, pp. 639-666). — Très écouté, Giorgio Levi della Vida évoqua *I Mozarabi tra Occidente e Islam* (II, pp. 667-695). — Plus technique, G. B. Pellegrini présenta *L'elemento arabo nelle lingue neolatine con particolare riguardo all'Italia* (II, pp. 697-790), d'où sortira, nous l'espérons bientôt, un juste volume sur la « Romania Arabica italiana ».

Les contributions françaises furent toutes remarquables; depuis l'exposé magistral de Marius Canard sur *L'expansion arabe, le problème militaire* (I, pp. 37-63), jusqu'à la conclusion tirée par Oleg et André Grabar sur *L'essor des arts inspirés par les Cours princières à la fin du premier millénaire: princes musulmans et princes chrétiens* (II, pp. 845-892). — Claude Cahen exposa *Quelques problèmes concernant l'expansion économique musulmane au haut Moyen âge* (I, pp. 391-432). — Tadeusz Lewicki révéla *L'apport des sources arabes médiévales (IX-X siècles) à la connaissance de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale* (I, pp. 461-487). — Mais ce fut peut-être le brillant exposé de Mlle. Marie Thérèse d'Alverny sur *La connaissance de l'Islam en Occident du IXe au XIIe siècle* (II, pp. 577-602) qui apporta le plus de clartés nouvelles. Le professeur Talbi jugea cet exposé « exceptionnellement riche et clair » (p. 793) et reconnut « qu'entre les deux communautés (musulmans et chrétiens) il y avait eu juxtaposition, mais jamais d'interpénétration » (p. 794). « Nous voyons deux communautés vivant l'une à côté de l'autre, chacune cloîtrée dans ses propres horizons mentaux. Est-ce qu'il y a eu mauvaise volonté? Personnellement je ne pense pas qu'il y a eu mauvaise volonté, je crois plutôt qu'il y a eu une autodefénse un peu instinctive, une sorte de rêve collectif affleurant en légendes, légendes qui, petit à petit, finissent par s'imposer aux deux communautés et par leur donner leurs carapaces, qui leur permettent justement de se défendre, carapaces, évidemment faites de fausses et confortables 'vérités' » (p. 795).

On le voit, l'intérêt du Congrès de Spolète résulte non seulement de l'importance des rapports présentés, mais aussi des discussions où avec intelligence et courtoisie les auditeurs passent au crible de leur érudition et de leur jugement les affirmations des conférenciers.

Tels quels, ces deux volumes du Centre de Spolète sur « l'Occident et l'Islam » par leur valeur et leur largeur de vues, méritent d'être rapprochés du tome XVIII de « Dumbarton Oaks Papers » (1964) consacré au même sujet, qui avait été traité au « Dumbarton Oaks Symposium » de Mai 1963, dont nous avons fait le compte rendu (Or. Chr. Per. 31 [1965] 479-481). Paul Goubert, S.J.

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

La Mystique et les Mystiques. Desclé de Brouwer, Bruges 1965, pp. 1123.

Diversorum studia monographica de spiritualitate a notis Professoribus diggesta sub directione P. Andreae RAVIER, S. J., quibus *Introductionem* doctissimam praemittit Henricus DE LUBAC, S. J. (pp. 7-39). Opus insigne collaborationis, plene et scite catholice inspiratum, complent scriptores qui sequuntur: A. RAVIER, S. J., K. HRUBY, H. JAEGER, I. HAUSHERR, S. J., S. TYSZKIEWICZ, S. J., I. GOETZ, S. J., R. ARNALDEZ, M. KALTENMARK, A. BAREAU, O. LACOMBE, J.-A. CUTTAT. Post unamquamque dissertationem selecta et amplior *bibliographica nota* apponitur. Ad finem voluminis *synoptica tabula* exhibetur (pp. 1021-1095), diversis categoriis distributa, quae non paucam utilitatem pro studio quodam synthetico spiritualium conceptuum praestare poterit. Liber denique clauditur duobus accurate instructis *indicibus*, altero thematum (pp. 1097-1105), nominum altero (pp. 1107-1122), duplici columna exaratis.

Em. C.

G. C. CHIONIDIS, *Ὁ Ὅσιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ Νέος*, Beroia 1965, 88 pag.

The A. tries to establish all that there is known for certain about St Antony, the New. He discusses the evidence, MS-lives, monuments and relics. He prints the texts of two anonymous ' lives ' and a panegyric on the saint, and finally describes all the churches dedicated to him. The results are disappointing in the sense that it is not possible to establish much for certain, not even the century in which the saint lived. The A. is honest in his assessment of the evidence, and his treatment, with 51 illustrations and an index, is a rounded scholarly work.

J. G.

S. AVOURIDIS, *Ἡ ἀρχιερατικὴ προσευχὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, Salonica 1965, 105 pag.

This well-printed book deals with the 17th chapter of the Gospel of St John. The A. first outlines the ideas and theories of different authors about it and the variety of titles given to it, to conclude that its character is ' consolatory and admonitory ', similar to that of chaps.

13-16, in view of the crucifixion and the subsequent persecution of the disciples and the Church (p. 21). In the rest of the book he comments on the chapter, verse by verse, founding his exegesis on the Fathers and illuminating it with references to modern scholars, which indicates on his part a wide reading.

J. G.

Georgisch-Deutches Wörterbuch, edit. by Yolanda MARCHEV, fasc. 7-9, Amirani-Verlag Zürich 1964-5.

The 7th fascicule of this Georgian-German dictionary brought with it the sad news of the death of its originator and compiler, Dr Kita Tschenkéli. The project, however, will be continued under the direction of Dr Tschenkéli's assistant, Mlle. Yolanda Marchev, following the lines he has established and using also material he left prepared. The appearance since of two more fascicules, almost completing the lètter M, shows that this excellent work is progressing with a steady rhythm towards completion.

J.G.

Jean Cassien, Institutions Cénobitiques. Texte latin revu, introduction, traduction et notes par Jean-Claude GUY, S. I. (= Sources Chrétiennes, 109), Les éditions du Cerf, Paris 1965, pp. 532.

Per le *Istituzioni* di Cassiano, l'edizione del Migne resterà sempre preziosa a causa di un commentario abbondante. Purtroppo, dal lato filologico, lascia parecchio a desiderare. Il testo critico è stato pubblicato nel volume XVII del CSEL (Vienna 1888) a cura di M. Petschenig, il quale si lagna, nell'introduzione, di non aver potuto consultare un manoscritto antico (Sessorianus 66) des sec. IX, che, al contrario, è stato utilizzato dalla presente edizione. Il manoscritto in questione serviva spesso a confermare validamente la lettura del testo proposta, nei casi dubbi, da Petschenig, e in alcuni passi a correggerla. Il Petschenig ha ignorato anche un palinsesto proveniente da Bobbio (Bibl. nazionale di Torino F-IV-1, n. 16) che non avrebbe modificato il testo, ma sarebbe servito a chiarire che i « capitula », che precedono i singoli libri, non provengono da Cassiano stesso. Siccome questi « capitoli » o sommari non aiutano troppo il lettore, nella traduzione francese sono stati sostituiti da un breve riassunto del testo. L'edizione non ha bisogno di essere raccomandata, perchè è nota l'importanza di Cassiano sia nello studio che nel campo spirituale.

T. Š.

Dom Jean LECLERCQ, O. S. B., *Témoins de la spiritualité occidentale.* Les éditions du Cerf, Paris 1965, pp. 408.

Dando uno sguardo all'indice delle materie, restiamo sorpresi dalla libertà con cui l'autore ha messo insieme in un volume tanti personaggi

diversi, partendo dai monaci vicini a S. Bonifacio e arrivando fino alle tendenze nei monasteri benedettini del sec. XVII. Si nota facilmente come si tratti di lavori diversi, messi insieme in un solo libro e coordinati alla meglio. Questa varietà può essere giudicata come una mancanza, ma, d'altra parte, è proprio essa che suscita interesse per l'opera e la valorizza. Il lettore vi incontra, accanto ai personaggi celebri come S. Pier Damiani, S. Bernardo, altri monaci sconosciuti, spesso anonimi, come veri « testimoni della spiritualità occidentale ». In un trattato sistematico i loro nomi e il loro pensiero sarebbero passati sotto silenzio, o sarebbero stati ridotti ad una nota insignificante. Sappiamo però, che proprio nella vita spirituale, l'influsso più forte spetta spesso agli autori sconosciuti e dimenticati. Tratti dall'oscuro dalla mano felice di Dom Leclercq, benché occidentali, parecchi di questi « eremiti », « pellegrini », direttori spirituali, susciteranno l'interesse anche di chi si occupa del monachesimo orientale.

T. Š.

Saint Maxime le Confesseur, Le Mystère du Salut. Textes traduits et présentés par Astérios ARGYRIOU, avec une introduction de I. H. DALMAIS, O. P. (= Les écrits des saints), Les éditions du Soleil levant, Namur 1965, pp. 182.

La dottrina teologica di S. Massimo, fatta in questi tempi oggetto di numerosi studi, viene presentata in nuovo opuscolo al largo pubblico con alcuni brani caratteristici.

T. Š.

CONSTANCE DE LYON, *Vie de Saint Germain d'Auxerre.* Éd. et introd. par René BORIUS. (= Sources Chrétiennes 112), Les éditions du Cerf, Paris 1965, in-12º, p. 222.

La *Vita Germani* est un document important pour l'histoire de la période qui s'étend de 420 à 450 environ, qu'il s'agisse des affaires de l'Église ou celles de la Gaule Romaine. Elle est l'œuvre d'un prêtre de Lyon nommé Constance, et fut écrite une trentaine d'années sans doute après la mort de Germain († 448). Elle attire l'attention, d'abord, par la personnalité du saint, l'une des figures de ces grands évêques gallo-romains du Ve siècle. Jusqu'à cette époque, environ, on avait surtout offert aux chrétiens des exemples parfaits de la spiritualité choisis parmi les martyrs et les ascètes. C'est alors qu'avec la *Vita Martini*, la *Vita Ambrosii*, la *Vita Germani*, apparaît un nouveau modèle: l'évêque. Il s'agit de l'évêque en tant que tel, chef de communauté chrétienne, témoin du Christ par une vie de pasteur, toute au service du peuple chrétien, homme d'action et de gouvernement.

L'auteur de la *Vie*, Constance, est représentatif des rhéteurs cultivés des écoles de son temps. On peut dire que, là où Rome était passée,

partout sont apparues des écoles de grammaire et de rhétorique. Elles maintenaient le prestige de la culture antique jusque dans les périodes troublées du Bas-Empire, et les lettrés qui y enseignaient, ou qui en sortaient, se considéraient comme chargés d'une mission: maintenir, face aux barbares, la tradition littéraire classique.

Le « Tableau chronologique » de l'Appendice premier (pp. 208-212) est-il un instrument précieux de travail.

T. Š.

A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, O. P., *Les Moines d'Orient*, IV/1. Enquête sur les moines d'Égypte (Historia monachorum in Aegypto). Les éditions du Cerf, Paris 1964, in-8°, pp. 152.

En 394-95, un groupe de moines du Mont des Oliviers, tous laïcs sauf un diacre, fit le pèlerinage d'Egypte pour visiter les moines illustres qui s'y trouvaient. C'est le récit de cette expédition, composé à la demande de la communauté du Mont des Oliviers, qui a été ici traduit, d'après le texte édité par le traducteur chez les Bollandistes (Subsidia Hagiographica, 34) en 1961. Les moines palestiniens étaient naturellement descendus du Nord au Sud, mais le récit décrit leur remontée, depuis Lycopolis-Assiout, point extrême au Sud, jusqu'à la région d'Alexandrie. Le récit est pleine de bonhomie et se lit avec profit à côté du récit parallèle de Pallade dans l'Histoire Lausiaque.

T. Š.

LÉON LE GRAND, *Sermons*, tome I, 2e édition; introduction de Dom Jean LECLERCQ, traduction et notes de Dom René DOLLE. (= Sources Chrétiennes, 22 bis), Les éditions du Cerf, Paris 1964, in-12°, 296 p.

Ni cet auteur ni cette œuvre n'ont besoin d'être présentés aux lecteurs de « Sources chrétiennes », mais il est nécessaire de marquer les changements que comporte cette seconde édition. D'abord une rédaction plus étendue de l'Introduction. En outre et surtout, une traduction entièrement refaite, d'un bout à l'autre, et, à la place de quelques brèves références, de très abondantes annotations. Enfin une bibliographie développée (sur les *Sermons* seulement). Tout cela contribue à faire de cette réédition un livre en grande partie nouveau, et quasi indispensable, même pour ceux qui possèdent l'édition de 1947.

T. Š.

G. KRALLERT-SATTLER, *Südosteuropa Bibliographie*, Band III (1956-1960) Teil 1: Slowakei, Ungarn, Rumänien. München 1964, in-8°, pp. 525.

Proseguendo con gli stessi principi dei volumi precedenti, la presente bibliografia adduce soltanto le opere che appartengono alla conoscenza dei sopraindicati paesi. La serie costituisce un utilissimo strumento di lavoro per i specialisti che si occupano di quelle nazioni.

M. L.

Authority and the Church. Papers and discussions at a conference between theologians of the Church of England and the German Evangelical Church, edited by R. R. WILLIAMS. London 1965, S.P.C.K., in-8°, pp. x-94.

Benedetto XV, i cattolici e la prima guerra mondiale. Atti del Convegno di Studio tenuto a Spoleto nei giorni 7-8-9 settembre 1962, a cura di Giuseppe ROSSINI. Roma 1963, Edizioni 5 Lune, in-8°, pp. XXII-904.

DE VILLARDO, Jorge, *Дух русского христианства.* Перевод с Испанского А. В. Ставровского. (*El espíritu de la Cristiandad rusa.* Traducido del español por A. V. STAVROVSKIJ). Madrid 1962. Ediciones Studium de Cultura, in 8°, pp. 197.

DOUGLAS, Hyde, *Confrontation in the East.* The Bodley Head, London 1965, in-16°, pp. 127.

EVERY, George, *Misunderstandings between East and West.* Lutterworth Press, London 1965, in-8°, pp. 70.

KUHLICKE F. W. and EMMISON F. G., *English local history handlist. A short bibliography and list of sources for the study of local history and antiquities.* (Helps for Students of History, N° 69). Published by The Historical Association. London 1965 in-8°, pp. 73.

Manoscritti e stampati liturgici esposti dalla Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in occasione del Congresso Internazionale dei Traduttori dei Libri Liturgici (9-13 novembre 1965). Città del Vaticano 1965, in-16°, pp. 39.

OLSSON, Gunnar, *Hattar och Mössor. Studier partiväsendet i Sverige 1751-1762*). (Studia historica Gothoburgensia, I). Göteborg 1963, Akademiförlaget, in-8°, pp. 330.

TAYLOR, John, *The use of Medieval Chronicles.* (Helps for Students of History, 70). London 1965, The Historical Association, in-8°, pp. 28.

VALJAVEC, Fritz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturbeziehungen zu Südosteuropa*, IV. *Das 19. Jahrhundert.* Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Felix von Schroeder. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, 44). München 1965, Verlag R. Oldenbourg, in-8°, pp. 286.

WERNER, Eric, *The Sacred Bridge. The Interpendence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium.* London: Dennis Dobson, New York: Columbia University Press, 1960, in-8°, pp. XX - 618.

GIOACCHINO PATTI, Direttore responsabile

Autorizz. Tribunale di Roma n. 6228 del 24.3.1958 del Reg. della Stampa

Imprimi potest: Romae, 22-IV-1966 - J. GILL S. I., *Praes. Pont. Inst. Or.*

IMPRIMATUR: *E Vic. Urbis* - 30-IV-1966 - ALOYSIUS Card. Vicarius

TIPOGRAFIA S. PIO X — VIA ETRUSCHI, 7-9 — ROMA — 1966

The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari

Anton Baumstark, in his *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (¹), indicates only thirteen manuscripts anterior to the seventeenth century that contain the Anaphora of the Apostles: *Séert 38* (13th cent.), *Mosul 36* (1331/2), *Diarbekir 48* (15th), *Séert 50* (1461), *Berlin 38* (*Sachau 167* - 1496), *Vatican Syriac 66* (1529), *Séert 37* (16th), *Urmia 95* (16th), *Mardin 19* (before 1573/4), *British Museum Oriental 4060* (16th), *British Museum Additional 7181* (1570), *Notre-Dame des Semences 53* (1577/8) and *Mosul 40* (1599/1600). The ravages of time have not been kind. The three manuscripts of Séert and *Urmia 95* have apparently been destroyed, and it has been presumed that *Diarbekir 48* and *Mardin 19* suffered a similar fate (²). As for *Mosul 36*, closer inspection of

(¹) Bonn, 1922, pp. 199 n. 1 and 200 nn. 5 and 9.

(²) Cf. J. VOSTÉ, *Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbekir et autres localités d'Orient*, in *Le Muséon* 50 (1937), 345-51, and, by the same, *Manuscrits Syro-Chaldéens récemment acquis par la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, in *Angelicum* 6 (1929), 36. As regards the Library of Oroomiah College, it seems that it was not destroyed by fire, as Vosté suggests, but it and the other Christian libraries of the area were plundered by bandits. Some of the MSS. were then sold to booksellers, but most, it is said, were used for making paper, of which there is supposed to have been a great shortage after the First World War. At any rate, *Urmia 43* (*History of Mart Maryam* – 1813 A.D.) and a small fragment of *Urmia 1* (New Testament – 1613 A.D.) have been given to the Speer Library of Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J., which also has most of what is very probably *Urmia 180* (*Gannaṯ Bussāmê* – supposed to be 9/10th cent., but rather 14/15th); the new shelf marks are, respectively: Cabinet C, nrs. 40, 50 and 28. It is said that other MSS. of the Urmia area have made there way to Kerala in India. The MSS. of Séert, on

the manuscript reveals that the leaf on which the date reported by Scher (1) is found is a later addition copied by a certain Mar Giwargis, bishop, to replace the missing final leaf of the Anaphora of Nestorius. Whereas most of the manuscript is written in a thirteenth century hand, the Anaphora of the Apostles is in a later hand of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Even in the case of *Vatican Syriac 66*, the date given by Baumstark refers only to the first part of the manuscript; the Anaphora of the Apostles, therefore, must be somewhat later, although it must still be of the mid sixteenth century (2). Hence, until recently, it seemed that only two manuscripts of about 1500 and four others of the sixteenth century were available to us for establishing critically the text of this anaphora.

Researches, however, into the libraries of Europe and the Middle East have permitted me to increase this list of manuscripts quite substantially in both number and quality. Thus, at the British Museum, I discovered that *Brit. Mus. Or. 5750*,

---

the contrary, with the exception of 24 that were sold to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris before the war (nrs. 1, 2, 7-14, 17, 19, 24, 29, 85, 91, 98, 101, 104, 110, 128-30 and 134 of the catalogue of A. SCHER, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert*, Mosul, 1905) and a funeral ritual (nr. 58) now in the Library of the Chaldean Patriarchate in Baghdad, have completely disappeared.

Just as I was finishing this article, however, I chanced to come across what must be a copy of *Urmia 95*. It is now in the possession of Professor W. D. McHardy, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford University. It was copied at Urmia in 1908, apparently for a member of the Anglican Mission who was a student of the liturgy (A. J. Maclean?). In the colophon it states that it was copied from " an old MS. " of the Library of the American Missionaries. Its readings are comparable to those of MSS. which I have dated as of the 15th or 16th century (*Chald. Patr. 36* and *Berlin 39*).

(1) A. SCHER, *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul*, in *Revue des Bibliothèques* 17 (1907), 237-8. The date, 1643 of the Greeks, is found on p. 127 of the manuscript.

(2) Cf. J. S. ASSEMANUS, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus. Partis primae tomus secundus complectens codices chaldaicos sive syriacos*, Rome, 1758/Paris, 1926, p. 370, where he notes that certain parts of the codex are later additions, written in what appears to be the hand of Joseph, Bishop of the Indies, who copied *Vatican Syriac 45* in 1556 (*ibid.*, p. 304).

a Nestorian service book of the kind known as the *ḥudrâ*, contains the Anaphora of the Apostles among the ceremonies of the vigil of Easter. Although the manuscript is undated, its script resembles that of *Brit. Mus. Add. 7177*, dated 1484 A.D. (1). There is another *ḥudrâ* manuscript with this anaphora at the Vatican Library, *Borgia Syriac 150*, whose script I would estimate to be of the sixteenth century (2). Furthermore, in the catalogue of Omont of the manuscripts of the Public Library of Rouen, there is mention of a Nestorian priests' ritual, *Rouen Oriental 21*, copied in a hand characteristic of the sixteenth century, or of the years immediately preceding or following it (3). Finally, the second part of *Cambridge Additional 2046* turns out to be of at least the fifteenth century and, judging by its archaic readings, would seem to be the oldest known surviving missal (4). To these should

(1) MS. nr. 33 in *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur. Pars prima codices syriacos et carshunicos amplectens* (edited by F. Rosen and J. Forshall), London, 1838, p. 55. A page of this MS. is reproduced in W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, Boston, 1946, plate CLXXVIII. The manuscript checklist at the British Museum estimates the date of *Or. 5750* as the eighteenth century, which may explain why it has failed to receive the attention that it deserves. This MS. is incomplete, beginning with the rite of baptism, celebrated among the offices of Great Saturday. There can be very little doubt that the missing first half is identical with *Hyvernat Syriac 4*, kept in the Library of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., which is written in the same hand, has the same number of lines per page and the same unusual number of leaves per gathering (12), and ends with the nocturn of Great Saturday.

(2) Msgr. Scher, *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du Musée Borgia, aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 10, vol. XIII (1909), 281, estimates the script to be of the 15th century, but to me it seems a hand transitional between the style characteristic of Mosul MSS. of the 16th century and that of Alqosh MSS. of the 17th.

(3) MS. nr. 1495 in H. Omont, *Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la Ville de Rouen*, in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. I, Paris, 1886, p. 444.

(4) In the catalogue (W. Wright and S. A. Cook, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1901, p. 1179), this section is described as copied in a " later Nestorian " hand. My estimate of the 15th century, however, is confirmed by the archaic readings of this MS., which are more numerous than those found in the other rituals of the 15th century. I am deeply indebted to the Rev. Douglas Webb, Vicar of Wil-

be added *Berlin Oriental Quarto 804*, which Baumstark erroneously reports as being dated 1785 A.D. A more careful reading of Sachau's catalogue reveals that it is only the last leaf that is of this date; the rest, including the Anaphora of the Apostles, is ascribed to the sixteenth or seventeenth century (1).

The finds in the Middle East were of even greater significance. At Mardin and Diarbekir I discovered that substantial numbers of the manuscripts have survived, even though the losses have been tragically high. In particular, I was able to identify the two priests' rituals, *Diarbekir 48* and *Mardin 19*. The former may be confidently assigned to the fifteenth century, following Scher's estimate (2); the latter is most probably of the same century (3). *Mardin 20*, another priests' ritual, has also been preserved, and I chanced to find its date, August 22, 1877 of the Greeks, i.e. 1566 A.D. (4). Moreover, *Mardin 22*, a *ḥudrâ* of the Fast only, dated 1287 A.D., contains the Anaphora of the Apostles, together with the rites of penance and baptism (5).

---

burton, near Cambridge, for having pointed out to me this important MS. He has also established the correct sequence of its leaves, which have been bound in disorder (ff. 132, 135, 105-8, 136, 133, 109-10, for the Ordinary of the Liturgy and the Anaphora of the Apostles).

(1) MS. nr. 39 in E. SACHAU, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. Vol. XXIII: *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften*, part I, Berlin, 1899, p. 150. After submitting this article, I visited the Stiftung Preussischer Kultur Besitz, Depot der Staatsbibliothek, Tübingen, where many of the Berlin MSS. are now located. By their kindness I was able to discover the Anaphora of the Apostles in *Sachau 354* (nr. 47 in the catalogue, supposed to be 17th century but rather 15th or 16th).

(2) *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés a l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbekir*, in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 10, vol. X (1907), 352-3.

(3) The only indication of date in the MS. itself is provided by a note dated 1885 of the Greeks, i.e. 1573/4 A.D. Cf. A. SCHER, *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque de l'évêché chaldéen de Mardin*, in *Revue des Bibliothèques* 18 (1908), 11.

(4) No date is given by SCHER, *ibid.*, pp. 11-2.

(5) SCHER, *ibid.*, p. 12, mentions the fact that this MS. contains the anaphora, but Baumstark seems to have overlooked it. Scher also speaks of "the service of the washing of feet" as being contained in the office of Holy (i.e. Great) Saturday, but this is a mistake for "the service of the washing of the altar (i.e. altar linens)", found on f. 311v.

In going through the manuscripts of Middle Eastern libraries, I have discovered that in no case were all of the manuscripts included in the published catalogue. Even though most of the manuscripts that were neglected were of little or no value, there have been some pleasant surprises. Thus, at Mardin, I found a priests' ritual dated 1896 of the Greeks, i.e. 1584/5 A.D. Likewise, in the library of the Chaldean Patriarchate, now transferred from Mosul to Baghdad, I found a fragment of a *ḥudrâ* of the fifteenth century, *Chald. Patr. 333* (1), that contains our anaphora, together with a sixteenth or seventeenth century priests' ritual, *Chald. Patr. 209*. Even greater good fortune awaited me at Diarbekir, where I found another *ḥudrâ* of the Fast, appreciably older than *Mardin 22*.

Finally, there were the libraries that have either never been catalogued, or whose catalogues have never been published. In general, the manuscripts of such libraries were of less value, but there were striking exceptions. In the library of the Chaldean cathedral at Alqosh in Iraq, for example, I found a priests' ritual, *Alqosh 70*, which is dated 1564 A.D. In Baghdad, in the private collection of the late Msgr. Suleyman Saigh, now in the possession of his nephew, Mr. Najib Saigh, there is a *ḥudrâ*, probably of the sixteenth century, which contains a fragment of our ana-

(1) This fragment is taken from a larger fragment now at the Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham, where it bears the shelf mark *Mingana Syriac 512*. A. MINGANA, in his *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts... of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, vol. I: *Syriac Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1933, c. 940, gives its date as "about A.D. 1390". To me, however, the script seems too close to the hand characteristic of MSS. from Mosul in the 16th century. On the other hand, it has more archaic readings than *Brit. Mus. Or. 5750*.

It should be noted with regard to the MSS. of the Chaldean Patriarchate that only 116 are listed in Scher's catalogue (cf. *supra*, n. 3). Since its publication, a few MSS. have disappeared, a few were left in Mosul when the Patriarchate was transferred to Baghdad and over two hundred new ones have been added. A new catalogue prepared by His Excellency Msgr. Raphael Bidawid, now Chaldean Bishop of Beirut, was destroyed by a tragic fire shortly before it was to be sent to the publisher. By the kindness of His Beatitude Paul II Cheikho, I have been allowed to study and take copious notes on the MSS. of the collection, at great personal inconvenience to himself.

phora. The prize, however, of all the finds that I was privileged to make was another *ḥuḏrâ* manuscript in the library of the Church of Mar Ešaʿya in Mosul, considerably older than *Mardin 22* or the *ḥuḏrâ* of Diarbekir.

The precise dating of the *ḥuḏrâ*'s of Mar Ešaʿya and Diarbekir is rendered difficult by the fact that there is no reproduction available of a dated sample of the so-called "Nestorian" cursive writing earlier than 1243 A.D. (1). Indeed, I have only been able to discover two lines of dated writing (colophon of *Brit. Mus. Add. 17,923*, probably 1074 A.D.) (2) between 615 A.D. (colophon of *Brit. Mus. Add. 14,471*) (3) and 1186 A.D. (colophon of *Chald. Patr. 12*) (4). The Diarbekir *ḥuḏrâ*, however, must be at least a century older than *Mardin 22* (1287 A.D.) and hence should be assigned to the twelfth century, with the possibility of a slightly earlier date not entirely excluded. The form of the letters seems more archaic than in *Mardin 22*, the ink seems more characteristic of twelfth century manuscripts, and the form of the offices is likewise more archaic than in the Mardin manuscript — the *ʿōnyāṯâ d–ramšâ, d–lelyâ* and *d–rāzê* lack *šurrāyê d–ṣurtâ* (5), that are found in *Mardin 22* and in thirteenth century additions to the Mar Ešaʿya *ḥuḏrâ*.

(1) The only published samples of "Nestorian" cursive script that I have found are the following: the frontespiece of Rosen and Forshall's *Catalogus* (cf. *supra*, n. 5); E. SACHAU, *op. cit.*, plate VII; E. TISSERANT, *Specimina codicum orientalium*, Bonn, 1914, pp. 34-5; W. H. P. HATCH, *op. cit.*, plates CLXXIII, CLXXV-CLXXVIII, CLXXX-CLXXXIII; N. V. PIGULEVSKAYA, *Katalog sirijskikh rukopisej Leningrada* (*Palestinskij Sbornik* 6 (69)), Moscow/Leningrad, 1960 (in Russian), plates 3 and 8, facing pp. 88 and 134, respectively; J. ASSFALG, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, vol. V: *Syrische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1963, plates V and VI. The sample dated 1243 A.D. is found in Pigulevskaya, plate 3, facing p. 88.

(2) F. 172v. This is MS. nr. 246 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*, vol. I, London, 1872, pp. 182-8.

(3) *Ibid.*, nr. 77, pp. 53-4.

(4) P. 187 of the codex.

(5) For the significance of these and similar terms technical to the Chaldean liturgy, cf. the excellent glossary in J. MATEOS, *Lelya-Ṣapra. Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 156), Rome, 1959, pp. 485-502. In the present case, cf. "*ʿōnīṯâ*", pp. 492-3, and "*ṣurtâ*", p. 499.

The original part of this latter manuscript is still older by at least a century and should be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. An earlier date seems unlikely, since it is written on paper, and there are no dated examples of Syriac manuscripts on paper older than 932 A.D., nor Arabic manuscripts older than 866 A.D. (1). On the other hand, the structure of the offices is distinctly more archaic than in the Diarbekir hudra — there is no noonday office (*'eddānâ*) given for the ferias of the Fast, nor are there *hpāḵāṯâ* in the Sunday offices. There is some resemblance between the script of this manuscript and that of *Diarbekir 22*, which Scher has assigned to the fourteenth century (2), but this dating is surely in error. The earlier dating is corroborated by a marginal note in the Mar Ešа'ya *ḥuḏrâ* (3), writt en ina hand that resembles the two lines of *Brit. Mus. Add. 17,923* (1074 A.D.), mentioned above.

Thus, our list of manuscript witnesses to the Anaphora of the Apostles anterior to the seventeenth century can be revised as follows (4):

1. Mar Ešа'ya *ḥuḏrâ*	10/11th.
2. Diarbekir *ḥuḏrâ*	12th.
3. Mardin 22 (*ḥuḏrâ*)	1287.
4. Cambr. Add. 2046-B (missal)	15th.
5. Diarbekir 48 (ritual)	15th.
6. Mardin 19 (ritual)	15th.
7. Chald. Patr. 333 (*ḥuḏrâ*)	15th.
8. Brit. Mus. Or. 5750 (*ḥuḏrâ*)	15th.
9. Berlin 38 (Sachau 167 — ritual)	1496.

(1) Cf. HATCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

(2) *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques... de Diarbekir* (*supra*, n. 10), pp. 339-40.

(3) P. 320.

(4) MINGANA, in his *Catalogue*, vol. II: *Christian Arabic Manuscripts and Additional Syriac Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 174-7, attributes *Mingana Syriac 611* to the mid sixteenth century, following a Latin note written at the beginning of the codex in the 17th or 18th century. However, since the lectionary and most of the ritual are translations from the Latin, I consider it highly improbable that this MS. would have been copied before the Synod of Diamper of 1599 and less probable that it would have been before the middle of the 17th century.

10. Chald. Patr. 36 (bishops' ritual)	15/16th.
11. Berlin 47 (Sachau 354 — *ḥudrâ*)	15/16th.
12. Rouen Or. 21 (ritual)	16th.
13. Saigh *ḥudrâ* (fragment)	16th.
14. Brit. Mus. Or. 4060 (ritual — fragment)	16th.
15. Vat. Borgia Syr. 150 (*ḥudrâ*)	16th.
16. Vat. Syr. 66 (bishops' ritual)	16th.
17. Alqosh 70 (ritual)	1564.
18. Mardin 20 (ritual — fragment)	1566.
19. Brit. Mus. Add. 7181 (ritual — lacuna) (1)	1570.
20. N.-D. des Sem. 92 (ritual) (2)	1578.
21. Mardin ritual	1584/5.
22. Chald. Patr. 40 (ritual) (3)	1600.
23. Chald. Patr. 209 (ritual — lacuna)	16/17th.
24. Berlin 39 (Or. 4° 804 — Ritual)	16/17th.

It is worthy of note that the older *ḥudrâ* manuscripts contained, for the most part, the three anaphoras in use in the Chaldean Church, plus baptism and, quite frequently, other rites as well. Of the manuscripts listed above, however, only the Mar Ešaʿya *ḥudrâ* now preserves all three anaphoras: the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia is contained in the services for Christmas, where it is followed by the rite of fraction; that of Nestorius is in the services for Epiphany; and that of the Apostles is part of the services at Easter vespers, where it is preceded by the rite of baptism. The Diarbekir *ḥudrâ* and *Mardin 22*, on the other hand, are actually only the second volumes of three volume collections, and hence they lack the services for Christmas and Epiphany, since they cover the period from the Entrance to the Fast up to the end of Easter week inclusive. Nonetheless, they do contain the Anaphora of Nestorius for the Liturgy on the

(1) MS. nr. 37 in the catalogue of Rosen and Forshall, pp. 58-60.

(2) This is the number given by J. VOSTÉ, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Syro-Chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d'Alqoš (Iraq)*, Rome/Paris, 1929, p. 37 (reprinted from *Angelicum* 5 1928); it had formerly been numbered 53 by A. SCHER, *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du couvent des Chaldéens de Notre-Dame-des-Semences*, in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 10, vol. VII (1906), 499. Baumstark's dating should be corrected to 1578 A.D.

(3) Again, Baumstark's dating can be corrected to 1600 A.D.

Thursday of the Pasch (together with the rite of fraction, in the case of the Diarbekir *ḥudrâ*), and they add the rites of the washing of the altar (linens) and absolution before that of baptism on Great Saturday. *Chald. Patr. 333* is limited to the Anaphora of the Apostles and these latter rites, since it only contains the services for Great Saturday and Easter vespers (1). *Brit. Mus. Or. 5750*, for its part, begins only with the rite of baptism itself, which is followed by absolution and the Anaphora of the Apostles (2). *Berlin Sachau 354* (15-16th cent.) (3) retains only the rites of baptism and absolution, plus the Anaphora of the Apostles, all of which are also in *Berlin Oriental Quarto 1160* (1686 A.D.) (4), in addition to the Anaphora of Nestorius. The Saigh *ḥudrâ*, because of its fragmentary state, has lost the Anaphoras of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius and the rite of baptism, retaining only the rite of absolution, part of the rite of oaths and the Anaphora of the Apostles. Finally, *Vatican Borgia 150* has lost the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but retains those of Nestorius and the Apostles, together with the rites of the washing of the altar (linens), baptism and absolution.

Hence, for a critical edition of the Chaldean anaphoras, account will have to be taken of *ḥudrâ* manuscripts as well as missals and rituals. To the manuscripts I have indicated, others should be added that lack the Anaphora of the Apostles, but contain the others. In particular, *Vatican Syriac 83* (1538 A.D.) has both of them, as has *Harvard Syriac 12* (17/18th cent.) (5) of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., which is known to have likewise the rite of fraction and may

(1) Unfortunately, *Mingana 512*, from which *Chald. Patr. 333* was taken gives only the period from Thursday of the Pasch to Pentecost and hence lacks the other two anaphoras.

(2) I have been unable to find out whether *Hyvernat Syriac 4*, the first part of this *ḥudrâ*, contains the other two anaphoras. 35 leaves at the beginning of the codex were replaced in the 16th or 17th century, and others are missing.

(3) MS. nr. 47 in Sachau's catalogue.

(4) MS. nr. 29 in the catalogue of Assfalg.

(5) Cf. J. T. CLEMONS, *A Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), 234, nr. 15.

possibly contain the Anaphora of the Apostles and some of the other rites as well. None of the other *ḥudrâ* manuscripts listed by Baumstark [1] that have survived, however, have the texts of the anaphoras. In particular, *Chald. Patr. 45*, supposed to be of the fourteenth century [2], is in reality of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, when the practice of including the anaphoras in the *ḥudrâ* was dying out [3].

Since the Mar Ešaʻya *ḥudrâ* is about five centuries older than what has been up to now regarded as the oldest witness to the Anaphora of the Apostles, I have judged it worthwhile to edit its text just as it stands in the manuscript. In addition, I have collated this text fully with that of the Diarbekir *ḥudrâ* and *Mardin 22*, since these two manuscripts are so much older than the others and since they are so inaccessible. To facilitate comparison, I have also collated the text with what may be called the *textus receptus* of the Anaphora of the Apostles as represented by the Nestorian and Anglican editions [4]. Finally, I have compared the Mar Ešaʻya text with a number of older and more recent witnesses, which in many points confirm the readings of this venerable *ḥudrâ* against the *textus receptus*.

Certain broad characteristics of our oldest witness should be pointed out. The most striking is the complete lack of the

(1) *Geschichte*, p. 198 n. 9. I have been unable as yet to check *Jerusalem Patriarchate Syriac 3*.

(2) Cf. the catalogue of SCHER, p. 239. It is possible that whoever put the labels on the manuscripts of the Patriarchal Library may have made an erroneous identification and that the one described by Scher may have disappeared. However, *Mosul 28*, one of the MSS. left behind, is also described by Scher as of the 14th century, yet appears to me as being rather of the 16th or 17th. It should be noted that the MSS. labeled " Mosul " have been left there, whereas those labeled " Chald. Patr. " have been transferred to Baghdad.

(3) Since this article went to press, I have found the anaphoras of Theodore and Nestorius in three 15th or 16th cent. *gazzâ* MSS. now at Mardin, as well as the ordinary of the Liturgy with the Anaphora of Nestorius in Syriac and Arabic in *Diabekir 57* (1240 A.D.). Most of the surviving Diarbekir MSS. of value are now at Mardin. Unfortunately, *Diarbekir 55* and *56* (contemporary with *57*), which must contain the Anaphora of Theodore, are still missing.

(4) J. E. Y. de KELAITA, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East*, Mosul, 1928, pp. 21-35, and *Liturgia Sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris*, Urmia, 1890, pp. 11-20.

kuššāpê, the private prayers of the celebrant that precede, in general, each *ghānṯâ*. E. C. Ratcliff, the first to have analysed this anaphora in detail, assumed that these were later additions [1], and his opinion is now confirmed by the Mar Ešaʿya *ḥuḏrâ*. This is true of all the *kuššāpê*, including the *kuššāpâ* of intercession, concerning which Dom Botte has expressed some doubt as to whether it may not have been in the original text of the anaphora [2]. On the other hand, although the *kuššāpê* are found in the twelfth century Diarbekir *ḥuḏrâ, Diarbekir 57* (1240 A.D.) and the fifteenth century *Chald. Patr. 333*, they are absent from *Mardin 22* (1287 A.D.), the fifteenth century *Brit. Mus. Or. 5750* and the sixteenth century Saigh hudra and *Vatican Borgia Syriac 150*. Now it is scarcely credible that the Chaldean Liturgy would have been celebrated anywhere in the sixteenth century without *kuššāpê*. Hence, one cannot conclude immediately from the absence of the *kuššāpê* in a hudra text that these prayers were not said at the time and place in which the manuscript was copied.

A closer examination and consideration of our newly discovered witnesses, however, together with other evidence that I have found, allows us to draw the conclusion, with reasonable probability, that the *kuššāpê* were not yet a universally recognized part of the Liturgy even as late as the thirteenth century. For the negative evidence of *Brit. Mus. Or. 5750* and *Vat. Borgia Syr.*

(1) *The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1928-9), 26.

(2) B. Botte, *Problèmes de l'anaphore syrienne des Apôtres Addaï et Mari*, in *L'Orient Syrien* 10 (1965), 94-8. It might be pointed out that Botte's translation of the *ghānṯâ* of intercession, p. 92, §§ VI and VII, is based on a defective text, apparently the translation of Renaudot (*Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, 2nd edit., vol. II, Frankfurt-a.-M./London, 1847, p. 586). It should be corrected thus: "...Et lui-même, notre Seigneur et Dieu, est venu et nous a enseigné par son Évangile vivifiant toute la pureté et sainteté VII. des prophètes...". Moreover, the Chaldeans have not modified the text here, as Botte suggests on p. 94, changing "pureté et sainteté" to "vivifiante espérance", but in this point, at least, maintain the reading of the ancient manuscripts in their recent editions, with which the Anglican edition of Urmia is here in agreement. The older Chaldean editions, on the contrary, had suppressed or lost "vivifiante espérance" (more accurately translated "Évangile vivifiant").

150, at least, may be discounted; for, whereas the Mar Ēša'ya and Diarbekir *ḥuḏrâ*'s, *Mardin 22* and *Chald. Patr. 333* all indicate all of the prayers to be said by celebrant and people, at least by their *incipit,* these more recent *ḥuḏrâ*'s limit themselves essentially to the *ghānāṯâ* and *qānōnê* to be recited or chanted by the celebrant (the situation of the Saigh *ḥuḏrâ* is unclear since too little of it has been preserved). *Mardin 22*, therefore, which does give all of the prayers with comparatively complete texts, must either have been copied from an older *ḥuḏrâ* that lacked the *kuššāpê* or must have been copied at a time and place (either the Monastery of Mar Awgen near Nisibis or the Church of St. George of Gazarta) (1) in which the *kuššāpê* were not yet recognized as belonging to the Anaphora of the Apostles.

That the latter is the correct explanation is indicated by a ritual copied during the same century and most probably in the same region, *Chald. Patr. 36*, which lacks *kuššāpê* for the Anaphoras of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius (2). This bishops' ritual does indicate *kuššāpê* for the Anaphora of the Apostles, but that part of the codex was added later, as we have seen, in the fifteenth century. The rest of it, however, must be older than the fourteenth century, since a supply leaf added to replace one that is missing is dated 1331/2 A.D. The script indicates the thirteenth century, and this date may with considerable probability be narrowed to the period between 1247 and 1257 A.D. The manuscript shows two unmistakeable indications of Latin influence: on the one hand, the text of the final *ghānṯâ* of the Anaphora of Nestorius has been modified to invoke the intercession of " My Lady Mary, the holy Virgin, Mother (*yāldṯēh*) of thy Beloved, Our Lord and God Jesus Christ " (3); on the other

(1) According to the colophon, f. 390r, the MS. was copied by Joseph, the son of Denha, priest and monk of the Monastery of Mar Awgen. Much of the colophon is now lost, and hence it is not sure that the " (Church) of Mar Giwargis of Gazarta " mentioned there does not designate the place of copying, especially since the name of the Bishop of Gazarta follows that of the Patriarch Yahbālāhâ. However, on f. 1r there is a note saying that the MS. belongs to the Church of Mar Giwargis of Gazarta.

(2) The *incipit*'s of the *kuššāpê* for the Anaphora of Nestorius have been added in the margin, but in the same 15th or 16th century hand that added the Anaphora of the Apostles.

(3) P. 119.

hand, the Latin form of baptism has been added after the Chaldean as an alternate [1]. Since the manuscript formerly belonged to the Church of St. James of Nisibis [2], one strongly suspects that it was copied by or for Išoʿyahb Bar Malkon, Metropolitan of Nisibis, who sent a Catholic profession of faith to the Pope around 1247 A.D. by the intermediary of the papal legate André de Longjumeau, and who seems to have died before 1257 A.D. [3].

From this I think it legitimate to conclude that the *kuššapê* were not generally introduced into the Chaldean Liturgy before the end of the thirteenth century, even though they were in use somewhat earlier in some places. On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that even at the time of the Mar Ešaʿya hudra, priests may have said some form of private prayer analogous to our present *kuššāpê*, according to their own devotion and without any set formula. One may speculate that perhaps the celebrant would not begin the *ghānṯâ* until the deacon had stopped chanting. With the introduction of more elaborate chants, this pause would tend to lengthen, and it is easy to imagine that the celebrant would want to fill it with appropriate devotional prayer. One indication of the time when such prayers were fixed in written formulae is the attribution of the final *kuššāpâ* of the Anaphora of Nestorius and its alternate in *Chald. Patr. 209* (priests' ritual of the 16th cent.) to the Patriarch Elias III Abu Halim (1176-1190), a noted composer of liturgical prayers [4].

The *Sanctus*, as might have been expected, is found in the Mar Ešaʿya hudra [5], for even though it appears to be an inter-

(1) P. 166.

(2) This note of ownership is repeated several times, mostly in the 15th or 16th hand in which the Anaphora of the Apostles is written (e.g. pp. 1 and 40), but once also (p. 264) in an older 13th or 14th century hand.

(3) Cf. P. PELLIOT, *Les Mongols et la papauté*, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 24 (1924), 225-9.

(4) Cf. BAUMSTARK, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-9.

(5) BOTTE, *art. cit.*, p. 91, gives the form of the *Sanctus* in use today. In the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia, p. 5 of the Mar Ešaʿya *ḥuḏrâ*, a similar longer form was to be used only for feasts. On ordinary days, a shorter form was to be used (indicated in *Mardin 22*, f. 328ʳ, and by Renaudot, p. 584): " Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens, pleni sunt caeli et terra laudibus ejus ".

ruption of the original text of the anaphora [1], the insertion probably goes back to the sixth or seventh century, that is, either to the liturgical reform of Mar Aba (540-552), who is supposed to have introduced into the Chaldean Church the Anaphoras of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius [2], both of which, must have contained the Sanctus in their original form [3], or to that of Īšō'yahb II (647/8 or 650/1 to 657/8), who is said to have revised the Anaphora of the Apostles [4]. Nor should

(1) Cf. RATCLIFF, *art. cit.*, p. 29, and Botte, pp. 93-4. It is true, as Botte notes, p. 90, that the phrase that links the following *ghānṭâ* to the Sanctus is lacking in the Maronite Anaphora of St. Peter III. At the same time, however, it is also true that the phrases of the preceding *ghānṭâ* that lead up to the *Sanctus* are found there with but minor variants.

(2) Cf. BAUMSTARK, pp. 119-20, especially p. 120 n. 3. It may be noted that there was a second tradition with regard to the translation of the Anaphora of Nestorius. According to *Chald. Patr. 209*, pp. 61-2, it was translated into Syriac by Mar Simeon of Edessa, called Bar Ṭabbāḥê. According to BAUMSTARK (*Geschichte*, p. 214), this Simeon lived in the second half of the 8th century. However, this dating rests on the identification made by J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, vol. III, part 1: *De scriptoribus nestorianis*, Rome, 1725, p. 215 n. 5, between Simeon Bar Ṭabbāḥê, author of an ecclesiastical history, and a certain Ibn at-Ṭabbāḫ of Kaškar, the prefect of the treasury of the first Abbaside Caliph Al-Mansur (754-775). The identification is more than dubious. One gets the impression from the note in *Brit. Mus. Add. 12,154*, f. 153r (WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, vol. II, pp. 983-4) that Simeon was writing relatively close to the events of the Council of Chalcedon. As for Ibn at-Ṭabbāḫ, besides the fact that his name is not an accurate translation of Bar Ṭabbāḥê and that he came from Kaškar, not Edessa, we have no indication whatsoever that his name was Simeon or that he ever wrote a history (the relative passage that Assemani cites on p. 206 is from Mari, not 'Amr). I would suggest rather that Simeon may perhaps have been in the *entourage* of Mar Aba, together with his fellow Edessenes Thomas and Cyrus (cf. Baumstark, pp. 121-2). It is known that Mar Aba and Thomas collected and translated (or had translated) works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, which might explain why Simeon's history contained the letter of Nestorius cited in *Brit. Mus. Add. 12,154*.

(3) That is, although they have been adapted to conform to the general patterns of Chaldean anaphoras, yet their post-Sanctus *ghānṭâ*'s are of the "vere sanctus" type characteristic of Antiochene anaphoras.

(4) Cf. BAUMSTARK, pp. 199-200.

It is interesting that Cyrus of Edessa, a disciple of Mar Aba and also a professor in his theological school at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, gives,

it cause any surprise that there is no Narration of the Institution of the Eucharist in the Mar Ešaʿya text, as its loss, if indeed it ever did exist in the Anaphora of the Apostles, must go back at least to the abbreviation effected by Īšōʿyahb III in the seventh century (1).

A description of the Mar Ešaʿya codex should precede the text itself. It is bound in cloth-covered wooden boards. The paper on which the text is written is hard and thin. Two gatherings are missing at the beginning of the codex, and it is incomplete at the end, although the number of leaves that have been lost is probably not great. There now remain 39 gatherings numbered rather irregularly. In the thirteenth century, the offices

---

in *The Cause of the Pasch* (written about 550 A.D. and contained in *Notre-Dame des Semences 155*, f. 103r), an example of a eucharistic prayer uninterrupted by the *Sanctus*. It is not sure whether Cyrus was writing before or after the reform of Mar Aba, but this prayer may be taken as evidence that Cyrus was familiar with anaphoras that lacked the *Sanctus*, which, therefore, had not been generally introduced into the anaphoras of the Chaldean rite before the middle of the 6th century.

(1) Michael the Great, Jacobite Patriarch, reports that Išoʿyahb abbreviated the Anaphora of Nestorius (J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, vol. IV, Paris, 1910, p. 776, cc. 1:37-2:1/transl. vol. III, Paris, 1905, p. 521), but Baumstark (*op. cit.*, p. 199) suspects that it must really have been the Anaphora of the Apostles that was abbreviated. His suspicion is confirmed by Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, *Fiqh an-Naṣrānīya*, edited by W. HOENERBACH and O. SPIES (CSCO 167, 168), Louvain, 1958, text p. 90:11-2 (transl. p. 93).

On the question whether the Anaphora of the Apostles ever contained a Narration of the Institution, cf. BOTTE, *art. cit.*, pp. 100-4, and *L'Anaphore Chaldéenne des Apôtres*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 15 (1949), 269-75; cf. also A. RAES, *Le Récit de l'institution eucharistique dans l'anaphore chaldéenne et malabare des Apôtres*, in *OCP* 10 (1944), 216-26, H. ENGBERDING, *Zum anaphorischen Fürbittgebet des ostsyrischen Liturgie der Apostel Addaj und Mar(j)*, in *Oriens Christianus* 41 (1957), 113-20, and S. JAMMO, *Gabriel Qaṭraya et son commentaire sur la liturgie chaldéenne*, in *OCP* 32 (1966), 52.

It is again interesting that the eucharistic prayer given by Cyrus of Edessa terminates with the Narration of the Institution. However, this evidence is inconclusive; for even though the beginning of the prayer does bear some resemblance to that of the corresponding ghanta of the Anaphora of the Apostles, the rest is quite different, and it is sure, in any case, that Cyrus would have been acquainted with anaphoras other than that of the Apostles.

of the Rogation of the Ninevites and of Pentecost were largely replaced by newer and longer offices. In the first case, two gatherings have been added, and the gatherings that follow, that were originally numbered 7 to 12, have been renumbered 9 to 14. At that point, however, the numberer tired of his task, and the two following gatherings have retained their original numbers 13 and 14. At Pentecost, similarly, a gathering has been added, and we now have two gatherings numbered 23. On the other hand, 30 has been simply omitted from the series by oversight. Most of the gatherings consist of twelve leaves, but the thirteenth century additions have introduced great irregularities. In addition, the final leaf of the fifth gathering (between pp. 70 and 71) has been lost.

In all, there now remain 443 leaves, or 886 numbered pages, measuring 272 by 196 mm. The text is written in a single column with from 25 to 28 lines to the page. The only decorations occur in the thirteenth century additions, being limited to simple geometric patterns that are used to separate different sections of the text [1] and three Maltese crosses in the margins. As is customary, the liturgical days are indicated in the margins throughout, together with occasional corrections, additions and notes that are written in hands that range from the eleventh to about the fourteenth century.

Unfortunately, the codex is not in the best condition. Several leaves of the fifth and sixth gatherings have become stuck together and have often been badly torn as the result of inexpert and unsuccessful attempts to separate them. Elsewhere, there are only a very few leaves that have been torn. In the original part, only one case, pp. 239-40, involves a considerable loss of text, but four leaves of the thirteenth century additions at the end have been torn away, leaving only small fragments. Worse still, the codex has at least twice been subjected to heavy water soaking from the top, and the ink has been washed away more or less entirely from a considerable portion of each leaf, especially those near the beginning of the codex. Moreover, a heavy stain has frequently been left at the edges of the damaged portions

[1] Similar designs are shown in the reproduction of *Syriac MS. nr. 2* of the original collection of the Oriental Institute of Leningrad (1243 A.D.) referred to above, n. 15.

that obscures or renders altogether illegible the underlying text, and sometimes the ink of one page has adhered to the opposite page, making decipherment extremely difficult.

It is worthy of note that the thirteenth century additions have successfully withstood the water damage, at least for the most part. Another curious feature is that the rubrics of the damaged portions of the original sections are, in general, notably more legible than the text written in black ink, which is quite the reverse of what can be observed in the thirteenth century additions and in other manuscripts of later date. I have noted this phenomenon only in the undated *Diarbekir 22*, which is written in a script that is closer to that of the original portion of our manuscript than any I have yet found, and in the remnants of a Jacobite *fanqitho* preserved at the Monastery of Mar Behnam near Mosul, whose script is not unlike that of the *Book of the Himyarites* (932 A.D.) (1). It would seem that the black ink of paper manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries was, at least in some places, not waterproof.

The result of this water soaking has been that photographs taken with ordinary equipment were unsuccessful in recording the damaged portions of the text. However, I was fortunate in having at my disposition ultra-violet light (2), which rendered substantially legible all but a few areas whose surface has been physically injured. The least legible parts of the text are at the beginning of the codex and include, unfortunately, the final part of the Anaphora of Nestorius. In addition, the offices from the second to the fifth Friday of the Epiphany (pp. 62-97) are to a great extent illegible since so many of the leaves are stuck together. The Anaphora of the Apostles, on the other hand, is almost completely legible under ultra-violet light, and likewise the rite of baptism.

The writing of the scribe is, on the whole, rather negligent and is occasionally difficult to decipher even in the undamaged portions of the text. In particular, *nūn* is often hard to distinguish from *yōḏ* (and *ḥēyṯ*). Hence, it has been necessary at times to resort to parallel texts to interpret what the scribe has written.

(1) Cf. HATCH, *op. cit.*, plate CXVI.

(2) Kindly loaned to me by the Rev. Leo Guay, S.J., of Al-Hikma University, Baghdad.

His use of vowel points is relatively sparing, and his pointing is often unusual. Worthy of note is his peculiar spelling of ܐܬܐ and ܕܗ̈ܒܐ, which appear in the manuscript as ܐܬܝܐ and ܕܗܘ̈ܒܐ. Both spellings are clearly intentional because they are repeated throughout the manuscript; in particular, the first is certainly intended for the masculine participle, not the feminine, since it is paired consistently with masculine participles. In this respect, in punctuation (or the lack thereof) and in abbreviations, I adhere to what I have found in the manuscript.

Finally, as regards the contents of the codex, the bulk of it consists in the *ḥuḏrâ* proper, beginning with the end of the office for Christmas lauds and continuing on to the end of the liturgical year (pp. 1-731). The only offices given are those for Sundays, Fridays, feasts and commemorations, plus the ferias of the Fast and Easter week. Besides the other characteristics mentioned above (1), it should be noted that an office of *subbāʿâ* (compline) is given for all of these days throughout the year, with the exception of ordinary Fridays during the year and the ferias of Easter week. Indeed, it replaces *lelyâ* (the nocturns) on all feasts and commemorations. The Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia is found on pp. 2-10, and it is followed immediately by the rite of fraction, pp. 10-3. The Anaphora of Nestorius is given on pp. 37-49, the rite of baptism on pp. 446-63 and the Anaphora of the Apostles on pp. 463-6. On p. 637, the scribe, Eliya, makes known his name in petitioning the prayers of the readers of the manuscript. At the end, p. 731, he notes: " Here ends, by the help of Our Lord, the *ḥuḏrâ* of the entire year, according as it was ordered by Mar Gabriel and Mar Abraham, the ecumenical doctors who lived in the Upper Monastery". Indeed, it is possible that this precious manuscript was copied at the Upper Monastery itself and was used there, for, on the one hand, the patron saint commemorated on the seventh Friday of the Epiphany is identified with an otherwise unspecified Mar Abraham in the verses *da-lḇāḵtâ* of this commemoration (p. 177), and, on the other, it seems likely that the manuscript originally belonged to the Tahra Church of Mosul, which was formerly the

(1) *Supra*, pp. 340 and 341.

church of the Upper Monastery and which is now attached to the parish of Mar Ešaʿya (1).

The *ḥudrâ* proper is followed by the so-called *qālê d–ʿudrānê*, chants of assistance, that normally complete *ḥudrâ* and *gazzâ* manuscripts, pp. 731-830. It may be noted, in passing, that the numbering of these *qālê* is slightly different from that indicated in the published breviary (2), that there are several *šuḥlāpê* not found there, and that the twenty-second *qālâ*, pp. 824-5, is without counterpart and so probably represents the missing twenty-second *qālâ* of the breviary, concerning which Bedjan, the editor, notes: " In the manuscript tradition (*rušmâ*) of the Upper Monastery, there is no ordinary *qālâ* (with this number) " (3).

At the end of the manuscript, the thirteenth century copyist has added the following: *lelyâ* for the ferias of the whole year in abbreviated form, pp. 831-57; the distichs, called *hpākāṯâ*, from the metrical homilies of Narsai that precede both the psalm called *d–qalṯâ* and the hymn *Tawdî l–Ṭāḇâ* for all the Sundays of the year, pp. 858-74; the office of St. Thomas the Apostle, pp. 874-8; the special antiphons (*qānōnê*) that precede Psalm 100 (99 of the Vulgate) in the office of lauds of certain great feasts and begin with the word *B–rāšīṯ*, pp. 878-81; and, finally, " an anthem on the Economy... said at the Rogation (of the Ninevites) and the Fast ", which is attributed in Warda manuscripts to Saḇrīšōʿ Bar Pawlos of Mosul (4), pp. 881-3 (incomplete). The

(1) Cf. J.-M. FIEY, *Mossoul chrétienne*, p. 23.

(2) *Breviarium iuxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium, id est Chaldaeorum*, Paris, 1886-1887/Rome, 1938, pp. 2*-210*.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 193*.

(4) E.g. *Chald. Patr. 82*, pp. 250-3. This Sabrīšōʿ is mentioned in the colophon of *Mosul 13* as being the rector (*yāṣōpâ*) of the Church of St. Meskenta in Mosul when the MS. was copied (cf. the catalogue of Scher, pp. 232-3). The date is indicated as Saturday August 4, 1500 of the Greeks, or 609 of the Arabs (i.e. of the Hejira). These dates do not agree; the Greek date would indicate 1189 A.D., whereas the Arab date would be 1212 A.D. In the catalogue Scher fails to indicate which date is correct, but in an article, *Étude supplémentaire sur les écrivains syriens orientaux*, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 11 (1906), 28 n. 1, he solves the doubt in favour of 1212 A.D., because Yahbālāhâ II, mentioned in the colophon as the Patriarch, reigned from 1191 to 1222. This is confirmed by the fact that August 4th fell on a Saturday in 1212, but not in 1189.

last two leaves of the codex, pp. 883-6, are too fragmentary for their contents to be identified, but the top of p. 885 seems to contain part of an anthem or other hymn on the Prophets.

To explain the symbols used in the text, words that are underlined are written in red ink in the manuscript. Letters given in square brackets [ ] are those that are completely illegible in the manuscript and have been supplied on the basis of the *textus receptus* and other manuscripts. Letters set off by half brackets below ⌊ ⌋ were so faint in the manuscript that their reading must be considered doubtful. The Latin translation that accompanies the text is taken from Renaudot [1]; it has been modified, where necessary, to agree with the Mar Ešaʿya text and occasionally corrected and improved as well. As I note there, I have departed in the translation from the Mar Ešaʿya text in four instances: two of these represent corrections found in the manuscript in a hand that is contemporaneous with the text and may possibly have been made by the original scribe; one is a correction of an obvious *lapsus calami*; finally, I ignore one correction made by the original scribe, which contradicts the entire manuscript tradition and makes very little sense.

For the apparatus to the text, I have arranged the manuscripts in chronological order and assigned to each a letter in sequence, first majuscule, then minuscule:

A – Diarbekir *ḥudrâ* [2]	12th	D – Diarbekir 48	15th
B – Mardin 22	1287	E – Mardin 19	15th
C – Cambr. Add. 2046B	15th	F – Chald. Patr. 333	15th

(1) E. RENAUDOT, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, 1st ed., Paris 1716, vol. II, pp. 588-92/2nd ed., Frankfurt-a.-M., 1847, vol. II, pp. 582-6 (the translation, at least of the anaphora, remains unchanged).

(2) I was able to consult and take notes on the MSS. of Diarbekir and Mardin through the courtesy and help of the Rev. Süleyman Şen, pastor of the Chaldean parishes in these two cities. I wish to acknowledge also the kindness of the staffs of the British Museum, the University Library of Cambridge, the Vatican Library and the Selly Oak Colleges Library for the facilities accorded to me for consulting their MSS. I have already acknowledged my great debt to His Beatitude Paul II Cheikho, the actual Chaldean Patriarch. Similar gratitude should be expressed to Mr. Najib Saigh and the Rev. Qasha Khoshaba of Baghdad for allowing me to examine their MSS., as also to the Very Rev. Ablahad Rabban, Superior General of the Chaldean Monks of St. Hormisdas,

G	– Br. Mus. Or. 5750	15th	a	– Khoshaba ritual	1664
H	– Berlin 38	1496	b	– Ming. Syr. 53 (9)	1681
I	– Chald. Patr. 36	15/16	c	– Diarbekir ritual	1683
J	– Berlin 39 (1)	15/16	d	– Mosul 41	1685
K	– Rouen Or. 21	16th	e	– Cambr. Add. 2045	1686
L	– Saigh *ḥuḏrâ* (2)	16th	f	– Vat. Syr. 491	1686
M	– Br. Mus. Or. 4060 (3)	16th	g	– Cambr. Oo. 1. 15 (10)	1691
N	– Vat. Borg. Syr. 150	16th	h	– Vat. Syr. 44	1691
O	– Vat. Syr. 66	16th	i	– Chald. Patr. 38	1697
P	– Alqosh 70	1564	j	– Berlin 40	17/18
Q	– Mardin 20 (4)	1566	k	– Vat. Borg. Syr. 36	17/18
R	– Br. Mus. Add. 7181 (5)	1570	l	– Vat. Syr. 43	1701
S	– N.-D. des Sem. 92 (6)	1578	m	– Chald. Patr. 170	1706
T	– Mardin ritual	1584/5	n	– Chald. Patr. 39	1708
U	– Chald. Patr. 40	1600	o	– Mardin ritual	1715
V	– Chald. Patr. 209 (7)	16/17	p	– Chald. Patr. 37	1726
W	– Vat. Syr. 42	1603	q	– Mardin ritual	18th
X	– Mardin 18 (8)	1605	r	– Mardin ritual	18th
Y	– Vat. Syr. 303	1608	s	– Mardin 31	1753
Z	– Ming. Syr. 611	17th	t	– Berlin 42	1756

who allowed me to see the MSS. of Notre-Dame des Semences. Not to be overlooked are the Rev. Ephrem Rassam, former parish priest of Mar Eša'ya Church, and his successor, the Rev. Faraj Rahho, who allowed me twice to carry their precious *ḥuḏrâ* to Baghdad for study. Last, but far from least, it is a pleasure to render testimony to the invaluable assistance rendered me by the Rev. Douglas Webb, Vicar of Wilburton, Ely, who provided me with transscripts of *Berlin 38* and *Rouen Or. 21* and permitted me to examine his microfilm copies of these and the other Berlin MSS, besides pointing out to me the important *Cambr. Add. 2046B.*

(1) Having seen this MS. after the article went to press, I must revist my estimate of its date to the 17th cent. It was not possible to include in the apparatus the variants of *Berlin Sachau 354* (15/16) and *Or. 40 1160* (1686).

(2) This MS. lacks the first two *ghānāṯâ* and most of the third.

(3) This MS. lacks all but the last part of the fourth *ghānṯâ*.

(4) This MS. lacks the first three *ghānāṯâ* and the end of the fourth.

(5) This MS. lacks only the first part of the fourth *ghānṯâ*.

(6) My collation of this MS. is not complete and omits variants of secondary importance.

(7) This MS. lacks the first part of the second *ghānṯâ*.

(8) This MS. lacks most of the second, the beginning of the third and virtually all of the fourth *ghānṯâ*.

(9) The date, as I found it in the MS., was September 24, 1992 (not 1990, as in the catalogue) of the Greeks, i.e. 1681 A.D.

(10) This MS. lacks the first *ghānṯâ*.

u	– Cambr. Add. 2046A [1]	18/19	x	– Chald. Patr. 221	1839
v	– Chald. Patr. 42	1809	y	– Mar Ya'qob 6 [2]	1850
w	– Berlin 41	1834	z	– McHardy codex [3]	1908

I give all of the variants to the text, but not to the rubrics, found in the manuscripts of the fifteenth century. With the sixteenth century witnesses, I eliminate obvious scribal errors of no significance. As for the more recent ones, I adduce them whenever they support readings of the older manuscripts, or when there seems some chance that they may preserve a reading from an older tradition, or when their reading seems interesting for some other reason. Beginning with R, most of the subsequent manuscripts fall into one of three well-defined text traditions: the Alqosh tradition, designated *AQ*, consisting of R, S, U, Y, b, c, d, e, i, j, n, p, s, t, u and v; the Chaldean tradition, *CH*, embracing f, g, h, l, m, o, q, r, x and y; and the Malabar tradition, *ML*, represented by only Z and k. These three traditions, indeed, account for all of the manuscripts since the middle of the seventeenth century with the exception of the Khoshaba ritual, which contains elements from the Alqosh tradition and what was shortly to become the Chaldean, and *Berlin 41*, which seems to have been copied from a much older ritual and preserves many archaic readings.

The following table shows the abbreviations used for the printed editions of the Anaphora of the Apostles and the translations that I have been able to consult. It is not an exhaustive list.

Cm – Mosul editions of the Chaldean missal (Cm^{01} = 1901; Cm^{36} = 1936) [4].

[1] This MS. lacks the end of fourth *ghānṯâ*. The date is my estimate.

[2] The MSS. of the Monastery of Mar Ya'qob and of the parish church of Dehok are temporarily being kept at the Convent of the Dominican Fathers in Mosul, by whose kindness I was given the opportunity of examining them.

[3] My study of this MS. was so hasty that I may have missed some of its variants.

[4] *Missale juxta ritum Ecclesiae Syrorum Orientalium, id est Chaldaeorum*, Mosul, 1901, pp. 24-36; and *Missale juxta ritum Ecclesiae Chaldaeorum*, Mosul, 1936, pp. 24-36.

Cr – Roman edition of the Chaldean missal (1).

Ke – Nestorian edition of Kelaita, where it differs from the Anglican.

Mb – Editions of the Malabar missal (Mb^{29} = 1929; Mb^{60} = 1960) (2).

Mn – Latin translation of Malabar Liturgy as corrected by de Meneses (3).

Re – Latin translation of Renaudot.

Šr – Maronite Anaphora of St. Peter III, known as "Šarrar" (4).

Tr – *Textus receptus* (= *Ke* and *Ur*, where they agree).

Ur – Anglican edition of Urmia.

Edd – All of the printed editions (excluding translations), where they agree.

It should be pointed out that the Mar Eša'ya text occasionally agrees with the Maronite Anaphora of St. Peter III against the *textus receptus*. These readings are noted, since they presumably represent the original text of the anaphora.

(1) *Missale Chaldaicum ex decreto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide editum*, Rome, 1767, pp. 280-6.

(2) *Ktāḇ Ṭukkāsê w-Qeryānê...aḵ Ṭaḵsâ Kaldāyâ d-Mālābār*, Rome, 1844, supplementary pp. 20-7; *Ordo Missae Syro-Chaldaeo-Malabaricae*, Puttenpally, 1912, pp. 24-35; *Sacrum Beatorum Apostolorum, quod est sacrum primum*, Puttenpally, 1912, pp. 46-66; A. Kalapura, *Ordo chaldaicus rituum et lectionum juxta morem Ecclesiae Malabaricae*, Puttenpally, 1929, supplementary pp. 21-9; *Ṭaḵsâ d-Quddāšê*, Alwaye, 1960, pp. 24-35.

(3) J.-B. de Glen, *La Messe des Anciens Chrestiens dicts de S. Thomas, en l'Euesché d'Angamal, ès Indes Orientales: repurgée des erreurs & blasphemes du Nestorianisme par l'Illust.me & Reu.me S.r Don Alexis de Meneses*, Brussels, 1609, pp. 98-104.

(4) *Missale Chaldaicum juxta ritum Ecclesiae nationis Maronitarum*, Rome, 1594 (or 1592), pp. 220-41 (especially pp. 229-30 and 236-7).

Textus

ܘܩܪܒ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܡܕܥܕܐ ܕܥܠܬܢܝܐ ܒܡܘܕܝܢ ܡܢܗ̇ P. 463

ܠܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܥܡܘܡܝܐ ܕܦܠܚܘܬܟ ܕܠܘܬܟ . ܕܟܕ ܚܛܝ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܝܢ

ܘܡܝ̈ܬܪܐ . ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܠܐܐ ܕܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܟ ܐܫܘܝܬܢ ܕܢܫܡܫ

ܠܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܡܩܕ̈ܫܐ . ܕܦܓܪܐ ܘܕܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܟ . ܟܕ ܫܐܠܝܢ

5 ܒܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܠܒܢ . ܠܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܚܘܬܡܟ . ܕܒܣܘܟܠܐ ܓܠܝܐ ||

P. 464 [ܘ]ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܐܪܙܐ . ܢܫܡܫ ܠܡܫܒܚܘܬܟ ܕܠܘܬܟ

ܩܘ̄ ܘܢܣܩ ܠܟ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܘܐܝܩܪ[ܐ] ܘܬܘ̄ ܘܣܓ̄ ܗܫܐ ◆

ܘܫܪܟܐ

ܘܥܢܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ

10 ܘܐܡܪ ܟܗܢܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܥܡܟܘܢ

ܘܥܢܝܢ ܘܥܡܟ ܘܥܡ ܪܘܚܟ

ܘܐܡܪ ܡܫܡܫ̄ ܗܒܘ ܫܠܡܐ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܒܚܘܒܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

1 ܡܢܗ̇ A F G J N *AQ* (exc e) W a w z *Tr Cm*] ܡܢܗ ܘܐܡܪ B..E H I K O P T V X e *CH* (exc g) *ML Cr Mn Re* 2 ܕܦܠܚܘܬܟ A B H K R t x *Mb*[29] *Cm*[36] *Re*] *plur* ceteri || ܕܠܘܬܟ *om B* || ܕܟܕ] ܟܕ A, ܘܟܕ J a 2-3 ܘܡܝ̈ܬܪܐ ܐܝܬܝܢ *interv* H K P || ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܠܐܐ] ܡܛܠ ܗܘ̄ A 3 ܐܫܘܝܬܢ *praem* ܘ ܠܘܬܟ ܚܣܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܐܫܘܝܬܢ D 4 ܕܦܓܪܗ ܘܕܡܗ A C E H K N P T V w z || ܟܕ *add* ܡܫܟܠܝܢ H 5 ܕܠܒܢ] ܕܠܒܢ H N 6 ܘܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ *om* I || ܕܐܪܙܐ] ܐܬܪܙܐ E, *om* B I 11 ܘܥܡܟ B D F I O P R W X Z b c f h . . l n p t u *Mb Tr Cm Mn*] ܥܡܟ A C E H J K T U Y a e *CH* (exc f g h l) v w z *Cr Re* 12 ܗܒܘ *praem* ܐܚ̈ܝ x y *Cr Mb*

VERSIO

Et accedit sacerdos ad celebrandam Anaphoram Apostolorum (1). Gratias agimus, Domine (2), divitiis abundantibus gratiae (3) tuae erga nos (4), quia, cum peccatores et humiles simus, propter multitudinem clementiae tuae fecisti nos dignos celebrandi mysteria sancta ⌈corporis et sanguinis (5) Christi tui. Dum petimus auxilium quod a te est ad corroborandas animas nostras, ut caritate perfecta et (6) fide vera celebremus donum tuum erga nos (7).

Canon: Et referamus tibi laudem, gloriam, gratiarum actionem et adorationem nunc, etc. (8).

⌈*Et respondent*: Amen (9).

Et dicit sacerdos: Pax vobiscum.

Et respondent: ⌈Et tecum (10) et cum spiritu tuo.

Et dicit diaconus: Date pacem invicem in caritate Christi.

(1) This first *ghānṯâ* is entitled *ṣlōṯâ da-qḏām maḏbḥâ* in B F G N O f *Cr*. In A, F and all of the rituals and missals, it is preceded by a *kuššāpâ*, and this is considered part of the anaphora in A F I P.

(2) Surely the more primitive reading.

(3) Probably to be preferred as the *lectio antiquior*.

(4) Most MSS. (D I J K *AQ ML CH*) indicate a repeat here. B, which indicates the analogous repeats at the beginning of the third and fourth (but not the second) *ghānāṯâ*, omits it.

(5) The reading of the text might be considered *simplicior*.

(6) There is no *waw* visible in the MS., even under ultra-violet light. However, there is space for it, and it is called for by the sense and the entire MS. tradition.

(7) Again, many MSS. (H P *AQ ML*) indicate a repeat here. According to E, this is the general rule for the beginnings and ends of *ghānāṯâ*.

(8) According to most MSS. (A B..), the priest here signs himself. Y gives, as an alternate for feasts, the corresponding *qānōnâ* from the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

(9) G omits this response, and both it and N omit all else up to the second *ghānṯâ*.

(10) Preferable as the *lectio difficilior*. In actual pronunciation, the *waw*, though written in the published texts, tends to disappear.

ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܣܠܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ

ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܚܝܐ

ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܥܡܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ❖ ܘܫܪܝܪܐ 15

ܘܥܢܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ

ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܥܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܛ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ

ܘܥܢܝܢ ܠܬܘܒ ܐܠܗܗ

ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܥܡܐ ܘܡܘܕܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܐ ܟܠ ܡܬܘܡ

ܘܥܢܝܢ ܫܘܐ ܘܙܕܩ 20

ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܥܡܢ

ܘܐܬܐ ܟܗܢܐ ܢܣܝܒܘܬ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܗ̄ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܘܡ̈ܝܢ .

ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܠܥܠܡ̈ܝܢ . ܫܡܝܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܝܢ .

ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ . ܕܒܪܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܠܡܐ

ܒܛܝܒܘܬܗ . ܘܒܚܘܒܗ ܒܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܗ . ܘܦܪܩ 25

ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܫܘܝܘܗ . ܘܚܒܪ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ .

13 ܣܠܩ A H I T U Y w z *Ke Re*] *om* B F P y, *praem* ܘ ceteri 16 ܘܥܢܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ *om* H J a j w 19 ܠܐܠܗܐ *add* ܡܪܘܚܐ D 20 ܫܘܐ] ܫܐ ceteri 23 ܠܥܠܡ̈ܝܢ A B C F G N] *add* ܘܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܘܡ̈ܝܢ DE (ܟܠ ܦܘܡ̈ܝܢ) T c w, *add* ܘܩܘܪܒܢܐ post ܘܫܘܒܚܬܐ H (ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܒܪܐ ܘܚܒܪ ܟܢܫܝܢ ܘܩܘܪܒܢܐ) I J K O *AQ* (exc c s u v) W X (deficit post ܟܠ) *ML* a z *CH Edd Mn Re*, *add* ܘܗܕܪܐ ܘܩܘܪܒܢܐ post ܘܫܘܒܚܬܐ P s u v ‖ ܘܡܫܡܫܝܢ A . . K N P T V W a j z *Re Šr*] *add* ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܝܬܐ O R S U Y *ML* b . . e *CH* (exc x y) i n (2a manu) *Cr Mb Mn*, *add* ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܟ ܡܫܡܫܢܝܬܐ n (1a manu) p s u . . y *Tr Cm* 24 ܕܐܒܐ] ܐܒܐ n (2a manu) p s . . w *Cm* ‖ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ A O S] ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ N R b d f . . i l m o q r *Cr Šr*, ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ceteri ‖ ܥܠܡܐ *plur* G T q y 26 ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܫܘܝܘܗ *interv* O ‖ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ] ܪܘܚܐ H, *om* I

Et dicunt. Pro (1) omnibus Catholicis (2).
Et proclamat diaconus: Gratias agamus et rogemus.
Et dicit sacerdos: Gratia Domini nostri, etc. (3).
Et respondent: Amen.
Et dicit sacerdos: Sursum sint mentes vestrae (4).
Et respondent: Sunt ad te Deus...
Et dicit sacerdos: Oblatio Deo omnium domino offertur (4).
Et respondent: Dignum et justum est.
Et dicit diaconus: Pax nobiscum (5).

Et recitat sacerdos submisse: ⌜Dignum est gloria ab omnibus oribus, et gratiarum actione ab omnibus linguis, nomen adorandum et gloriosum Patris (6) ⌜et Filii et Spiritus (7) Sancti: qui creavit mundum per gratiam suam, et habitatores ejus per clementiam suam, et salvavit homines per misericordiam suam, et fecit gratiam magnam erga mortales. Majestatem tuam, Domine,

(1) The reading of D E etc., " Et pro... ", would seem slightly *difficilior*.

(2) I.e. " (Let us pray) for all of the Patriarchs... ". In most rituals, a *kuššāpâ* and one or two prayers of incense follow. After the *kuššāpâ*, *Cr* and some Chaldean MSS. add a *ghānṯâ* addressed to " the Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ "; it is derived from *Šr* (p. 234).

(3) According to most MSS. (A B..), the priest here signs the Mysteries.

(4) Several MSS. (E P Y Z) give alternate *qānōnê* for feasts taken from the Anaphora of Theodore.

(5) A, F and most rituals add a *kuššāpâ* here. A prayer of incense precedes it in A.

(6) Evidently the more primitive reading.

(7) Perhaps the reading of the text should be preferred as *difficilior*.

ܠܘܬܟ ܡܪܝ، ܦܠܚܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܕܥܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܪܒܘ ܪ̈ܒܘ
ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ : ܡܫܪܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ . ܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܐ ܕ[ܢ]ܘܪܐ
ܘܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ . ܥܡ ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܘܣܪ̈ܦܐ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ ܠܫܡܟ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ

ܩܘܢܐ ܚܕ̣ ܩܥܝܢ ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ 30

ܘܩܥܝܢ ܩܕ̣ܝ ܩܕ̣ܝ

ܘܬܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܢܚܐܬ ܘܥܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܫܡܝ̈ܢܝܐ
ܡܘܕܝܢ ܠܟ . ܡܪܝ . ܐܦܚܢܢ ܥܒܕ̈ܝܟ ܡܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܘܡܟܝ̈ܟܐ
ܘܕܘܝ̈ܐ . ܕܥܒܕܬ ܒܢ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܥܐ .
ܒܕܠܒܫܬ ܐ̱ܢܫܘܬܢ ܕܬܚܝܗ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܟ . ܘܪܘܪܒܬ ܫܦܠܢ . 35
ܘܐܩܝܡܬ ܡܦܘܠܬܢ . ܘܐܚܝܬ ܡܝܘܬܘܬܢ . ܘܫܒܩܬ
ܚܘܒ̈ܝܢ . ܘܙܕܩܬ ܠܚܛܝܬܘܬܢ . ܘܐܢܗܪܬ ܠܝܕܥܬܢ . ܘܚܝܒܬ

27 ܦܠܚܝܢ A B F N T *CH* (exc g q) *Cr*] *add* ܘܟܪܥܝܢ q, *praem* ܟܪܥܝܢ ܘ ceteri || ܕܥܝܪ̈ܐ] ܕܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ A || ܦܠܚܝܢ *usq* ܕܥܝܪ̈ܐ] ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܕܥܝܪ̈ܐ ܥܠܝ̈ܐ ܦܠܚܝܢ *Šr* || ܪ̈ܒܘ] ܪ̈ܒܘܢ ceteri 28 ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ *add* ܡܩܕܫܝܢ E G N, *add* ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ ceteri (D praeterea *add* ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܒ) || ܡܫܪܝ̈ܬܐ *praem* ܘ ceteri || ܕܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ *om* C || ܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܐ] *praem* ܘ E G T V Y e g, *om* C 28-29 ܡܫܪܝ̈ܬܐ *usq* ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ *om* per haplogr J 29 ܘܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ H K *Re*] *add* ܠܫܡܟ ܡܩܕܫܝܢ I P V W a j z, *add* ܠܫܡܟ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ceteri, ܒܫܠܝܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ *Šr* || ܥܡ A B C F G H K U Y e g w *Ur Re Šr*] ܘܥܡ ceteri || ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ A B F G N *Šr*] *add* ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ ceteri || ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ A B F G N] *om* *Mn Šr*, ܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ceteri || ܠܫܡܟ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ *om* A B F G N, ܠܫܡܟ ܡܩܕܫܝܢ ܘܡܙܡܪܝܢ H, ܠܫܡܟ ܡܩܕܫܝܢ ܘܡܗܠܠܝܢ K *Re*, ܕܠܐ ܫܠܝܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܠܡܪܘܬܟ ܡܩܪܒܝܢ V, ܕܠܐ ܫܠܝܐ ܒܐܡܝܢܘ ܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܠܡܪܘܬܟ ܡܩܪܒܝܢ C, ܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܠܡܪܘܬܟ ܡܩܪܒܝܢ ceteri (ܘܫܘܒܚܬܐ J) 33 ܐܦܚܢܢ] ܚܢ T 34 ܘܕܘܝ̈ܐ] ܘܕܘ̈ܝܐ ceteri 35 ܒܕܠܒܫܬ] ܕܠܒܫܬ A 36 ܘܐܚܝܬ ܡܝܘܬܘܬܢ *om* O *CH* *Cr*

adorant (1) mille milia supernorum et myrias myriadum (2) angelorum (3), agmina (4) spiritualium, ministri ignis et spiritus (5), cum (6) ⌜Cherubim et Seraphim sanctis (7), ⌜nomen tuum glorificant (8).

Canon: Clamantes et glorificantes...

Et respondent: Sanctus, Sanctus... (9).

Et recitat sacerdos submisse: Et cum his exercitibus caelestibus gratias agimus tibi, Domine (10), nos quoque servi tui humiles, infirmi et miseri, quia fecisti in nobis gratiam magnam quae rependi non potest. Nempe induisti humanitatem nostram, ut nos vivificares per divinitatem tuam: elevasti abjectionem nostram: erexisti ruinam nostram: resuscitasti mortalitatem nostram: dimisisti debita nostra: justificasti peccaminositatem nostram: illuminasti intelligentiam nostram, et devicisti, Domine

(1) Clearly the preferable reading.

(2) It is barely possible that the missing *nûn* is merely illegible.

(3) The *lectio simplicior* of the text should probably be considered more primitive, especially since complete unanimity is lacking in the other MSS.

(4) The reading " et agmina ", found in all other witnesses, seems preferable.

(5) Almost all of the MSS. insert the phrase " nomen tuum glorificant " here, rather than at the end of the *ghānṭâ*. *Berlin Sachau 354* has it in both places. In the MS. there are points above and below both the *dālaṯ* and the *rēš*; presumably, the scribe first wrote them incorrectly, and then, when he did correct them, failed to remove the erroneous points.

(6) Probably to be preferred.

(7) This reading, clearly the more primitive, is confined to *ḥuḏrâ* MSS.

(8) If this phrase should be anticipated above (n. 5), then the *canon* should follow " Seraphim sanctis " immediately, as in the other *ḥuḏrâ* MSS. *Berlin Sachau 354* alone agrees with the text.

(9) The MS. gives the complete text of this response in the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia (p. 5): " Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens: pleni sunt caeli et terra laudibus ejus. *Et si festa est*: Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus est qui venit et qui venturus est in nomine Domini. Hosanna Filio David". Another *kuššāpâ* follows in A and all rituals.

(10) *Cm* inserts the Narration of the Institution at this point. I have found this insertion in at least one MS., an unnumbered ritual of Mar Ya'qob of the late 19th century.

ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܠܥܠܡܥܠܡܝ̈ܢ . ܘܢܫܘܐ ܠܡܫܪܝܘܬܗ ܕܒܝܬܡ
ܫܠܝܐ . ܒܪ̈ܚܡܐ ܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܕܠܒܘܬܟ

<u>ܡܫܘܚܐ</u> ܘܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܟܠܗܘܢ 40

<u>ܘܚܢܢ</u> ܐܡܝܢ

<u>ܘܐܡܪ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ</u> ܒܡܕܒ̈ܚܝܗܘܢ

<u>ܘܬܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܫܐܝܬ</u> || ܐܝܬ ܡܢ، ܒܪ̈ܫܡܝܢ ܕܠܐ P. 465
ܡܬܡܠܠܝܢ . ܒܒܪ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܒܐ . [ܠ]ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ
ܒܐܝ̈ܕܐ ܘܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ ܕܫܦܪܘ ܩܕܡܝܗ . ܒܒܗܕܐ ܕܦܨܪܗ ܘܕܡܗ 45
ܕܡܫܝܚܢ . ܕܡܩܪܒܝܢ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ .
ܐܒܗܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ . ܘܒܒܪ ܒܗܡ ܥܡܢ ܘܥܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܘܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܀ ܠܥܠ

<u>ܘܚܢܢ</u> ܐܡܝܢ ܀

38 ܘܢܫܘܐ *add* ܡܪܢ *Mb* 39 ܕܠܒܘܬܟ *add* ܡܪܚܡܢܐ ܘܫܒܘܚܐ . ܥܒܕܘ ܠܝ ܚܣܕ ܚܛܝ ܘܚܒܘܒ ܫܘܒܐ A D, praeterea *add* ܥܠܬ K T, *add* post ܚܛܝ (cf. C) ܘܫܒܘܚܐ ܚܣܝܢ E, *add* post ܚܛܝ (cf. C) ܘܫܒܘܚܐ ܚܝܬ ܕܡܚܢ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ V 41 <u>ܘܚܢܢ</u> ܐܡܝܢ *om* D F G H J K L N *AQ* (exc n p s u) T X *ML* a z, *om* <u>ܘܚܢܢ</u> *Cm* 43 ܒܪܫܡܝܢ *add in marg 2a* (?) *manu* ܕܡܠܠܢܐ] *in textu* ceteri 44 ܒܒܪ] ܐܘܟܐ ܕܒܒܪ ܠܝ *Cm* || ܠܒܐ *Šr*] *add* ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ ceteri (*om* ܠܒܐ D) ܠܟܠܗܘܢ *praem* ܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܡܪܢ ܠܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ m o q r x y *Cr Mb* (*om* ܘ) 45 ܕܫܦܪܘ ܩܕܡܝܗ *om* G || ܕܦܨܪܗ ܘܕܡܗ B F 46 ܡܩܪܒܝܢܐ A..F L N T w z *Mn*] ܡܩܪܒܝܢܗ J a, ܡܩܪܒܝܢ ceteri 47 ܕܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ] ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܝܢ C 47-49 ܘܒܒܪ *usq* ܐܡܝܢ] ܐܡܝܢ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܀ ܠܥܠ ܀ ܒܒܪ ... ܕܠܥܠܡܐ A C H 48 ܘܫܘܒܚܗ] ܘܫܘܒܚܐ J 48-49 ܠܥܠ *usq* ܐܡܝܢ *om* K L N *ML Mb*, ܠܥܠ B F G p s t v, ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܠܥ ܀ ܠܥܠ E T (*om* ܘܐܡܝܢ), ܐܡܝܢ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ . ܒܒܪ ... w, ܘܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܠܥܠ ܀ ܠܥ ܀ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ V Y o r *Mn* (*om* ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ... ܘܥܠܝܢ), praeterea *praem* ܠܥܠ O f g h l x *Cr Re* (*om* ܐܡܝܢ), *trsp* ܠܥܠ post ܘܐܠܗܢ D I J P Q W a j z, *trsp* ܠܥܠ post ܕܠܥܠܡܐ S U b..e i m n q u y *Tr Cm*

noster et Deus noster, inimicos nostros: et triumphare fecisti humilitatem naturae nostrae infirmae per miserationes abundantes gratiae tuae (1).

Canon: Et propter omnia... (2).

Et respondent: Amen (3).

Et dicit diaconus: In mentibus vestris... (4).

Et recitat sacerdos submisse (5): Tu, Domine, per miserationes tuas multas (6) quae enarrari non possunt, fac (7) memoriam bonam (8) omnibus patribus piis et justis qui placiti fuerunt coram te, in commemoratione corporis et sanguinis Christi tui, quod offerimus tibi super altare (9) purum et sanctum, sicut tu docuisti nos: ⌜et fac nobiscum tranquillitatem tuam et pacem tuam omnibus diebus saeculi. *Itera*.

Et respondent: Amen (10).

(1) *Ur* and *Mb*[60] insert here the Narration of the Institution. In the latter, the Anamnesis and the last part of the Epiclesis prayer, together with the *qānōnâ* of the fourth *ghānṯâ* follow.

(2) At this point, the priest signs the Mysteries, according to A, B and most rituals. Y and g give an alternate *qānōnâ* for feasts taken from the Anaphora of Theodore.

(3) In *Cm*, this response has been taken over by the celebrant.

(4) A *kuššāpâ* follows in A, F and all rituals.

(5) A adds, as a title, *ghānṯâ d-maḥḥattâ*, i.e. of the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

(6) This word has been written in the margin of the MS. in a hand that is at least contemporary with that of the text and may possibly be by the same scribe.

(7) What is doubtlessly the diacritical mark below the *dālaṯ* in the MS. is located so far to the left that it looks like a punctuation mark.

(8) The reading of the text, since it is confirmed by *Šr*, is probably to be preferred.

(9) The reading of the text would seem to be more primitive than that of *Tr* (" altare tuum "), since it is found in all of the older witnesses. The latter, however, is supported by *Šr*, whose reading would have to be explained as the result of a parallel development.

(10) The *lectio simplicior* of K L N *ML Mb* is no doubt to be preferred, but the repeating of this last phrase, found in all the older MSS., must have originated at a relatively early date. The response, presumably said by the deacons in the Mar Ešaʿya *ḥuḏrâ*, seems to have been taken over by the celebrant in *Berlin Sachau 354* and, in a more elaborate form, in E and T.

ܕܢܫܒܚܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܪ̈ܝܘܬܗ ܕܐܪܒܐ . ܕܐܢܬ ܐܢܬ 50
ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܠܦܘܪܩܢܢ . ܘܐܢܬ ܫܪܪܬ ܠܡܬܪܘܨܘܒ
ܡܫܝܚܐ . ܒܪܢ ܘܡܥܕܪܢܢ . ܘܗܘ̤ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܐܠܦ
ܒܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ . ܥܠܗ̇ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܘܪܝܫܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ
ܘܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ . ܘܕܣܗ̈ܕܐ . ܘܕܡܘܕ̈ܝܢܐ . ܘܕܐܦܣܩ̈ܘܦܐ .
ܘܕܩܫܝ̈ܫܐ ܘܕܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܐ . ܘܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܗ̇ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ 55
ܡܬܘܠܝܢ . ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܪܫܡܘ ܒܪܘܫܡܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ
ܩܕܝܫܬܐ .

ܘܐܦܝܢ ܡܪܝ ∗ ܠܟ ∗ ܐܒܘܢ ∗ ܒܥܕ̄ܢܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܫܠܝܐ
ܘܕܘ̈ܟܝܐ ܕܚܫܝܫܝܢ ܘܡܣܒܝܢ ܡܕܡܝܢ . ܒܒܝܬܐ ܗܢܐ . ܡܨܠܝܢ
ܒܡܘܬܠܐ ܕܛܘܦܣܐ ܕܕܚܝܢ . ܒܕ ܢܦܫܝܢ ܘܡܬܒܣܡܝܢ . 60

50 ܕܢܫܒܚܘܢ] ܕܢܫܒܚܘ A || ܒܡܪ̈ܝܘܬܗ] ܒܡܪܘ̈ܬܗ ceteri
51 ܐܒܐ *om* A G *Cm* 52 ܒܪܢ *om* F (1a manu) || ܘܡܥܕܪܢܢ] ܘܡܥܕܪܢܐ
Cm[86] || ܘܗܘ] ܘܗܝܘ A E T || ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ *om* A || ܐܠܦ]
ܐܠܦ ܠܟ B D..I K..N Q, ܕܐܠܦ ܠܟ A, ܘܐܠܦ ܠܟ ܐܬܐ T, ܐܬܐ
ܘܐܠܦ ܠܟ ceteri 53 ܒܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ *om* O *CH Cr Re*
ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ] *praem* ܘ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ K, ܕܐܒܗܬܐ C || ܘܪܝܫܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ *om* L
53-55 ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ *usq* ... ܘܕܟܠܗܘܢ] *subst* ܠ pro ܕ (ܘܠܢܒ̈ܝܐ ...
ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ) T 56 ܘܕܐܦܣܩ̈ܘܦܐ A L] *praem* ܘܕܟܠܗܘܢ B F H
K T ('ܘܠܐ 'ܘܠܟ) V k w *Mb*, idem sed *interv* ceteri 56 ܒܪܘܫܡܐ
Šr] *add in marg 2a* (?) *manu* ܚܝܐ] *in textu* B C D F G H J K O *AQ*
(exc R) a *CH* w z *Cr Tr Cm*, praeterea *add* ܕܡܫܝܚܐ E I M P Q W *ML*
Mb, *add* ܕܡܫܝܚܐ A L T, *add* ܕܝܠܗ N 57 ܩܕܝܫܬܐ *om* L N r v
58 ܡܪܝ *om* L || ܠܟ ∗ ܐܒܘܢ *AQ* (exc R t) W *ML* g w z *Mb Tr Cm*] ܬܘܒ
A B C F J K O V a *CH* (exc g) t *Cr Re*, *om* D E G H I L M N P Q T ||
ܒܥܕ̈ܢܝܢ *add* ܬܘܒ G 59 ܘܕܘ̈ܟܝܐ] ܘܕܘܟܝܐ ceteri, praeterea *add*
ܬܘܒ D (implicite) I M N P Q || ܕܚܫܝܫܝܢ A] *add* ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ceteri || ܒܒܝܬܐ
ܗܢܐ *om* A B C F H N || ܡܨܠܝܢ Y] ܘܡܨܠܝܢ *ML*, ܘܡܨܠܝܢ ceteri
60 ܒܡܘܬܠܐ ܕܛܘܦܣܐ] ܘܒܡܘܬܠܐ ܛܘܦܣܐ A, ܒܡܘܬܠܐ ܛܘܦܣܐ
ceteri || ܕܕܚܝܢ] ܕܕܚܝܢ ܒܢܝ *Cm* || ܒܕ *praem* ܘ E r || ܢܦܫܝܢ *add*
ܘܪܘܚܝܢ B C F

Ut cognoscant te omnes habitatores (1) terrae: quia tu solus es Deus Pater verus; et tu misisti Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum et dilectum tuum; et ipse Dominus noster et Deus noster ⌜docuit nos (2) per evangelium suum vivificum omnem puritatem et sanctitatem Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, Episcoporum (3), Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, et omnium filiorum Ecclesiae sanctae Catholicae, qui obsignati sunt signo vivo (4) baptismatis sancti (5).

Et nos quoque, Domine — *tribus vicibus* — ⌜servi tui (6) humiles, infirmi et miseri, qui congregati sumus (7) et stamus coram te ⌜in tempore hoc (8), accepimus (9) per successionem for-

(1) The MS. has "habitationes", an obvious *lapsus calami.*

(2) The reading of B D..I etc. is presumably more primitive; the translation, however, would not be affected.

(3) The *lectio simplicior* of the text, supported by A and L, is preferable. The Doctors are likewise absent from an analogous list of saints in the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia (MS. p. 9), but they do appear in the Anaphora of Nestorius (p. 47), where they precede the Bishops, as in B F etc.

(4) This word has also been written in the margin of the MS. in a hand that is at least coeval with that of the text, and it is found in all MSS. Nonetheless, the fact that it is absent from *Šr* should caution us against hasty conclusions.

(5) B D G have here the rubric "*Hārkâ ṭāpaḥ*". V and other witnesses add "*'al appawh(y)*". Chaldeans today usually interpret it as a full prostration, whereas the Orthodox understand it as a striking of the face. Formerly, the Chaldeans, too, seem to have understood the verb in this latter sense, but changed its object from the face to the breast, judging by the rubric of g, "*Ṭāpaḥ 'al ḥaḏyēh.*", i.e. "percutit pectus". That this is the true interpretation seems well confirmed by the unambiguous rubric of C: "*Hārkâ ṭapṭep ṭārēp 'al parṣōpēh.*", i.e. "Hic pluries (?) percutit faciem suam". *Mb*[60] puts here the Epiclesis and the first part of what follows there. What follows here, on the contrary, appears in *Mb*[60] as the Anamnesis after the Narration of Institution.

(6) The meaning of the line over the *yōḏ* in the MS. is unclear.

(7) The absence of "in nomine tuo" from our two oldest witnesses should make us very hesitant to accept it as primitive. Dom Botte, however, uses this phrase as evidence that the Narration of Institution originally preceded immediately the Anamnesis; cf. *L'Anaphore Chaldéenne des Apôtres*, in *OCP* 15 (1949), 273-4, and *Problèmes de l'anaphore... des Apôtres*, in *L'Orient Syrien* 10 (1965), 101-2.

(8) The absence of this phrase from so many old witnesses (A B C F H N) indicates that it is not primitive.

(9) The lone support of Y is surely insufficient to justify the absence of the "et" that precedes this word in all other witnesses.

ܘܡܪܘܪܒܝܢ . ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܘܡܗܠܠܝܢ . ܘܡܒܪܟܝܢ ܠܗ
ܠܐܪܙܐ ܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܕܚܝܠܐ . ܕܚܫܗ ܘܕܡܘܬܗ ܘܕܩܝܡܬܗ
ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ .

ܢܐܬܐ ܡܪܝ ܪܘܚܟ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܬܬܢܝܚ ܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܗܢܐ
ܕܐܘܟܪ ܡܫܡܫ̄ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܬܘܢ ✦ ܕܥܒ̈ܕܝܟ ܘܬܒܪܟܝܘܗܝ 65
ܘܬܩܕܫܝܘܗܝ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܡܪܝ ܠܚܘܣܝܐ ܕܚܘܒ̈ܐ . ܘܠܫܘܒܩܢܐ
ܕܚܛܗ̈ܐ . ܘܠܣܒܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܢܘܚܡܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ .
ܘܠܚܝ̈ܐ ܚܕ̈ܬܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܕܫܦܪܘ ܩܕܡܝܟ .
ܘܥܠ ܐܦ ܟܠܗ̇ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܘܬܟ ܬܡܝܗܬܐ ܕܠܘܬܢ ܢܘܕܐ ܠܟ

61 ܘܡܪܘܪܒܝܢ *om* I M P Q *ML Mb*, *add* ܘܡܗܠܠܝܢ V || ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ] ܘܡܒܪܟܝܢ A C, *trsp* ante ܘܡܪܘܪܒܝܢ x y *Cr* || ܘܡܗܠܠܝܢ *om* ceteri || ܘܡܒܪܟܝܢ] ܡܒܪܟܝܢ *Cm* || ܠܗ *om* T 62 *interv* ܠܗܢܐ ܐܪܙܐ I || ܘܕܚܝܠܐ B F L] ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܐܠܗܝܐ A, idem sed *add* C D G H J K N O a *CH* (exc x) *Cr Mn Re*, praeterea *add* ܘܡܚܝܢܐ post ܘܩܕܝܫܐ I M P Q R (deficit *usq* ܘܡܚܝܢܐ) *AQ* V W *ML* x z *Mb Tr Cm*, *add* ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܫܒܝܚܐ E, ܘܫܒܝܚܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܡܚܝܢܐ ܘܐܠܗܝܐ T w || ܘܕܡܘܬܗ L N W j o q(1a manu) r w *add* ܘܕܩܒܘܪܬܗ ceteri 63 ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ A B C E F G J L N T a w] *add* ܘܦܪܘܩܢ post ܕܡܪܢ ceteri (*om* ܘ *Ur*) 64 ܢܐܬܐ J a (1a manu) x *Cr*] ܘܬܐܬܐ E P, ܘܢܐܬܐ ceteri || ܪܘܚܟ ܩܕܝܫܐ] ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܘܚܝܐ H, ܪܘܚܟ ܚܝܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ C E J K Y a z, praeterea *add* ܡܢ ܡܪ̈ܘܡܐ ܠܟܠܐ ܘܚܝܐ *Šr* || ܘܬܬܢܝܚ *add* ܘܬܫܪܐ O 65 ܕܐܘܟܪ *usq* ܗܘܬܘܢ *om* A C D F G I K L N P S U V c h l m *Re*, *om* ܕ ceteri || ܒܥܠܡܐ *add* ܘܒܫܠܝܘܬܐ B E H J O W Y b i j n p t u v x z *Edd*, idem et *praem* ܘ J a e 68 ܥܡ *usq* ܩܕܡܝܟ *om* C H *Mn* (?) || ܩܕܡܝܟ] ܩܕܡܘܗܝ O T *CH* (exc r x) *Cr Re*, praeterea *add* ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ r 69 ܘܥܠ] ܥܠ A || ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܘܬܟ A..D F H J K N O a *CH* (exc q) w z *Cr Mn Re Šr* ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ceteri || ܬܡܝܗܬܐ A..F H K N O T V a *CH* w z *Cr Mn Re*, *praem* ܗܕܐ ܪܒܬܐ G I L M *AQ* (exc Y u) W *ML Mb Tr Cm*, ܥܒܝܕܬܐ P, *praem* ܗܕܐ Y || ܕܠܘܬܢ *add* ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܩܐ w || ܢܘܕܐ *praem* ܕ C E

mam (1) quae a te est, laetantes, glorificantes, exaltantes, commemorantes et laudantes (2), et celebrantes mysterium hoc magnum et tremendum (3) passionis, mortis et resurrectionis (4) ⌜Domini nostri (5) Jesu Christi.

Veniat (6), Domine, Spiritus tuus Sanctus (7), et requiescat (8) super oblationem hanc — ⌜*Et dicit* (9) *diaconus*: Quieti estote... — servorum tuorum (10), et eam benedicat et sanctificet, ut sit nobis, Domine, in remissionem debitorum, et veniam peccatorum, spemque magnam resurrectionis a mortuis, et vitam novam in regno caelorum, cum omnibus qui placiti fuerunt coram te (11). Et prop-

(1) The MS. has here "formae" in virtue of a *dālaṯ* inserted *1a manu* above the line between this word and the preceding. I can only speculate that the scribe misplaced his correction, which he may possibly have intended to put before *qabbeln-an*: "accepimus enim...".

(2) This word, which can scarcely be primitive, is found only in V and in a different position.

(3) The *lectio simplicior* of the text is evidently preferable. The absence of "et tremendum", moreover, from A T w suggests that it, too, may not be primitive.

(4) The *lectio simplicior* of the text is preferable here too, especially since it has the support of so many MSS.

(5) Again, the reading of the text is clearly more primitive.

(6) The support of J and a, together with *Cr* (x presumably copies *Cr*), is not enough to justify the absence of the "et" that precedes this word in all other MSS. The reading of E and P seems to be due to the influence of the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia, for in a following rubric of E (and Y) there is reference to this phrase as: *Tē'ṯê 'layn Mār(y) Rūḥāḵ ḥayyâ w-qaddīšâ* — "*Veniat super nos*, Domine, Spiritus tuus vivus et sanctus" — of which the first two words of the Syriac are found only in the Anaphora of Theodore.

(7) Despite the fact that the *lectio simplicior* of the text is supported by the great majority of the MSS., the reading of C E J K Y a z, (and *Berlin Sachau 354*), "vivus et sanctus", since it is also attested by *Šr*, may well be more primitive.

(8) Again, the *lectio simplicior* of the text is found in almost all the other witnesses. Nonetheless, the support that *Šr* gives for the reading of H, "inhabitet et requiescat", demands explanation.

(9) The scribe evidently began to write "servorum", but then decided to insert the acclamation of the deacon, failing to delete the *dālaṯ*.

(10) Renaudot here adds the phrase "quam offerunt", not found in any of the MSS. that I have seen.

(11) *Mb*[68] puts here the *qānōnâ* of the third *ghānṯâ* as the final doxology of the anaphora. What follows here, including the *qānōnâ*, has been appended to the Anamnesis.

70 ܘܢܫܒܚܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܘܐ ܒܥܕܬܟ ܦܪܝܩܬ ܒܕܡܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ
P. 466 ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ . ܒܩܘܕܫܐ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ‖ ܘܒܐܘܕܝܐ ܠܐܠܗܘܬܐ

ܗܘ ܕܝ: ܡܫܡܫܢܐ

ܘܥܢܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ

ܘܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܠܡܥܡܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ⁘

75 ܕ[ܟ]ܬ[ܝ]ܒ [ܘ]ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ ⁘ ܗܘ ⁘ ܕܣܘܒܪ

70 ܕܠܐ ܫܠܘܐ *om* P ‖ ܒܥܕܬܟ] ܒܥܕܬܐ J ‖ ܒܕܡܗ] ܒܕܡܟ B I (1a manu) 71 ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ] ܕܡܫܒܚ A ‖ ܘܒܐܘܕܝܐ] ܘܐܘܕܝܐ C J
73 ܘܥܢܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ *om* F G H L N *CH* (exc h l) w *Cr*.

ter universam ⌈dispensationem tuam (1) mirabilem (2) erga nos, gratias agamus tibi et glorificemus te indesinenter in Ecclesia tua redempta sanguine pretioso Christi tui, oribus apertis et faciebus revelatis.

Canon: Referentes... (3).

Et respondent: Amen.

Et absolvunt omnia sicut scriptum est in Anaphora Interpretis, quae ⌈scripta est in dominica (4) prima Annuntiationis.

WILLIAM F. MACOMBER S.J.

(1) Contrary to the opinion of Botte, " *Problèmes...* ", p. 101, the oldest MSS. confirm the reading of *Šr*, which, therefore, does not represent a modification of the primitive text on the part of the Maronite editor.

(2) The agreement of P and Y with *Šr* suggests that " gloriosam " may perhaps be the more primitive reading here, even though all other MSS. agree with the reading of the text. In any case, the reading of *Tr*, " hanc magnam et mirabilem ", is clearly not primitive, and hence one cannot argue from it, as Botte does, *art. cit.*, p. 99, to prove that this section represents a continuation of the anamnetic prayer that precedes the Epiclesis. Of course, the new MS. evidence does not positively exclude Botte's theories, but it does show how fragile all reconstructions are likely to be that are not based on a critically established text.

(3) A, B and most rituals indicate that the celebrant signs the Mysteries at this point.

(4) It is possible that the surplus letters in these words may have been deleted and that the deletion is no longer visible.

Les Querini, comtes d'Astypalée et seigneurs d'Amorgos 1413-1446-1537

Dans un article que nous nous proposons ici de compléter, de continuer et de corriger sur un point important on a montré, définitivement pensons-nous, que la domination de la maison Querini sur l'île d'Astypalée — Stampalia au moyen-âge — n'est pas attestée avant mars 1413, qu'elle était alors toute récente, et que l'opinion universellement acceptée de Karl Hopf, qui la datait de l'année 1310, remontait en dernière analyse à Giacomo Zabarella, génealogiste du XVIIe siècle, à travers les continuateurs de Marco Barbaro et le *Campidoglio Veneto* de G. A. Capellari Vivaro (1). Zabarella dépend de Barbaro, mais il interprète abusivement et de travers deux notices de celui-ci, qui ne disent nullement ce qu'on leur faisait dire (2).

Rejetant et réfutant l'interprétation erronée de ces notices par Zabarella et ses successeurs nous avions toutefois accepté de confiance les données qu'elles fournissent effectivement. Les

(1) R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Les Querini, comtes d'Astypalée, 1413-1537* dans *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 30 (1964) 385-397. K. HOPF, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten* dans *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, Wien, 32 (1860) 365-528. Réimpression, Amsterdam 1964, avec la pagination du tirage à part, ce qui oblige le lecteur de soustraire 362 unités quand il veut retrouver un passage cité d'après l'édition originale. Quel mérite aurait pu s'acquérir le rééditeur s'il avait ajouté, je ne dis pas un index, mais une simple table des matières, pour qu'on pût trouver aisément les pages consacrées aux diverses dynasties dont il est question dans le volume!

(2) *Or. Chr. Per.* 30, p. 386. La deuxième notice est réimprimée ci-après, p. 392 Document 7.

documents que nous publions aujourd'hui prouvent que l'une au moins, la seconde, contient une erreur, qui se trouve aussi dans une notice de l'annaliste Stefano Magno (1). Le généalogiste et l'annaliste disent l'un et l'autre que Giovanni Querini, dit Zannaki, qui fut comte d'Astypalée en 1413, l'était encore en 1446 et acquit cette année-là l'île d'Amorgos. Or les documents que nous présentons au lecteur prouvent sans l'ombre d'un doute que, si Zannaki Querini vivait encore en septembre 1419, en avril 1421 il était mort (2). La notice de Barbaro et celle de Magno contiennent donc une erreur grave, et il va falloir corriger en conséquence la généalogie des Querini-Stampalia, en y insérant à leur place Giovanni Querini, abusivement identifié avec Zannaki, et son fils Zorzi.

Et tout d'abord il n'y a pas de doute que Giovanni, et son père Agostino, et son fils Giorgio (Zorzi) aient appartenu, non seulement au clan des Querini, mais précisément à la branche de Santa Maria Formosa, dite plus tard de Stampalia. En effet le Giovanni Querini qui acheta en août 1446 l'île d'Amorgos était comte d'Astypalée, et comme tel successeur de Zannaki, depuis le 9 décembre 1434 au moins. Et après sa mort, précédée de celle de son fils Giorgio, l'île d'Astypalée, avec la nouvelle acquisition d'Amorgos, retourna à Francesco, fils, et à Nicola, petit-fils de Zannaki (3). De plus le père de Giovanni s'appelait Agostino, comme celui de Zannaki (4), et le prénom Agostino était alors en usage dans la seule lignée des Querini de Santa Maria Formosa (5).

Ceci posé on peut trouver sans trop de peine le point d'insertion d'Agostino, père de Giovanni et grand-père de Giorgio, dans la généalogie des Querini-Stampalia. Dans les chroniques des mariages entre patriciens de Venise on note sous l'année 1407 celui

(1) *Or. Chr. Per.* 30, p. 388 et ci-après, p. 392 Doc. 7.

(2) Je dois la connaissance de ces documents en partie à Melle Bianca Strina de l'Archivio di Stato de Venise, en partie à M. Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca, directeur de l'Archivio. Que l'une et l'autre veuillent agréer l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

(3) Ci-après, pp. 386-387 reg. 31. — Pour tous les faits et documents cités et mentionnés avec une précision suffisante nous prions le lecteur de se reporter d'office à nos regestes et aux documents correspondants.

(4) Ci-après, p. 384 no 21.

(5) Je dois cette observation à M. Morozzo della Rocca. Elle est facile à contrôler moyennant les arbres généalogiques de Marco Barbaro.

d'Agostino, fils de feu Giovanni, veuf, avec une Malipier, deux fois veuve (1). Si cet Agostino est, comme tout porte à croire, le père du Giovanni de 1446, Giovanni, son grand-père, doit être celui qui figure sous le n° 7, et avec la date 1368, dans l'arbre généalogique dressé par Barbaro (2). Il était fils de Fantin (n° 4), frère d'Agostin (n° 6) et oncle paternel de Zannaki (n° 8). La généalogie des Querini-Stampalia est donc à refaire partiellement. Nous tenterons l'opération à l'aide des documents publiés ci-après ou analysés dans nos regestes.

Mais auparavant il est nécessaire de présenter sous son vrai jour le document qui induisit en erreur Marco Barbaro et tous ceux qui se fièrent à lui, y compris nous-mêmes. C'est indubitablement la notice sur Giovanni Querini que Stefano Magno inséra dans ses *Annali* sous l'année 1443. Marco Barbaro la reproduisit en abrégé, et en y introduisant un élément nouveau, tiré des documents authentiques qu'il connaissait par ailleurs. Dans son ensemble sa notice et celle de Magno concernent, comme nous venons de dire, Giovanni Querini, comte d'Astypalée depuis 1434. Il vivait, dit Magno, vers 1443 (ce qui est vrai) et acquit l'île d'Amorgos, ce qu'il fit, comme nous savons, en juillet-août 1446. Dans cette notice, qui paraît substantiellement vraie, est insérée une phrase regardant indubitablement Zannaki Querini, comte d'Astypalée en 1413. Dans notre réédition des deux textes de la notice nous l'imprimons en caractères plus petits (3).

Passons maintenant à la généalogie de nos deux personnages.

Zannaki, fils d'Agostino Querini et de Chiara, fille de Francesco Giustinian, épousa Isabetta, fille de Nicola Badoer (4). Ce fut, autant que nous pouvons voir, son premier mariage. Ce fut

(1) Ci-après, p. 378 n° 1. Hopf, qui connaissait au moins l'une des trois chroniques que nous citons (les « Nozze » de Marco Barbaro), fit de cet Agostino un second fils du second mariage de Zannaki Querini, et corrigea sa source (sans la nommer!) en affirmant qu'il fallait lire 1427 au lieu de 1407; *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474 (112).

(2) *Or. Chr. Per.* 30, p. 387. La présente reconstruction d'une partie de la généalogie des Querini-Stampalia est l'œuvre de M. R. Morozzo della Rocca.

(3) Ci-après, p. 392 Doc. 7.

(4) Ci-après, p. 379 n° 2; p. 380 n° 5, n° 6 etc.

sûrement son dernier. Il en nacquit trois fils et deux filles qui survécurent à leurs parents (1).

1. F a n t i n, premier fils de Zannaki et d'Isabetta, entra dans l'ordre militaire de l'Hôpital de S. Jean de Jérusalem (2). Dans l'arbre généalogique de Barbaro son nom est accompagné de la date 1423 et de la légende « Pr(ovato) ». Erreur. Le 2 décembre 1423 il ne fit pas ses preuves de noblesse mais présenta pour les faire son frère Francesco. Il mourut en 1453 ou 1454 à Rhodes (3).

2. F r a n c e s c o, deuxième fils de Zannaki, épousa Cristina, fille de Fantin da Pesaro. Il en eut un fils Nicola (ci-après nº 6). Francesco devint comte d'Astypalée et seigneur d'Amorgos à une date inconnue, entre août 1446 et décembre 1484. Il mourut avant cette dernière date (4).

3. N i c o l a, troisième fils de Zannaki et d'Isabetta, fit ses preuves de noblesse le 1er décembre 1427 (non 1424, comme écrit Barbaro dans l'arbre généalogique), présenté par Alvise di Donato Giustinian, cousin germain de Zannaki par Chiara Giustinian, mère de Zannaki et sœur de Donato Giustinian (5). Barbaro ne luit connaît aucune descendance.

4. B i a n c a, fille de Zannaki et d'Isabetta, manque dans l'arbre généalogique de Barbaro. Elle épousa Filippo Tagliapietra (6).

5. Q u e r i n a, fille de Zannaki et d'Isabetta, manque dans l'arbre généalogique de Barbaro. Elle épousa Giovanni Lion (7).

(1) Dans *Or. Chr. Per.* 30, p. 394 nº 6 j'ai écrit par erreur que les fils étaient deux (omettant Fantin, faute d'avoir lu le document résumé ci-après, p. 381 nº 12), et que les filles étaient trois, ajoutant *une* Andrea, qui est en realité *un* Andrea mais pas un fils de Zannaki et Isabetta; ci-après, p. 380 nº 7.

(2) Nos regestes 9-12, 16, 20, 24-26.

(3) Ci-après, p. 385 reg. 26.

(4) Regestes 10, 12, 17, 19(?), 23(?), 27-32.

(5) Regestes 12 et 14. Par la parenté avec Alvise Giustinian, fils de Donato, v. notre Doc. 2, lin. 30-31.

(6) Nos regestes 8, 12, 13.

(7) Notre regeste 15.

6. Nicola, fils de Francesco et petit-fils de Zannaki et d'Isabetta, épousa Tullia (ou Giulia, ou Giuliana), fille de Priamo Malipier (1). Il succéda à son père dans la seigneurie des îles, qu'il tenait encore en novembre 1484. Le 1er décembre 1487 il présenta son fils Fantin à l'Avogaria di Comun, pour ses preuves de noblesse. Dans l'arbre généalogique de Barbaro (nº 13) son nom est accompagné de la date 1453, dont la signification nous échappe.

Barbaro, dans l'arbre généalogique (nº 12), énumère comme quatrième fils de Zannaki (et d'Isabetta!) Zorzi (Giorgio), avec la date 1486 et la légende « Scr(itto) ». Cette abréviation devrait signifier « Scritto nel Consiglio dei 40 per esser del Gran Consiglio » (2). Il a été impossible de trouver quoi que ce soit dans les registres de la Quarantia, et la date elle-même est si tardive qu'on doit penser à un *lapsus calami* (3). Quant au nom, Barbaro l'a trouvé dans la notice sur Giovanni Querini, et il a mis Zorzi parmi les fils de Zannaki, par suite de la confusion de celui-ci et de Giovanni.

Dans l'article sur les Querini, comtes d'Astypalée, j'ai écrit que Zannaki et Isabetta avaient en plus de Bianca et de Querina une fille, Andrea. Erreur! Andrea est un homme, et un Querini, mais n'est pas un fils de Zannaki et d'Isabetta (4).

Nous avons ainsi corrigé la généalogie des Querini Stampalia en ce qui regarde Zannaki Querini et sa descendance. Sur la parenté avec lui de Giovanni, son successeur dans la possession d'Astypalée, l'indispensable a été dit au début de cet article. Stefano Magno et Marco Barbaro disent qu'il commanda les galères vénitiennes du Po, qu'il fut banni de Venise, qu'il se réfugia à Rhodes. Rien pour le moment ne confirme ni ne contredit ces affirmations. Ils disent qu'il vécut vers 1443, et ceci est vrai. Ils disent qu'il fut comte d'Astypalée, et nous savons qu'en dé-

(1) Regeste 29.

(2) Sur l'abréviation Scr(itto), à completer par « nel Consiglio dei Quaranta per esser del Gran Consiglio » v. *Or. Chr. Per.*, 28 (1962) 135 n. 1.

(3) La date 1486, certaine, est tellement incroyable que Hopf a cru devoir la corriger, car il écrit, (*Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474[112]) « Giorgio (1426...) »; cf. p. 473 (111) n. 1.

(4) V. ci-dessus, p. 375 n. 1.

cembre 1434 il l'était déjà (1). Ils disent qu'il acquit Amorgos, et deux documents officiels et contemporains précisent qu'il le fit en juillet-août 1446. Ils disent enfin qu'il épousa, pour consolider sa domination, une dame originaire d'Amorgos et en eut un fils, Zorzi, qui mourut avant lui, et le fait que ses deux îles retournèrent après lui dans la lignée de Zannaki s'accorde parfaitement avec celui qu'il ne laissa pas d'héritiers directs. Par ailleurs, chez Stefano Magno le nom de Zorzi est suivi d'un « quondam », qui prouve que l'auteur de la notice vit un document où l'on parlait de « feu » Giorgio.

Pour ce qui regarde le mariage de Giovanni, Karl Hopf affirme qu'il épousa Isabetta, fille d'Orio Magno et de Simona, veuve de Piero (Peroulaki) Sanudo, fils de Nicola Spezzabando, régent du duché de l'Archipel. Il ajoute qu'elle apporta en dot à Querini le quart de l'île d'Amorgos, qu'elle aurait hérité de sa mère, Simona, qui l'aurait eu de son premier mari, Peroulaki (2). Il a trouvé une partie de ces renseignements dans la charte du 24 avril 1421, par laquelle Pietro Zeno et son épouse Petronella Crispo, seigneur et dame d'Andros, investissent leur fils Marco de la moitié du fief de Gridia dans l'île d'Andros. Peroulaki Sanudo « nominado Nicuola », dit ce document, avait tenu un quart de ce fief. A sa mort ce quart resta comme douaire à sa veuve Simona. Celle-ci se remaria avec Orio Magno, auquel Pietro et Petronella Zeno donnèrent un autre quart du même fief (3). Simone survécut à son second mari, et conserva comme douaire la moitié du fief qu'ils avaient tenu ensemble. Après sa mort, survenue avant le 24 avril 1421, Pietro et Petronella Zeno en investirent leur fils Marco. Ni l'île d'Amorgos, ni une fille d'Orio

(1) Il n'y a aucune raison de supposer que Giovanni Querini, comte d'Astypalée le 9 décembre 1434, est un troisième personnage de ce nom, distinct aussi bien du Giovanni-Zannaki mort en 1421 que du Giovanni de 1443 et 1446.

(2) K. HOPF, *Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihrer Beherrscher in dem Zeitraume von 1207-1566* dans *Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad., Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, 16 (1855) 23-131; v. p. 89 et n. 5; *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 472-473 (110-111).

(3) Ci-après, p. 379 nº 4. HOPF, *loc. cit.*, identifie Orio Magno avec le personnage de ce nom, condamné pour adultère avec sa complice, Franceschina, épouse de Stefano da Ponte, le 26 février 1375; Avogaria di Comun 3643 = Raspe III, 2, f. 62.

Magno et Simona, ne sont mentionnées dans la charte d'investiture. Néanmoins il n'est pas invraisemblable que les Sanudo aient possédé entre 1365 et 1446 un quart d'Amorgos ([1]) et que la moitié de l'île ait appartenu, sinon à un Grimani, comme affirme Hopf ([2]), du moins aux héritiers et successeurs d'un Grimani ([3]). Mais toutes ces affirmations doivent être passées au crible d'une critique prudente et sévère. La délibération du sénat du 11 juillet surtout n'invite nullement à croire que Giovanni Querini ait acquis par mariage aucune part d'Amorgos, et la notice de Stefano dit seulement que son union avec une dame native de l'île servit à y consolider son autorité. Quant à l'affirmation surprenante qu'Amorgos, avant l'acquisition par Giovanni Querini, était « dominada per quel populo » c'est-à-dire indépendante, elle est contredite par la délibération du 11 juillet 1446, qui suppose l'île divisée entre aux moins trois seigneurs. L'auteur de la notice aura vu un diplôme où Giovanni Querini confirma les droits et les libertés ou franchises de ses nouveaux sujets, et conclu à tort que ceux-ci se gouvernaient en république autonome.

Regestes

1407, Venise. **1**

Agostino, fils de feu Giovanni Querini, veuf, épouse une Malipier, veuve une première fois de ser Bartolomeo da Canal et une seconde fois de ser Marino Ghisi.

Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Avogaria di Comun, Reg. 106 (Cronaca Matrimonii I) f. 120v: « 1407. Ser Agustin Querini quondam ser Zuane, vedovo, in la fia di ser.... Malipiero relicta quondam ser Bortolomio da Chanal, vedova ». — Reg. 107 (Cronaca Matrimonii II), f. 281v et Marco Barbaro, Nozze, cod. Marcian. It. VII 156 (collocazione 8492), f. 375v. La chronique II et Barbaro écrivent Andrea da Canal au lieu de Bortolomio et ajoutent « et (quondam) ser Marin Ghisi ».

([1]) Hopf, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 455 (93) et 473 (111). V. ci-après p. 393, notre Doc. 9, cité Hopf, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 454 (92) n. 4.

([2]) Hopf, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 457 (95) et 471 (111).

([3]) V. *Or. Chr. Per.*, 30 (1964) 393 n° 3.

1411.II.27, Venise. **2**

Isabetta, épouse de Zannaki Querini de Santa Maria Formosa, fait son testament. Notaire: Bartolomeo Dotto, prêtre de San Moisè.

Exécuteurs: Les procureurs de San Marco de citra.

Procuratori Misti, Busta 163[a], Commissaria Querini Isabetta, Registre d'administration 1421-1436. 18 feuillets de parchemin. Copie du testament, f. 7-7[v]. — Contrairement à ce que j'ai écrit dans *Or. Christ. Per.*, 30 (1964) 394 n[o] 6 les noms des enfants d'Isabetta ne figurent pas dans le testament. Francesco et Nicola, Bianca et Querina sont nommés à divers endroits du registre d'administration. Fantin n'y figure pas, ni aucune fille du nom d'Andrea.

1419.VIII.30 et IX.26, Venise. **3**

Le Grand Conseil accorde en grâce à Giovanni (Zannaki) Querini, ex-recteur de Tinos et Mykonos (1411-1415-1418) de ne payer que les intérêts de la somme de 5112 hyperpères qu'il doit encore à la Commune comme fermage des îles.

Grazie 21 (olim 19), f. 36[v]. Cité, HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 470 (108) n. 2, avec la référence erronée, Grazie XVIII, f. 36[v]. « Cum, sicut nobis exposuit uir nobilis ser Johannes Quirino, quondam ser Augustini, ipse habuerit ad affictum insulas Thinarum et Michonarum... ».

1421.IV.24, (Andros). **4**

Pietro Zeno, seigneur d'Andros, et Petrinella (Crispo), son épouse, donnent à leur fils Marco « la parte del fio de la Gridia e del castello de Alto, che fo del nobel homo Perulachi Sanudo, che tegniva et possedeva dona Simona, moier che fo del dito Perulachi Sanudo nominado Nicuola, per raxon de suo doario, che era el quarto del dito feo; et apresso tegniua l'altro quarto, che peruene in man de la Signoria, el qual donessemo ad Orio Magrio, che fo marido de la dita Simona, et da puo la morte de quello confermassemo a la dita Simona in fin in vita soa; la qual parte del dito feo, che è la mitade, uolemo chel dito Marco, nostro fio, possa hauer... ».

Commemoriali 13, f. 55[v]. [R. PREDELLI], *I Libri commemoriali della republica di Venezia*, IV, Venezia 1896, 224 n[o] 63 (du 4.I.1440) Allegato A. Ed. K. HOPF, *Urkunden und Zusätze zur Geschichte der Insel Andros* dans *Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, 21 (1857) 253 n[o] xvi.

1421.IV.26, Venise. **5**

Bertuccio Querini et Francesco Foscari, procureurs de San Marco *de citra* et exécuteurs testamentaires d'Isabetta, née Badoer, épouse de Zannaki Querini (comte d'Astypalée), séquestrent les biens d'Isabetta, morte à Naxos en 1419.

Commissaria Querini Isabetta, Registre d'administration 1421-1436. — Bertuccio Querini fut élu procureur de San Marco le 19.IV.1420, Francesco Foscari (le futur doge 1423.IV.15-1457.X.23) le 26.I.1416. Fl. Cornelius, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, t. X (decas XIII, pars prior), Venise 1749, 341 et 340.

1421.V.16, Venise. **6**

Tommaso Mocenigo, doge (1414-1423), confirmant une sentence de Girolamo Girardo et Nicola Pizamano, juges *del Procurator,* autorise Bertuccio Querini et Francesco Foscari, procureurs de San Marco, exécuteurs etc. *ut supra,* à saisir sur les biens du dit Zannaki, et au besoin sur ceux de feu Agostino, père de Zannaki, l'équivalent de la dot versée par Isabetta et garantie par Agostino, Zannaki n'ayant possédé rien en propre tant que vécut son père.

Commissaria Querini Isabetta, parchemin original. Ci-après, pp. 387-390 Document 2.

1422.VI.23, Venise. **7**

Nicola da Mosto et Girolamo da Canale, juges *del Procurator,* en l'absence de Pietro Dandolo, troisième juge, à la demande de Donata, veuve d'Andrea Querini, représentée par Giacomo Querini, leur fils, décident que les procureurs de San Marco *de citra,* exécuteurs testamentaires d'Isabetta, épouse de Giovanni di Agostino Querini, donneront à Donata quinze ducats d'or qu'elle avait confiés à Isabetta, pour qu'elle lui achète une esclave.

Commissaria Isabetta Querini, parchemin original. — N.B. Dans *Or. Chr. Per.*, 30 (1964) 394 n° 6, induit en erreur par une analyse insuffisante du présent document, j'ai fait d'Andrea une fille (!) d'Isabetta.

1423. **8**

Une fille de Zannaki Querini (Bianca) épouse Filippo Tagliapietra.

Barbaro, Nozze, f. 376: « La f. de s. Zanachi q. s. Agustin da Stam palia 1423 in s. Phelippo Taiapiera de s. Quintin q. s. Zuane ».

1423. **9**

Fr. Fantino Querini, chevalier de l'Hôpital, devient prieur de Rome.

HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474 (112) n. 4 renvoie à V. CORONELLI, *Isola di Rodi geografico-storica*, Venezia 1695, 331 et 332.

1423.XII.2, Venise. **10**

Fr. Fantino Querini, chevalier de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital de S. Jean de Jérusalem, et Silvestro Morosini présentent à l'Avogaria di Comun noble jeune homme Francesco, fils de feu Giovanni (Zannaki) Querini et d'Isabetta (Badoer) son épouse, pour prendre part (le 4 décembre, fête de sainte Barbe) au tirage au sort des boules d'or (qui ouvrent à ceux auxquels elles échoient les portes du Grand Conseil dès l'âge de 18 ans).

Avogaria di Comun, 162 (= Balla d'oro, I), f. 178v. Ci-après, p. 390 Doc. 3. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474 (112) n. 2, cite Barbarella, t. I, f. 49. La Barbarella était un ouvrage manuscrit en au moins trois volumes, conservé jadis à la bibliothèque du Museo civico Correr, à Venise; HOPF, *Geschichte der Insel Andros*, 55 n. 1. Le t. III portait le nº 127. Malgré des recherches assidues, prolongées et répétées, il a été impossible de trouver ces manuscrits. C'était selon toute vraisemblance une copie des registres de l'Avogaria di Comun, dits Balla d'or.

1423.XII.13, Venise. **11**

Le sénat décide qu'on priera le Grand-maître de Rhodes (Antoine Fluvian, 1421-1437) de conférer à fr. Fantin Querini un bénéfice de l'Ordre situé à Vérone.

Senato, Misti 54, f. 162v. FR. THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, 211 nº 1913. SATHAS, *Documents*, III, 257-59 nº 831.

1424.II.1, Venise. **12**

Fantin Magno, Francesco Boldu et Antonio Contarini, juges *del Procurator*, décident que ser Albano Badoer et ser Bertuccio Querini, procureurs de San Marco *de citra*, exécuteurs testamentaires d'Isabetta Querini, doivent payer à Bianca, fille d'Isabetta et de Zannaki Querini, en vue de son mariage, 1600 ducats pour sa dot.

Commissaria Querini Isabetta, parchemin original. Parmi les considérants, lin. 12-13: « ad presens reperiuntur tres filii mares et ipsa /

domina [Blanca] et una alia filia femina dicte testatricis » et lin. 36-38: « prefatus ser Franciscus Quirino, frater dicte domine Blanche, et nobilis uir dominus frater / Fantinus ordinis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani ac ser Nicholaus, fratres et olim filii .../..., qui omnes sunt legitime etatis, presentes in iudicio... ».

1424.II.18, III.17 et III.30, Venise. **13**

Les exécuteurs testamentaires d'Isabetta Querini versent à Bianca, fille de Zannaki Querini et d'Isabetta, récemment mariée à Filippo Tagliapietra, 1600 ducats pour sa dot.

Commissaria Isabetta Querini, Registre d'administration 1411-1436, f. 10, ancien vii. Cf. Avogaria di Comun, Reg. 106 (Cronaca Matrimonii I), f. 135v; Reg. 107 (Cron. Matr. II), f. 15v. Barbaro, Nozze, f. 376: « la f. de s. Zanachi q. s. Agustin da Stampalia in s. Phelippo Taiapiera de s. Quintin q. s. Zuane », sous la rubrique Querini, année 1423 (m. V.).

1427.XII.1, Venise. **14**

Alvise Giustinian, fils de feu Donato, présente aux avocats de la Commune le jeune noble Nicola Querini, fils de feu Giovanni (Zannaki, cousin germain d'Alvise) et d'Isabetta, épouse de Giovanni, pour prendre part (le 4 décembre suivant) au tirage au sort de la boule d'or.

Avogaria di Comun, 162 (Balla d'Oro, I), f. 181v. Ci-après, pp. 390-391 Doc. 4. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 476 (114) ne cite aucune source, mais la date 1427 preuve qu'il dépend de la Balla d'oro à travers la Barbarella (t. I, f. 49a), qu'il cite (n. 2) à propos de la présentation de Francesco; voir ci-dessus, p. 381 nº 10. Pour la parenté entre Alvise Giustinian et Zannaki Querini, v. notre Doc. 2, lin. 27-31, où il est dit que Chiara, fille de Francesco Giustinian et sœur de Donato (père d'Alvise), épousa Agostino, père de Zannaki.

1433.II.17, Venise. **15**

Les exécuteurs testamentaires d'Isabetta Querini font un premier versement à Querina, fille d'Isabetta et de Zannaki Querini, récemment mariée à Giovanni Lion.

Commissaria Querini Isabetta, Registre d'administration, f. 15. Cf. Avogaria di Comun, 106, f. 85 et 107, f. 162. Barbaro, Nozze, f. 376: « La fia de s. Zanachi q. s. Agustin da Stampalia in s. Zuane Lion v(edovo) q. s. Bortholamio ».

1433, (Rhodes?). **16**

L'ordre de S. Jean de Jérusalem donne en fief à fr. Fantin Querini, prieur de Rome, l'île de Nisyros, avec l'obligation de payer un cens annuel de 600 florins, et (peu après) celle de Langò (Kos).

[VINC.] CORONELLI - [GIR. ANT.] PARISOTTI, *Isola di Rodi*, Venezia 1688, 99-100 et 331. Cité, HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474 (112), n. 4, d'après l'édition de 1695, p. 331, 332, et dit, le 8 mai 1433. Pour Kos il cite (n. 5) CORONELLI, 302-304.

1434. **17**

Francesco Querini, fils de Zannaki, épouse la fille de Fantin da Pesaro (Cristina).

Avogaria di Comun, 106 (Cronica Matrimonii I), f. 120v: « Ser Francesco Querini q. ser Zanachi in la fia di ser Fantin da Pexaro ». Cf. 107 (Cron. Matr. II), f. 282. Barbaro, Nozze, f. 375v ajoute: « q. s. Andrea q. s. Fantin ». HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 476 (114) renvoie à Barbarella, t. II, f. 7b. Le prénom de l'épousée est connu par la généalogie de Marco Barbaro; *Or. Christ. Per.*, 30 (1964) 387 no 10.

1434.XII.9, Venise. **18**

Le sénat décide qu'on ordonnera à Giovanni Querini, seigneur d'Astypalée, de faire remettre à l'envoyé du gouvernement vénitien de Crète les marchandises dont ses sujets se sont emparés après le naufrage d'un grand bâteau vénitien au large de leur île, sous peine d'une amende de 500 ducats.

Senato, Misti 59, f. 83v. C. N. SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, III, Paris 1882, 425 no 1017. FR. THIRIET, *Régestes*, III (1961), 44 no 2375. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 472 (110) et n. 4.

1437. **19**

Le duc de Crète (Marco Lipomanno) envoie Francesco Querini auprès du duc de l'Archipel (Giacomo Crispo), pour réclamer l'île d'Andros.

STEFANO MAGNO, *Annali*, t. V (1433-1443), Cod. Vindobonen. 6214, f. 69 = CH. HOPF, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, 190. Cf. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474 (112) n. 3.

1444.VI, (Rhodes). **20**

On donne à fr. Fantin Querini, seigneur de Nisyros et Kos, l'ordre de tenir à tout prix les îles menacées par les Turcs.

Hopf, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474 n. 6, renvoie à J. Baudoin, *Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de S. Jean de Hierusalem*, Paris 1659, Livre IV chap. 6.

1446.VII.11, Venise. **21**

Le sénat autorise la Seigneurie à vendre à Giovanni Querini, fils de feu Agostino et comte d'Astypalée, le quart d'Amorgos qui appartient à la république, parce que Querini négocie avec les propriétaires des trois autres quarts de l'île en vue d'acheter leurs parts et qu'il ne veut pas conclure s'il ne peut pas aquérir aussi celle qui appartient à la république.

Senato, Mar 2, f. 159^v, alias 161^v. Publié, *Or. Christ. Per.* 30 (1964) 397 n° 2.

1446.VIII.4, Venise. **22**

Francesco Foscari, doge, avec le consentement des conseils de la république, vend à Giovanni Querini, comte d'Astypalée, le quart de l'île d'Amorgos.

Commemoriali, 13, f. 189^v. Hopf, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 524 (162) n° viii.

1451.VIII.30, Venise. **23**

Francesco Querini (fils de Marco), nommé capitaine (sic) de Milissi et de Galata dans le territoire de Lepanto (Naupacte), ayant demandé l'autorisation de résider temporairement hors du siège de son office le sénat la lui accorde pour trois mois chaque année.

Senato, Mar 4, f. 84^v. Fr. Thiriet, *Régestes*, III, 172 n° 2874. Cité, Hopf, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 475 (113) et n. 4, où l'on affirme tranquillement, comme si cela se trouvait dans le document, qu'il s'agit de Francesco Querini de Stampalia (fils de Zannaki)! Mais le nom du père de Francesco se trouve dans la délibération du 13 janvier 1458; ci-après n° 27.

1453.II.4, Venise. **24**

Francesco Foscari, doge, donne ses instructions à Paolo Morosini, envoyé ambassadeur auprès du grand-maître de l'Hôpital S. Jean de Jérusalem (Jean de Lastic 1437-1454), à Rhodes. Entre autres: l'ambassadeur protestera contre le traitement inique et ignominieux infligé à fr. Fantin Querini, Vénitien, religieux de l'Ordre depuis de longues années, prieur de Langò (Kos) et amiral de l'Ordre, plein de mérites de tout genre, arrêté par ordre du grand-maître sous des prétextes faux et injustes, dépouillé de l'habit de l'Ordre, de ses bénéfices, dignités et biens, condamné à finir ses jours dans un cachot au pain et à l'eau, sans avoir pu se défendre, et empêché d'en appeler au pape, chef suprême de la chrétienté.

Senato, Mar 4, f. 167-168. FR. THIRIET, *Régestes*, III, 180 n° 2907. Utilisé (mais non cité), HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 475 (113). Mais rien dans ce document ni dans le suivant n'autorise l'affirmation de Hopf, que Francesco Querini de Stampalia, frère de Fantin, serait intervenu en faveur de ce dernier.

1453.IX.27, Venise. **25**

En attendant l'arrivée d'un ambassadeur du grand-maître de Rhodes, dont on annonce la venue, le sénat suspend l'expédition d'une lettre dont il avait approuvé le texte le jour-même, avertissant le grand-maître que les galères vénitiennes qui se rendaient à Beyrouth et en Chypre avaient ordre d'évacuer de Rhodes tous les marchands vénitiens avec leurs biens, jusqu'à ce que satisfaction soit donnée pour le traitement indigne infligé à fr. Fantin Querini et pour l'assassinat à Rhodes du Vénitien Luca Mantello.

Senato, Mar 5, f. 7. FR. THIRIET, *Régestes*, III, 191 n° 2943. Cité, HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 475 (113) et n. 1 avec une analyse inexacte et la date erronée 24 septembre.

1454.V.6, Venise. **26**

Le sénat prend acte des déclarations des ambassadeurs du grand-maître de Rhodes au sujet de la mort (en prison) de Fantin Querini et déclare qu'on attend à Venise une réparation adéquate des torts à lui infligés.

Senato, Mar 5, f. 33. FR. THIRIET, *Régestes*, III, 197 n° 2963. Cité, HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 475 (113) et n. 3.

1458.I.13, Venise. **27**

Le sénat révoque la concession du *casale* de Melissa dans le territoire de Lepanto, faite à Francesco, fils de feu Marco Querini, ex-castellan (sic) de Galata et Milisso, par grâce du sénat obtenue subrepticement.

Senato, Mar 6, f. 47. FR. THIRIET, *Régestes*, III, 219 nº 3049, où le père de Francesco n'est pas nommé. Cf. ci-dessus, nº 23.

1458, Venise. **28**

Une fille de s. Francesco da Stampalia q. s. Zanachi épouse s. Bernardo Bondimier q. s. Piero q. s. Bernardo.

Barbaro, Nozze, f. 377.

1462, Venise (?). **29**

Nicola Querini fils de Francesco de Stampalia, fils de feu Zannaki, épouse la fille de Priamo Malipier.

Avogaria di Comun, 106 (Cronaca Matrimonii I), f. 121v: « Ser Nicolo Querini di ser Francesco da Stampalia quondam ser Zanachi in la fia di ser Priamo Malipiero q. Vetor ». Cf. ibidem Nº 107 (Cronaca Matrimonii II), f. 283. Barbaro, Nozze, f. 376v ajoute « q. s. Toma ». HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 476 (114) écrit « Pietro » au lieu de « Priamo » et renvoie (n. 2) à Barbarella, t. II, f. 7b. Il appelle « Juliana » la fille de Priamo. Elle s'appelait « Tullia », ci-après , nº 32.

1484.XII.2, Venise. **30**

Nicola Querini, fils de feu Francesco, présente aux Avocats de la Commune son fils Giovanni, né de son épouse Giuliana (!) Malipier, pour prendre part (le 4 décembre suivant) au tirage au sort de la boule d'or.

Avogaria di Comun, 164 (Balla d'oro, III), f. 300. Ci-après Doc. 5. Pour le nom de l'épouse de Nicola v. ci-après nº 32. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 476 (114) n. 3 cite Barbarella, t. III, f. 102a.

1486.X.4, Venise. **31**

Le sénat cite dans une délibération concernant le rapport féodal entre les seigneurs de Santorin et les ducs de Naxos, le

cas des îles d'Astypalée et d'Amorgos: « Et similiter insule Stampalie et Morgo alienate possesse fuerunt per quondam s. Franciscum Quirino Stampalia et in presenti possidentur per ser Nicolaum eius filium similiter separatum et segregatum a ducatu predicto... ».

Senato, Mar 12, f. 90v. Ed. K. HOPF, *Urkunden und Zusätze*, 261 nº xix.

1487.XII.1, Venise. **32**

Nicola Querini, fils de feu Francesco de Stampalia, présente son fils Fantin, né de son épouse Tullia Malipier, aux Avocats de la Commune, pour qu'il prenne part (le 4 décembre) au tirage au sort de la boule d'or.

Avogaria di Comun, 164 (Balla d'oro, III), f. 300v. Ci-après, p. 391 Doc. 6. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 474 (114) n. 4 cite Barbarella, t. III, f. 102b.

Documents (1)

1

Procuratori di San Marco, Misti 163a, Commissaria Querini Isabetta, Quaderno amministrazione 1421-1436.

Venise, 1421.IV.26.

Nos Bertucius Quirino et Franciscus Foscari, procuratores Sancti Marci de citra, notamus ad perpetuam rei memoriam quod domina Isabetha Quirino, olim uxor uiri nobilis domini Zanachi Quirino de confinio Sancte Marie Formose obiit in Nichosia de MºIIIIcXVIIII Cuius commissariam intromisimus in MºIIIIcXXI mensis Aprilis die XXVI, indictione XIIII, Riuoalti.

2

Commissaria Querini Isabetta, parchemin original

Venise, 1421.V.16.

In nomine Dei eterni. Amen. — Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Yhesu Christi (2) millesimo quadrigentesimo ⟨uigesimo⟩ primo, mensis Maii die sexto decimo, indictione quarta (3) decima, Riuoalti. — Cum rebus publicis presideamus equitati omnium pro-

(1) Les documents qui suivent, sauf les trois derniers, sont tirés de l'Archivio di Stato de Venise.

ui(4)dere debemus, quatenus quod iustum est perficere ualeamus. Nos igitur, Tho(5)mas Mozenigo, Dei gratia dux Venetiarum etc., cum in nostro resideremus (6) palatio cum nostris iudicibus procuratoris et aliis patrie nostre bonis hominibus (7) fidelibus nostris iustitiam pertractantibus et unicuique eam petenti legaliter diffini(8)entibus uenerunt ante nostram nostrorumque iudicum presentiam uiri nobiles Ber(9)tuzius Quirino et Franciscus Foscari, honorabiles procuratores constituti super (10) commissariis de citra canale, tamquam commissarii nobilis mulieris Ysabethe, olim (11) uxoris nobilis uiri Iohannis Quirino de confinio Sancte Marie Formose per (12) tenorem sui ultimi testamenti, facti, completi et roborati manu presbiteri Bartholomei (13) Doto, plebani ecclesie Sancti Moysi et notarii Venetiarum, in millesimo quadrigentesimo (14) decimo, mensis Februarii die uigesimo septimo, indictione quarta, Riuoalti, et osten(15)derunt nobis unam breuiarii uadimonii cartam, completam et roboratam in millesimo (16) quadrigentesimo uigesimo primo, mensis Aprilis die uigesimo secundo, indictione (17) quarta decima, Riuoalti, quod fieri fecit Paulus Foscari, aduocatus curi(18)arum, fideiussor, dicens quod Petrus Valentino, preco, extitit mediator de (19) uadimonio comprobando, qualiter die eodem ipsi Bertuzius Quirino et Fran(20)ciscus Foscari, commissarii antedicti, nomine commissario suprascripte Ysabethe, dederunt (21) in curia ante presentiam nostram nostrorumque iudicum procuratoris de quantocumque (22) infra octauum diem comprobare possent de sua repromissa et hiis omnibus (23) que sibi habere pertinebant secundum usum patrie nostre. Infra quem octauum diem (24) comprobauerunt dicti procuratores commissarii per quasdam testificationes (25) in iuditio productas, iuratas et in libris curie annotatas, hunc per (26) omnia tenorem habentes:

Die uigesimo primo predicti mensis aprilis nobilis (27) uir Donatus Iustiniano quondam Francisci, testis productus, iuratus et (28) interrogatus dicere ueritatem suo sacramento firmauit quod ipse testis sepius audi(29)uit ex ore proprio quondam uiri nobilis Augustini Quirino, olim co(30)gnati dicti testis, et similiter de proprio ore quondam Clare olim uxoris ipsius quondam Augu(31)stini et olim sororis prefati testis, quod ipse Augustinus sumpserat super suis (32) bonis mobilibus et stabilibus Ysabetham olim uxorem Zanachii Quirino, filii ipsius (33) quondam Augustini et prefate quondam Clare. interrogatus quam dotem ipsa Ysabetha (34) dederat predicto Zanachio uiro suo respondit de quantitate dicte dotis se igno(35)rare, sed bene scire eundem Zanachium fuisse filium familias dicti Augustini (36) quamdiu uixit et eundem Zanachium nichilum separatum habuisse ab eo suo patre. (37) die predicto nobilis uir Marcus Dandulo quondam Benedicti de confinio Sancti (38) Moysi, testis productus, iuratus et examinatus dicere ueritatem suo sacramento (39) dixit quod cognouit et uidit Ysabetham Quirino, olim filiam quondam Nico(40)lai Baduario et uxorem Zanachii Quirino quondam Augustini, que in contractu suarum (41) nuptiarum dedit

in dotem ipsi Zanachio Quirino eius uiro ducatos mille (42) centum auri. et hoc quia scit sic fuisse.

hoc autem totum comprobauerunt (43) sibi dicti procuratores commissarii infra suprascriptum octauum diem dicti uadimonii (44) dati. et hoc uadimonium datum fuit infra annum et diem postquam dicta (45) mulier obiit etc. ut in eo legitur. et ita hec omnia comprobauerunt sibi dicti (46) procuratores commissarii et ad sancta Dei euangelia in sua conscientia iurauerunt (47) omnia uera esse ut in dicta uadimonii carta continetur, et quod nichil de (48) bonis aut hauere dicte sue commisse olim uiri penes se habebant, (49) nec datum neque donatum neque commendatum per fraudem uel ingenium unde aliquid (50) per se uel alium expectarent. Quare dixerunt ipsi nostri iudices procuratoris (51) per legem et iuditium ut potestatem daremus plenissimam ad suprascriptos procuratores (52) commissarios dicte Ysabethe tantum intromittendi et ad proprium donandi (53) de bonis omnibus mobilibus et stabilibus ipsius quondam Zanachii Quirino defuncti (54) quantum sunt dicti ducati millecentum auri pro tota sorte antedicte repro(55)misse. si uero non reperiretur tantum de bonis et hauere dicti olim Za(56)nachii unde ipsi possent se de dicta dote integraliter appacare, tunc (57) potestatem daremus plenissimam ad eosdem commissarios tantum intromittendi et ad (58) proprium donandi de bonis omnibus mobilibus et immobilibus suprascripti Augustini, plezii dicte (59) repromisse quantum sibi deficeret usque ad integram solutionem dicte repromisse (60).

Ex iuditio igitur nostrorum iudicum procuratoris et nostra confirmatione potestatem (61) damus plenissimam ad suprascriptos uiros nobiles Bertuzium Quirino et Franciscum (62) Foscari, honorabiles procuratores constitutos super commissariis de citra canale, commissarios testamenti (63) dicte quondam Ysabethe, olim uxoris dicti Zanachii Quirino, tantum intromittendi et ad proprium (64) donandi de bonis omnibus mobilibus et immobilibus atque hauere [quantum fuit] dicti quondam (65) Zanachii Quirino quantum sunt dicti ducati mille centum auri pro tota et in(66)tegra solutione dicte dotis et repromisse. si uero non reperiretur tantum de bonis (67) dicti Zanachii olim uiri dicte Ysabethe unde ipsi commissarii se de dictis ducatis (68) mille centum auri pro tota dote antedicta integraliter appacare possent tunc potestatem damus (69) plenissimam ad eosdem commissarios tantum intromittendi et ad proprium donandi de bonis omnibus (70) mobilibus et immobilibus dicti Augustini Quirino, plezii dicte dotis in tantum quantum (71) sibi deficeret usque ad integram solutionem dicte dotis, habendi, tenendi, (72) dandi, donandi, dominandi, uendendi, commutandi, perpetuo possidendi et quicquid a(73)liud inde sibi placuerit faciendi, nemine sibi contradicente.

Si quis igitur huic nostri (74) diiudicati carte obuiare presumpserit sciat se cum suis heredibus et successoribus compositurum (75) auri libras decem, medietatem camere nostri palatii et aliam medie-

tatem commissariis (76) suprascriptis et eorum successoribus. et hec nostri diiudicati carta in sua permaneat fir(77)mitate.

(78) † Ego Tomas Mozenigo Dey gratia dux m(ea) m(anu) s(ub)s(cripsi).

(79) †

(80) † Ego Ieronimus Girardo iudex procuratoris m.m.ss.

(81) † Ego Nicolaus Pizamano iudex procuratoris m.m.ss.

(82) **S.N**

(83) Ego presbyter Iohannes Campisano plebanus ecclesie Sancti (84) Iuliani, notarius et aule incliti ducis Venetiarum can(85)cellarius compleui et roboraui.

3

Avogaria di Comun 162 (Balla d'oro I), f. 178v.

1423.XII.2

MCCCC XXIII die secunda Decembris, dominus frater Fantinus Quirino miles ordinis sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani, filius uiri nobilis domini Iohannis Quirino quondam domini Augustini, et uir nobilis ser Siluester Mauroceno, quondam domini Marci, presentauerunt officio nobilem iuuenem ser Franciscum Quirino domini Iohannis quondam domini Augustini quem intendunt scribi facere ad balotam aureatam et suo sacramento affirmauerunt quod dictus ser Franciscus est etatis annorum XVIII completorum et hoc sub pena ducatorum II̊ si secus reperiretur. similiter suo sacramento affirmauerunt quod dictus ser Franciscus per publicam uocem et famam fuit et est filius legiptimus legiptime genitus et natus ex dicto ser Iohanne Quirino quondam domini Augustini et quondam nobili domina Ysabeta que fuit uxor legiptima dicti quondam ser Iohannis et mater dicti ser Francisci et hoc sub pena ducatorum quingentarum si secus reperiretur pro quibus omnibus penis se constituerunt plezios dicti frater Fantinus et ser Siluester et uiri nobiles ser Smerius Quirino quondam domini Baldi et ser Georgius Cornario quondam domini Andree qui iurauerunt et cetera facta fuerunt predicta. in presencia dominorum B. Nani. M. Lauredano et Tome Michael auogatorum communis.

4

Avogaria di Comun 162 (Balla d'oro I), f. 181v.

1427.XII.1

MCCCCXXVII die primo Decembris nobilis uir ser Aluisius Iustiniano quondam ser Donati presentauit ad officium nobilem

iuuenem ser Nicolaum Quirino ser Iohannis quondam ser Augustini quem scribi facere intendit ad ballotam aureatam pro ueniendo de maiori consilio in festo Sancte Barbare quem sacramento suo affirmauit dictus ser Aluisius et similiter uir nobilis ser Iacobus Quirino quondam ser Andree esse etatis annorum XVIII completorum et hoc sub pena librarum II si secus reperiretur similiter sacramento suo affirmauit quod fuit filius legitimus dicti quondam ser Iohannis et nobilis domine Ixabete quondam uxoris dicti ser Iohannis et dicte matris predicti ser Nicolai, et hoc sub pena librarum V si secus reperiretur. pro quibus omnibus penis constituit se plezios predicti ser Aluisius et ser Iacobus ac uir nobilis ser Stefanus Quirino quondam ser Filippi qui iurauerunt et cetera facta fuerunt predicta in presentiam dominorum Pauli Truno et Danielis Vituri, aduocatorum comunis.

5

Avogaria di Comun 164 (Balla d'oro III), f. 300.

1484.XII.2

Millesimo suprascripto 1484 die secundo Decembris uir nobilis ser Nicolaus Quirino quondam ser Francisci scribi ut supra fecit filium suum ser Ioannem natum ex domina Iuliana Maripetro uxore sua legitima et iurauit illum esse annorum decem octo completorum. Item uir nobilis ser Albanus Mauroceno quondam ser Pauli et ser Bernardus Bembo quondam ser Zacharie iurauerunt per publicam uocem et famam legitimum dicti iuuenis constituentes ipsi tres se fideiussores omnium penarum, legum superinde disponentium si aliter reperiretur et hoc coram suprascriptis tribus dominis aduocatoribus.

6

Avogaria di Comun 164 (Balla d'oro III), f. 300v.

1487.XII.1

Millesimo suprascripto, die primo Decembris, uir nobilis ser Nicolaus Quirino quondam ser Francisci de Stampalia presentauit ser Fantinum Quirino, filium suum legitimum, natum ex domina Tulia Maripetro, uxore sua legitima, et iurauit ipsum esse annorum decem octo completorum. item uiri nobiles ser Daniel Maripetro quondam ser Marini et ser Ioannes Contareno ser Andree iurauerunt legitimum dicti iuuenis natum ex dictis iugalibus per publicam uocem et famam. sese omnes ipsi constituerunt fideiussores in omnibus ut supra continetur et hoc coram omnibus tribus spectabilibus dominis aduocatoribus Communis.

7

Stefano Magno, Annali, t. VI (1443-57), cod. Vindobonen. 6125, ad ann. 1443.

Marco Barbaro, Genealogie, t. II, cod. Vindobonen. 6156, f. 352v.

Magno

In questo anno 1443 vel circa fù uno Zuanne Querini, si disse fò capitanio dell'armada in Pò, il quale era bandizado da Venezia. andò a Rodi

et comprò da quelli signori dominavano nello Arcipelago la isola de Astampalia che era immunida et in quella andò ad habitar et intitolossi conte, et in quella refè vel di nuovo fè uno castello vel fortezza,

della quale fattosi signor andò all'isola di Amorgo vel Morgo, dominada per quel populo, et quella sottomesse. et per poder in quella dominare sposò una di quella isola delle principal, della quale ebbe uno fiolo detto Zorzi quondam.

Nota: nel 1384 vive Jacomo Grimani, signor de Stampalia et metà de Amergo.

Barbaro

Zuanne Querini, bandito da Venezia, andò a Rodi ad habitare.

dove comprò la isola di Stampalia da uno la dominava et si nominò conte di quella,

et si sottomise ancho la isola di Morgo, dominata dal populo. et per poterla mantenire tolse moglie da quella isola, con la quale hebbe uno figlio. il quale morì

et li rimase Francesco, della prima moglie. rimaseno suoi discendenti in signoria fino al 1537 . . . .

8

Gian Jacopo Caroldo
Chronique

A. Cod. Marcian. It. VII 803 (coll. 7295), f. 20v, alias 2v, autographe.

Parue al Veneto senato che per la rebellion de Candia la concession altre uolte fatta alli feudati, quando furono mandati in Candia et assignatoli li feudi fosse alterata et non di quella ualidità che haueua. pero statuirono che la concession era refirmata, con conditione che li feudati iurino di esser fedeli al inclyto duce e comun de Venetia.

Li heredi de Zanachi Gisi decapitato, sicome la insula de Larmurgo era sta posseduta da lui, pero fo commesso al duca et conseglieri de Candia che, ritrouandossi chiaramente el ditto Zanachi

ouer altri sententiati et judicati rebelli hauer possesso el ditto loco, debano loro intrare in possessione et in la ragion de ditto Zanachi, facendo publicare in la ditta isola che se alcun pretendesse hauer in quella ragione comparer debba, che non se li manchera dar justitia.

B. Ibidem, f. 30, alias 12, autographe.

Era capitanio general da mar m. Domenego Michiel a tempo de la rebellione de Candia, il quale recuperò la isola de Lamorgo possessa da quelli de cha Gisi, et dapoi il nobil homo Nicola Sanudo, duca de Larcipelago, come si cognosce chiaramente, hauia tolto quella de mano della ducal signoria. la qual ha ricercato ditto duca, come nobile et cittadino Veneto, che fra termine de giorni tre dala presentatione della littera[1] debba hauer restituita ditta insula. il che facendo si debba poner quella in la ducal signoria come a lei spettante et sopra le altre tre parte il regimento de Candia uda quelli de cha Gisi e fare justitia.

9

Giov. Antonio Muazzo

Cronica delle famiglie nobili Venete che abitarono in regno di Candia

Cod. Marcian. It. VII 124 (coll. 7421), f. 64.

1370. La Signoria scriue al duca di Candia che mandasse a prender possesso della suddetta isola di Amorgò come spettante alli Gisi rebelli, occupata furtiuamente dal Sanudo, duca dell'Arcipelago et acquistata da Domenego Michiel, capitan general della guerra di Candia 1366.

R.-J. Loenertz, O. P.

(1) D'après la place que le passage occupe dans la rédaction autographe définitive de la chronique (cod. Marcian. It. VII 2448, colloc. 10514, f. 173) cette lettre remontait au début du dogat d'Andrea Contarini, élu le 20 janvier 1368. La source de Caroldo est sans doute le registre *H* des *Secreta Senatus*, détruit dans l'incendie du 20 décembre 1577. Il contenait les délibérations « super facto rebellionis insulae Cretae », commençait en novembre 1363 et se terminait en 1367, année dont les deux derniers mois *more Veneto* correspondent aux mois de janvier et février 1368; cf. [T. Toderini-B. Cecchetti], *Il R. Archivio generale di Venezia*, Venezia 1873, 22 et 37 n. 4.

A Commentary on the XIV[th] Vision of Daniel

According to the Coptic Version

INTRODUCTION

After the Arab Conquest, the Egyptian Christians did not follow the dictates of the rulers blindly. Whenever the rulers openly persecuted the Church, the Copts adopted the classical attitude of passive resistance, as prescribed by the visionary of the *Apocalypse* " Here is the patience and the faith of the saints ". (*Apoc.* XIII, 10). Thus, there are numerous instances recorded, when the Copts regarded the rulers as being inherently evil, and to be condemned for their wickedness. Though there were some Copts, who interpreted the Arab Conquest as a deliverance from Byzantine oppression, other Copts soon realized that their new masters were not much different in their attitude towards them; and John, Bishop of Nikiou, describing the Arab Conquest said: " The yoke they laid on the Egyptians was heavier than the yoke which had been laid on Israel by Pharaoh. Him God judged by a righteous judgment by drowning him in the Red Sea, after He had sent many plagues both on men and cattle. When God's judgment lights upon these Muslims, may He do unto them as He did aforetime unto Pharaoh " (1).

Yet, except for the unsuccessful Coptic revolts between 726 and 773 A. D., the opposition of the Copts towards the state confined itself to theological denunciations. A systematic and consistent attitude of opposition to the rulers never emerged among the Copts. Whenever there was cause for opposition, this was in response to a particular oppressive and discriminatory decree by the respective Governor or Caliph.

(1) John of Nikiou, *Chronique*, Ed. Zotenberg. Paris, 1883, p. 578.

Certainly, the Copts did not share the view of St. John of Damascus (d. 754 A.D.), who treated al-Islâm as a Christian heresy, and who relates how in the days of the Emperor Heraclius a false prophet arose among the Arabs, namely Mamed (1). On the contrary, it can be said, that, though the Copts had to respect the rulers, they abhorred the teachings of al-Islâm.

It is this frame of attitude, which underlies the Coptic XIVth Vision of Daniel. Indeed, the vision is an apocalyptic testimony to the Islâmic persecutions of the Copts. Its message was to counter the growing anxiety and incipient despair, maintain enthusiasm for the religious cause and encourage loyalty to God, and, at the same time, keep bright the believer's hope in a future which could be even more wonderful than the past. What God had done in the past, He could do again, and as He humbled Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, so He could deal with Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the respective Caliphs. For his story, the author used the figure of Daniel, a man with a symbolic name, " God hath given decision ".

It is important for us to remember, however, that in compositions of this kind the historical details which are supplied are only the framework for the essentially religious message, and that these details were not intended to provide accurate historical information. The instruction is basically religious and not historical, so that only those details need to be historically accurate and precise, which concern the contemporary situation for which the message is relevant. Moreover, the picture of past events has to conform only to the popular ideas and conceptions of the past, and its image of the future should conform to the believers' traditional eschatological aspirations.

Even in the canonical *Book of Daniel* there are numerous discrepancies. For example, the capture of Jerusalem was not in the third year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* in 606 B.C., but in 597 B.C. under Jehoiakin. Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, but the son of Nabonidus, moreover, there is utter confusion in the order of the Persian kings.

Thus, we should not necessarily expect all statements in our apocalypse to conform to historical accuracy and veracity.

(1) MIGNE, *P. G.*, XCIV, 764-765. *De Haeresibus*, cf. 101.

In spite of its late-apocryphal character, the XIVth Vision of Daniel has retained the features of the classical apocalypse. This is evident from its essentially eschatological and dualistic nature of the material. For this dualism is not merely that of spirit and matter, or soul and flesh as taught by the Orphics or Gnostics. In our apocalypse we discover a gradual evolution from a historical-political dualism to a cosmic dualism, which is ultimately resolved by the Ancient of Days. Following the confrontation of Sarapidos with Pitourgos, both of whom are Ishmaelites, though the one is more " righteous " than the other, the seer confronts the Ishmaelites with the King of the Romans. Though still in the sphere of " this world ", the introduction of the King of the Romans shows definite apocalyptic symptoms. Then follows the encounter of Gog and Magog, which prepares the final cosmic advent of the Antichrist, whose reign is terminated by the victory of the Ancient of Days.

Acknowledgements

I hereby acknowledge my deep gratitude and indebtedness to Prof. Dr. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, who provided me with an English version of the Coptic text of the XIVth Vision of Daniel from Tattam's *Prophetae Majores*, vol. II. Adjectiones ad Daniel, pp. 386-405. Moreover, I have had the privilege of Prof. Dr. Burmester's scholarly advice and counsel in the preparation of the study, and I am grateful for many valuable suggestions. The Biblical quotations are taken from *The Holy Bible*, Revised Standard Version. New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1952. For the exegesis of the Biblical passages I have made use of *The Interpreter's Bible*, New York, Abingdon Press, 1956, vols. VI (Daniel) and XII (Apocalypse). The principal source for the historical material was the History of the Patriarchs: Evetts, B.T.A., " The History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church ", *Patrologia Orientalis*, V, (HPCC) and 'Azîz Sûryâl 'Aṭiyah, Yassâ 'Abd al-Masîḥ, O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, II, II, III, and A. Khater and O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, III, I, which is now in press (HPEC). Other references include Philip H. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, VIIth

edition, London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1960; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London, Methuen and Co., 1901; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, New York, The Knickerbocker Press, 1898; and F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen.* Göttingen, Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1875.

The Problems of Historical Identification of the Fourth Beast

The problems of the historical identification of the Fourth Beast with persons or nations begins with the description of the ten "kings" of the House of Ishmael (verses 24-64), *i. e.* the 10th to the 19th "king", after which period Pitourgos shall appear and encounter and finally overcome Sarapidos.

So far, two possible alternatives have been suggested. C. H. Becker, writing in the *Göttingische Gesellschafts Nachrichten* interprets the XIVth Vision of Daniel as pertaining to the Fall of the 'Umayyad Dynasty (1). On the other hand, F. Macler, who wrote in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* maintains that our apocalypse deals with the Fall of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty (2). Throughout our exposition, we shall present both alternatives; however, in many instances our commentators merely intimate a historical identification, and, wherever this is the case, we have added the pertinent historical material to demonstrate either the justification or the fault of their argumentation.

It is our contention, that the apocalypse includes material pertaining to both dynasties, the 'Umayyad and the Fâṭimîd Dynasty. And, indeed, one wonders, whether perhaps an original version of the apocalypse dealing with the Fall of the 'Umayyad Dynasty may not have been rewritten sometime around the middle of the XIIth century so as "to bring it up to date" and to include the Fall of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty.

The purpose of the following introductory remarks is to outline briefly the arguments of the expositors and to state the reasons for our interpretation.

(1) Becker C. H., "Das Reich der Ismaeliten im koptischen Danielbuch", in *Göttingische Gesellschafts Nachrichten*, 1916, pp. 7-57.

(2) Macler, F., "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel", in *Rev. hist. relig.* XXXIII, 1895, pp. 163-176.

A. – Becker's Interpretation: The Fall of the ʿUmayyad Dynasty.

Becker points out, that the XIVth Vision of Daniel was written " under the immediate impression of the monumental historical events of the catastrophy of the ʿUmayyad Dynasty ". Moreover, he insists, that the principal theme of the apocalypse is the defeat of Marwân II — Sarapidos — Challe — Mametios, the " king " with the cryptic number 666, who is killed by the Ishmaelites at al-Ašmûnaîn in Upper Egypt. And since only one caliph responds to the given description, Becker identifies the 17th " king " with Marwân II, the last one of the ʿUmayyad Caliphs. However, in order to maintain his general principle of interpretation, that of the Fall of the ʿUmayyad Dynasty, he is compelled to identify the 19th and last " king " with the 17th " king ". " Sarapidos-Marwân appears as the 17th " king ", and yet the apocalypse concludes with his death, which is related in the course of the description of the 17th and the 19th " king ".

From a genealogical point of view, Becker is certainly justified in seeing in Marwân II the 17th " king ", if one adds to the four Orthodox Caliphs thirteen ʿUmayyads, and omits Muʿâwiyah II, who, indeed, is often not included. Following this identification, Sulaîmân, who has the number 399, becomes the 10th " king ", and ʿUmar II, his successor, would be the 11th " king ", and so forth. Then, however, any further historical correlation becomes almost impossible. Therefore, for Becker, only two " kings " are definitely assured, *i. e.* Sulaîmân the 10th " king " and Marwân II, the 17th and 19th " king ", the two caliphs, who are given numbers. Becker does not attempt any further historical identification or interpretation, and speaks of the descriptions of the other eight " kings " in terms of a " heilloser Wirrwarr " (hopeless chaos).

It should be pointed out, however, that Becker's theory of identifying the events described in the XIVth Vision of Daniel with the Fall of the ʿUmayyad Dynasty finds support from certain external sources and parallels. There is no doubt, that during the VIIIth century, eschatological hopes among Christians, Jews and Muslims were quite common. Thus, for example, after the

death of Zâîd Ibn 'Alî Ibn Huṣaîn, there was a great agitation and a general expectation of the Last Day, which was expected without any warning. G. van Vloten had already pointed out, that the period which preceded the rise of the 'Abbâsid Dynasty was pregnant with eschatological expectations and aspirations (1). J. Wellhausen mentioned that Abû Muḥammad, who was released by Marwân II, was recognized by the Syrians as the legitimate caliph. Eventually, he was assassinated by Abû Ga'far al-Manṣûr, and with his death his prestige only increased. The Syrians saw in him the Messiah. " Als Geist in der islamischen Eschatologie überdauerte das Haus der Umaja seinen Untergang " (2).

Moreover, several non-Coptic apocalyptic parallels to the XIVth Vision of Daniel exist, which also deal with the Fall of the 'Umayyad Dynasty. Thus, there are the " Revelations of Rabbi Simon ben Yohai " כן יוחי נסהרוה רי שמעון, which were composed during the stormy period of the Fall of the 'Umayyads. The apocalypse describes plainly the wars of Marwân II, who is mentioned by name, as well as his flight after the battle on the bank of the Great Zab, his capture and his assassination. The revelations about the End are made by Metatron to Rabbi Simon ben Yohai, while the latter is dwelling in a cave, hiding from the Roman Emperor. The history of al-Islâm is reviewed from the appearance of the Prophet to the Fall of the 'Umayyads. Then, the real prophecy begins. It opens with the prediction, that, after Marwân's successor has reigned three months, the nine months' dominion of the " wicked empire " will set in for Israel. After the dispersed Israelites are gathered together, and the earthly Jerusalem is consumed by fire from heaven, the glorious new Jerusalem will descend from heaven. Israel will dwell in it for two thousand years in peaceful existence. At the end of this time, God will descend into the Valley of Jehoshaphat to hold judgment, and heaven and earth will disappear, the heathen will be sent to hell, and Israel will enter Paradise, and for a year the

(1) VAN VLOTEN, G., *Recherches sur la Domination Arabe, le Chiitisme et les Croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat des Omayades*. Amsterdam, 1894, p. 81.

(2) WELLHAUSEN, J., *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*. Berlin, 1902, p. 346.

sinners of Israel will suffer the tortures of hell and then be admitted to Paradise (1).

The *Armenian Enoch Apocalypse* describes an eagle with eight wings and three heads, which is attacked by a dragon with nine eyes coming from the south. The dragon devours all nations and their rulers sixteen-times-six, *i. e.* ninety-six years. Afterwards, the eagle returns on a chariot drawn by white horses, conquers the dragon, which, however, is not killed but just wounded. The eagle is the King of the Romans, while the dragon is interpreted as standing for the Children of Ishmael. The nine eyes may signify the nine " kings ", who succeed the first ruler. The tenth " king ", therefore, is Sulaîmân, who ruled until 717 A. D. If we add ninety-six years to 622 A. D., the Anno Higra, we obtain the year 718 A. D. However, the *Enoch Apocalypse* deals primarily with the Byzantine political developments and the second siege (716-717) of Constantinople by the Muslims, which ended in disaster for the aggressors (2).

In addition, Becker quotes an *apotelesmaticum*, which foreshadowed, according to the constellation of the stars, the political events. This horoscope was issued according to H. Usener in 775 A. D. In this work twenty-four Islamic rulers are described, though without being named. Usener has identified them historically, and Sulaîmân appears as the 10th, Marwân II as the 17th, Saffâḥ as the 18th and Manṣûr as the 19th " king " (2).

Yet, the most convincing argument which Becker uses for the dating of the events, which are described as having occurred " under the Fourth Beast ", is his reference to the *Vita Michaelis* (4).

(1) GRAETZ, H., *Geschichte der Juden.* V, 158, 446. Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, XXVIII, p. 635. Also, *Jew. Encyclop.* I, 683, p. 10.

(2) ISSAVERDEN, J., *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament, found in the Armenian Manuscripts of the Library of St. Lazarus.* Venice, 1901, p. 309.

(3) USENER, HERMANN, *Stephani Alexandrini quod fertur opusculum apotelesmaticum.* Bonner Univ.-Programme, 1879.

(4) EVETTS, B. T. A., History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church. *Patrologia Orientalis*, V. This is Khâîl I, the 46th Patriarch of Alexandria (743-767 A. D.). The *vita*, which is written in the 1st pers. sing., is an eye-witness report by the Deacon John (or Elias Paul or both), the spiritual son(s) of Anbâ Mûsâ, Bishop of Ausîm, who faithfully endured all the trials and tribulations of the Patriarch.

Indeed, the *vita* is the most detailed report of the last weeks and days of the ʿUmayyad Dynasty, though with some errors pertaining to the dates (1). The patriarchate of Khâîl I (743-767 A. D.) saw many apocalyptic manifestations. Twice the plague raged at Miṣr, followed by famine and drought which lasted for three years. The mortality among the people was so great that not even a part of those who died could be counted, for on one day two thousand perished, and on another day one thousand two hundred, and another day two thousand four hundred at Miṣr and at al-Ğîzah. The burial of the dead had to be interrupted, as there were no tombs to hold them. Later, a great pestilence among the infants broke out, so that they all died. The people of Egypt had perished through oppression, poverty and taxation, and the Patriarch suffered much. Furthermore, there was a great earthquake, and many houses were ruined in all the cities, and, likewise, on the sea many ships were sunk. Six hundred cities and villages were wrecked that night. Then, civil-war broke out, and Marwân, who had seized the empire by force, appointed ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Mûsâ ibn Naṣîr as governor of Egypt, who hated the Christians greatly.

These events must have reminded the Christians of the apocalyptic descriptions as given by Jesus Christ:

> " And you will hear of wars and rumors of war; see that you are not alarmed; for this must take place, but the end is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there will be famines and earthquakes in various places". *Matthew* XXIV, 6, 7.

B. – MACLER'S INTERPRETATION: THE FALL OF THE FÂṬIMÎD DYNASTY

According to F. Macler, the XIVth Vision of Daniel refers to the Fall of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty in Egypt, because the seer composed his apocalypse in Egypt. Pitourgos, the Turk, is identified with Ṣalâh ad-Dîn, the first of the Ayyûbids. Then, the

(1) For example, the year 467 A. M. (751-752) is impossible. It should read 465 A. M., for Marwân II was assassinated in August (Misrâ), 750 A. D.

" King of the Romans " shall arise, who shall enslave the Ishmaelites, afterwards, Gog and Magog shall rule the earth. Then the Antichrist will appear, and, finally, the Ancient of Days will come, Who will kill the Antichrist.

The references to the Romans should, therefore, be seen in the light of the Crusaders. By identifying the 10th " king " with al-'Azîz, Macler ignores al-Mu'izz, the first of the Egyptian Fâṭimîds, who arrived in Alexandria in 973 A. D., and who proceeded to instruct his new subjects in Shi'ism. Then, however, the Fâṭimîd rulers are listed chronologically, with al-Ḥâkim as the 11th, aẓ-Ẓâhir as the 12th, al-Mustanṣir as the 13th, al-Must'alî as the 14th, al-Amir as the 15th, al-Ḥâfiẓ as the 16th, aẓ-Ẓâfir as the 17th, al-Fâîz as the 18th and, al-'Adîd as the 19th " king ".

Macler does not attempt to relate the Fâṭimîd rulers to the numbers, which are given by the visionary to the 10th " king ". Only with regard to the 19th " king " and the last of the Fâtimîds does he attempt to do so. However, it is not clear, how he arrives at the number 666 for the name Adîd (اديد). For " a " he gives the numeral " 1 ", and for " d " 300. Now, " d " (dhal and delta) according to either the Graeco-Coptic or Arabic numerals has the value of " 4 ". If we suppose that he gives to " d " (dhal) the phonetic value of " t ", then according to the Graeco-Coptic numerals we shall have " 300 ". The " î " he considers as equal to ε or " 5 ". We now have 1 + 300 + 5 + 300 = 606. To arrive at 666, he adds an " h " to which he gives the numerical value of " 60 ". Among the Graeco-Coptic numerals, however, there is no " h ", and according to the Arabic numerals " h " (ه) has the value of " 5 " and " h " (ح) the value of " 8 ". To obtain " 60 " according to the Graeco-Coptic numerals, we must use the letter " x " (ξ), and according to the Arabic numerals the letter س.

Moreover, according to Becker, the original text was written in Coptic, and later, translated into Arabic. The Arabic text was then translated into Coptic. This is evident from the numbers of the proper names, which take for granted the Graeco-Coptic rather than the Arabic system of numerals.

The wars of Gog and Magog are interpreted by Macler historically as pertaining to the invasions of Jenghiz Khan (1162-1227), of Ogdai, his second son, and especially of Hulagu. In 1258, the Mongols entered Baghdâd and sacked the city. The fall of

Baghḍâḍ was almost contemporaneous with the end of the Seljuks of Konia as an independent power. The Mongols went through Syria, Aleppo was sacked, Damascus surrendered and Hulagu was meditating the capture of Jerusalem to restore it to the Christians, when news of Mangu's death (the nephew of Ogdai Khan) reached him, which caused him to return to Mongolia.

Macler's brief study consists of the text and extensive footnotes, and, therefore, only few historical facts are given. He feels, that the author of the apocalypse arranged certain facts, which he could well remember, and then filled in the lacunae with other events, which he only vaguely remembered.

C. – The Fall of the 'Umayyad and Fâṭimîd Dynasties

Whereas, Becker renounced attempting to relate the XIVth Vision of Daniel to any historical events beyond identifying the 10th " king " and the 17th " king ", Macler, on the other hand, tried " to match " every " king " with a corresponding Fâṭimîd caliph. In principle, we should not treat the apocalypse as a historical document, and, therefore, it is unnecessary and unwarranted " to match " every statement in the apocalypse with a historical event.

If we maintain that the XIVth Vision of Daniel is a product of the XIIIth century, written, perhaps, under the stress of the Fall of Jerusalem (1244), we must admit, that only the principal historical developments, as they pertained to the Egyptian Christans, would be reflected in the document. These, then, were the periods of persecution, which the Copts interpreted in terms of the Divine Judgment, for suffering and martyrdom was always explained either from a soteriological or from an eschatological point of view. The author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* had warned and exhorted: " My son, do not regard lightly the discipline of the Lord, do not lose courage when you are punished by him. For the Lord disciplines him whom he loves, and chastises every son whom he receives " (1). Aware of this warning, the Copts interpreted their sufferings as ordained by God, and the

(1) *Hebrews* XII, 5-6.

Patriarch Šanûdah I (859-880 A. D.) could lament: " Of what is the Church of God guilty, that He shall bring down upon it this great trial? " Cf. *HPEC*, II, 1, 37. The answer is given by the patriarch himself, when he considers the persecutions as the legitimate punishment of God " on account of my sins ". Yet, according to the Divine Plan, the chastening is a temporary and merely cleansing act of God, for ultimately, " God preserveth His elect and leaveth them not to see corruption ". Cf. *HPEC*, II, 1, 62.

For that matter, the Arab Conquest and the subsequent Muslim administration was interpreted as a chastening which descended from heaven from the Lord Christ upon all the Christians, and it overtook even others besides them of the nations, in order to punish them for all their offences in this world, and to save them in the next life. As David had said: ' Blessed is the man whom the Lord shall chasten '. (*Psalm* XCIII, 12-13). Or as Solomon had said: ' O my son, be not discontent at the chastening of the Lord, for whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth '. (*Prov.* III, 11, 12).

To the author of the XIVth Vision of Daniel, the most memorable persecutions during the first seven centuries of Islamic Rule were those during the reigns of te 'Umayyad caliphs Sulaîmân, 'Umar II, Yazîd II, Marwân II, and the violent oppressions by the Fâṭimîd caliph al-Ḥâkim. Apparently, the persecutions of these caliphs impressed themselves so strongly upon the " corporate mind " of the Copts, that the author of our apocalypse could easily recall and incorporate them in his vision.

On the other hand, it is possible, that our text has undergone some development and was rewritten at a later date. In this case, the original XIVth Vision of Daniel may have been composed during the first few years of the 'Abbâsid Dynasty. The similarity between the *Vita Michaelis* and the description as given in verses 47-51 provides a strong argument to place the date of authorship of the original text in the second half of the VIIIth century. The dramatic and far-reaching events during and following the Crusades in the XIIIth centuy, many have lent an additional " hand " to extend the visions, so as to bring them " up to date " and incorporate the Fall of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty. For example, there is little doubt, that verses 54, 56, 58, 59 apply to al-Ḥâkim, whose violence and persecution must have left a

permanent impression upon the memory of the Copts. Moreover, Sarapidos (verses 56, 66, 67, 68), the 19th " king ", should not be identified in terms of a person; on the contrary, Sarapidos the Egyptian stands for the Dynasty of the Egyptian Fâṭimîds.

We have to accept the fact that it is impossible to find for every statement in our apocalypse a historical corollary, and the synthetic approach, as followed with regard to the Islamic dynasties — relating the events to the 'Umayyads *and* Fâṭimîds — seems to be the most satisfactory one. In conclusion, it should be noted that the " kings " are either caliphs or dynasties. Certainly, it is impossible to identify the " kings " with the governors of Egypt, even though they were referred to as *al-malik*, for unde the 'Umayyads there were thirty-one changes of governors in 109 years, whereas, under the 'Abbasîds there were sixty-seven changes in 118 years.

The Nubian Invasions

Our apocalypse knows of four, apparently distinct, invasions of Egypt by the Ethiopians, *i. e.* the Nubians. These are recorded as having occurred during the reign of the 12th " king " (verses 30, 32), the 14th " king " (verses 36, 37), the 15th " king " (verses 41, 43) and the 17th " king " (verse 50).

If we accept, that the 17th " king " should be identified with Marwân II (744-750 A. D.), the last of the 'Umayyad caliphs, then, the four Nubian invasions must have occurred during the period of the 'Umayyad Dynasty. However, Islamic history provides us with no references to any Nubian invasion during the reign of the 'Umayyad caliphs, cf. Quatremère, Et., *Mémoires Géographiques et Historiques sur l'Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines.* Paris, 1811, Vol II.

After the conquest of Egypt (641 A. D.) by the troops of 'Amr ibn al-'As, the new rulers considered all of Egypt and the land south of it as part of their possession. About a year after the conquest of Egypt, 'Amr ibn al-'As sent an expedition with twenty thousand men under the command of 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'ad into Nubia. The Nubians, however, had no intention of changing their Christian Faith for that of al-Islâm, nor of abandoning their ancestral practice of raiding the wealthy cities of Egypt.

The Islamic Dynasties

The caliphs in their historical sequence	(*A*) Becker		(*B*) Macler			(*C*) Meinardus	
1. 'Umar (634-644)	1.	—	1.	—		1.	—
2. 'Uthmân (644-656)	2.	—	2.	—		2.	—
3. 'Alî (656-661)	3.	—	3.	—		3.	—
4. Ḥasan ibn 'Alî (661)	4.	—	4.	—		4.	—
5. Mu'âwiyah I (661-680)	5.	—	5.	—		5.	—
6. Yazîd I (680-683)	6.	—	6.	—		6.	—
7. Mu'âwiyah II (683)	(excluded by Becker)			—			—
8. Marwân I (684-685)	7.	—	7.	—		7.	—
9. 'Abd al-Malik (685-705)	8.	—	8.	—		8.	—
10. Al-Walîd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (705-715)	9.	—	9.	—		9.	—
11. Sulaîmân (715-717)	10.	Sulaîmân	10.	'Azîz	(975-996)	10.	Sulaîmân and 'Umar II
12. 'Umar II (717-720)	11.	'Umar II	11.	Al-Ḥâkim	(996-1021)	11.	'Umar II and Yazîd II
13. Yazîd II (720-724)	12.	Hishâm	12.	Az-Ẓâhir	(1021-1036)	12.	Hishâm
14. Hishâm (724-743)	13.	Yazîd II	13.	Mustansir	(1036-1094)	13.	Al-Walîd ibn Yazîd
15. Al-Walîd ibn Yazîd (743-744)	13.	—	14.	Must'alî	(1094-1102)	14.	—
16. Yazîd III (744)	15.	—	15.	Al-Amir	(1102-1130)	15.	—
17. Ibrâhîm (744)	16.	—	16.	Al-Ḥâfiz	(1130-1149)	16.	—
18. Marwân II (744-750)	17.	Marwân II	17.	Az-Zâfir	(1149-1154)	17.	Marwân II
19. As-Saffâh (750-754)	18.	As-Saffâḥ	18.	Al-Fâ'îz	(1154-1160)	18.	—
20. Al-Manṣûr (754-775)	19.	Marwân II	19.	Al-'Adîd	(1160-1171)	19.	Al-Hâkim

The first expedition, which was sent against them not only failed to conquer the Nubians, but also the invading forces were compelled to retreat, after having suffered much loss from the exceptional skill of the Nubian archers (1). In 652 A. D., however, 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'ad returned to Nubia and accomplished the final subjection of the Nubians. The Muslims penetrated as far as Dongola and laid siege to the city; and King Kalidomat opened negotiations for peace. The agreement, which was made between the Arabs and the Christians, stipulated that from henceforth the Nubians had to pay an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty slaves to the Governor of Aswân. Thus, every year, about four hundred slaves (it was estimated that 10% of the slaves would perish during the transport) were taken to al-Qaṣr opposite the island of Philae, where they were surrendered to the Egyptian authorities (2).

The History of the Patriarchs records, that Cyriacus, the King of the Nubians, had heard of the civil-war, which prevailed in Egypt between Marwân II and Abû'l-'Abbâs, and that the Governor of Egypt had begun to persecute the Egyptian Christians, and that he had imprisoned Khâîl I (743-767 A. D.), the 46th Patriarch of Alexandria. Thereupon, Cyriacus sent one of the notables of his kingdom to Egypt to demand that the patriarch should be set at liberty. The Nubian diplomat, however, was arrested by the Egyptian Governor. Enraged at the ill-treatment of the Egyptian Christians, Cyriacus invaded Egypt with an army of one hundred thousand men and one hundred thousand camels. All Christians, who were still far more numerous than the Muslims, welcomed the Christian army of Cyriacus with joy. The Nubians penetrated as far north as Miṣr, and demanded the liberation of the patriarch. Faced with the assault of the Nubians, the Governor begged the patriarch to intervene and to ask Cyriacus to withdraw his troops. Upon word that the patriarch had been set at liberty, the Nubian troops returned, taking with them considerable booty from the Muslim inhabitants (3).

(1) BUTLER A., *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*. Oxford, 1902, p. 432.

(2) RÖDER G., 'Die christliche Zeit Nubiens und des Sudans', in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXIII, 3, 1912. MASSENBACH, G. v., *Als Mohrenland noch christlich war*. Wiesbaden, n. d.

(3) Becker points out that the invasion of the Nubians under King Cyriacus is the invention of the author of the *Vita Michaelis*, which Abû

In the beginning of the IXth century, the Christian kingdoms of Nubia gained in political importance and military strength. Thereupon, they determined to discontinue to pay the *bakt*, the annual slave-tribute. And while the Egyptian rulers were kept fully occupied with the Coptic insurrections, the Nubians stopped paying their tribute. Then, during the patriarchate of Yûsâb (831-850 A. D.), Ibrâhîm, the brother of the Caliph al-Mâ'mûm (813-833 A. D.), sent a message to Zacharias, King of Nubia, ordering him to pay the annual *bakt*, which was fourteen years in arrears. As Zacharias found it impossible to pay his debt, he sent his son George to Ibrâhîm. Ibrâhîm received him graciously and granted all the petitions of Zacharias. The Nubians achieved their purpose of not paying the *bakt* for the years of which they were in arrears, and a further concession was made that the *bakt* was to be paid only once in every three years, instead of every year to the caliph.

In 854 A. D., the Bejas invaded Upper Egypt, plundering both Esna and Edfû, but the Egyptian troops were quickly assembled, and the Bejas were defeated. During the reign of King George, the son of Zacharias, Nubia was invaded by the rebel forces of Abû 'Abd al-Raḥman al-'Umarî, who was determined to get possession of the gold mines of the Nile Valley. After several battles, al-'Umarî was defeated and escaped towards Egypt (1).

In 956 A. D., the Nubians attacked again Aswân, but the following year they were repelled by the Egyptians (2). The Nubians fought their way back to their own country, but they were forced to surrender to the Muslims their fortress of Ibrîm. Again in 967 A. D. the Nubians invaded Egypt, when they recovered the territory which they had lost. This time, they overran the country as far as Akhmîm.

'l-Makarim used. Apparently, the chronicler of the *History of the Patriarchs* joined the liberation of the patriarch, his hero, with one of the numerous Nubian invasions. It is unlikely, that the Nubians ever penetrated as far north as Fusṭâṭ.

(1) For the detailed account of the adventures of al-'Umarî, cf. QUATREMÈRE, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 59 ff.

(2) BUDGE, E. A. W., *The Egyptian Sudan, its History and Monuments*. London, 1907, II, XII.

During the reign of Ṣalâh ad-Dîn (1171-1193), the Nubians again invaded Egypt, pillaging Aswân. Having knowledge of this, the new sultan despatched an army to meet the Nubian forces, and the King of Nubia ordered his troops to withdraw. In spite of the retreat of the Nubians, Ṣalâh ad-Dîn's troops entered Nubia. A battle was fought, and both parties claimed victory over the other. Yet, Ṣalâh ad-Dîn was far from being satisfied, and he commissioned Šams ad-Dawlah, his brother, to invade Nubia and to punish the marauding Christians. Šams ad-Dawlah attacked the fortress of Ibrîm and took it after three days. All the Christians who survived the siege were sold as slaves. Seven hundred thousand Nubians were either killed or sold into slavery. Towards the end of the XIIIth century, during the reign of aẓ-Ẓâhir Baybars (1260-1277), David, King of the Nubians, engaged in one of the periodic invasions of Upper Egypt, damaging considerably the town of Aswân. Immediately, the Egyptians took the opportunity to invade Nubia and to penetrate as far south as Dongola. The Egyptians made many prisoners, among whom there were several Nubian notables, who after having been exhibited as trophies, were barbarically hewn asunder.

By the end of the XIIIth century, the Northern Kingdom of Nubia had decreased in power and prestige, and though still Christian, it dependend largely upon the good will of the Egyptian Sultan. During the XIVth century, the Northern Kingdom suffered a final blow and ultimately collapsed.

If we accept the XIIIth century as a possible date for the final composition of the XIVth Vision of Daniel, then we may assume that the XIIIth century developments in Nubia may have led the author to intersperse the text with references to the Nubian invasions. The verses pertaining to the Nubian invasions, therefore, should be understood as parenthetical accounts, rather than as events falling into the reigns of the respective kings or dynasties.

The Structure of the Apocalypse

The principal theme of the XIVth Vision of Daniel, that of the history of the Ishmaelites, is disguised in the apocalyptic frame of the canonical visions of Daniel, and it constitutes the central part. Verses 1-21 and 78-88 are modelled on the Old

Testament visions of Daniel. The apocalypse begins with a prologue (vers. 1-3), which corresponds to Daniel's *Vision of the Last Days* (*Dan.* X, 1-XII, 13). Then, instead of following the canonical sequence, the author reverts to the *Vision of the Four Beasts*, which finds its parallel in *Dan.* VII, 1-28. Whereas, most scholars have interpreted the Biblical Vision of the Four Beasts as pertaining to the empires of the Babylonians, the Medians, the Persians and the Graeco-Macedonians, our author explicitly identifies his Four Beasts with the empires of the Persians, the Romans, the Hellenes (Byzantines) and the Ishmaelites. Then follows the description of the ten Islamic rulers, at the end of which Pitourgos, the Turk, appears and defeats Sarapidos the Egyptian. With the victory of Pitourgos over the Egyptians, the stage is set for an apocalyptic conclusion, which the author borrows from the canonical Apocalypse of Daniel. Gog and Magog shall move the earth before the Antichrist appears, whose reign comes to an end with the final victory of the Ancient of Days.

Verses 1- 3 Prologue.
3-10 First Vision of the Four Beasts.
11-15 Second Vision of the Nineteen Horns.
16-23 Interpretation of the First Vision.
24-64 Interpretation of the Second Vision.
- 24 Description of the 10th " king ".
- 25-26 Description of the 11th " king ".
- 27-32 Description of the 12th " king ".
- 33 Description of the 13th " king ".
- 34-39 Description of the 14th " king ".
- 40-44 Description of the 15th " king ".
- 45-46 Description of the 16th " king ".
- 47-51 Description of the 17th " king ".
- 52-53 Description of the 18th " king ".
- 54-64 Description of the 19th " king ".

65-75 Appearance of Pitourgos and encounter with Sarapidos.
76-77 Intervention of the King of the Romans.
78 Appearance of Gog and Magog.
79-80 Appearance of the Antichrist.
81-84 Final struggle of the Ancient of Days with Antichrist.
85-88 Epilogue.

Exposition

Note: The exposition will furnish the reader with the appropriate Biblical parallels and a brief exegesis of the text. The historical inter-

pretation of the Vision of the Fourth Beast or the Nineteen Horns and the subsequent appearances (verses 24-78) offer the possible applications of the text to:

(*A*) The Fall of the ʿUmayyad Dynasty.
(*B*) The Fall of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty.
(*C*) The Fall of the ʿUmayyad and Fâṭimîd Dynasties.

DANIEL, Chapter XIV

1. *And in the third year of Cyrus the Persian who took the Kingdom of Babylon, a word was revealed to Daniel whose name is Baldasar. True is the word.*

Bibl. Par. " In the third year of Cyrus, King of Persia, a word was revealed to Daniel, who was named Belteshaz'zar. And the word was true ". *Dan.* X, 1 a.

Verse 1 is a historical comment by the redactor, for Daniel's revelation begins with verse 2, where he speaks in the first person. *Third year of Cyrus, i. e.* the third year after Cyrus took Babylon, would be 536-535 B. C. A *word* means a " word of the divine oracle (*Dan.* IX, 23). *Baldasar* or Balthasar, Belshazzar was the last King of Babylon, and here, Daniel is called Baldasar.

2. *I, Daniel, was fasting twenty-one days until the evening, daily. I did not eat flesh neither dit I drink wine. I did not anoint myself with oil.*

Bibl. Par. " In those days I, Daniel, was mourning for three weeks. I ate no delicacies, no meat or wine entered my mouth, nor did I anoint myself at all, for the full three weeks ". *Dan.* X, 2.

Fasting, from *Dan.* X, 12 we learn that Daniel prepared himself for such a revelation by ascetic practices, " seeking him by prayer and supplications with fasting and sackcloth and ashes ". *Dan.* IX, 3. *Twenty-one days, i. e.* three weeks. *Flesh* and *wine* were indications of luxurious living, and *anoiting* also was a luxurious practice, which was omitted during mourning.

3. *It happened to me, while standing at the river Tigris, that a matter was revealed to me.*

Bibl. Par. " On the twenty-fourth day of the first month, as I was standing on the bank of the great river, that is, the Tigris, I lifted up my eyes and looked ". *Dan.* X, 4, 5 a.

Tigris is Hiddekel (*Gen.* II, 14). Babylon, however, is situated on the banks of the Euphrates, where Daniel might be expected. With regard to *Dan.* X, 4, the *Peshitta* has " Euphrates ", though the *LXX* has " Tigris ".

4. *I saw, I beheld, four winds of the heavens struck upon the great sea.*

Bibl. Par. " Daniel said, ' I saw in my vision by night, and behold, the four winds of heaven were stirring up the great sea ' ". *Dan.* VII, 2.

Beginning with verse 4, the author adopts the apocalyptic " four empire " theory, cf. *Dan.* VII, 1-28. The *four winds of heaven* resemble the four winds of the creation epic, referred to in *Zech.* II, 6, VI, 5. The *great sea* normally stands for the Mediterranean, here, however, it is a mythological concept referring to the circumambient ocean, which in the classical mythology goes all around and underneath the earth and is the antipodes of heaven, *e. g.* the waters of the deep of *Gen.* I, 2, VII, 11. Moreover, the sea being a seat of evil and the home of fearsome monsters, it was an appropriate place from which the beasts should emerge.

5. *I saw four beasts, they came from the river, being exceedingly terrible.*

Bibl. Par. " And four great beasts came up out of the sea, different from one another ". *Dan.* VII, 3.

Pagan powers and dynasties were frequently portrayed as beasts. In the Old Testament we find such animal symbolism in *Ezek.* XVII, XIX, XXIX, XXXII. Apparently, each of the four winds produced a beast. The " Four Beasts " are generally interpreted as the Babylonian Empire, which originated in the

south of Babylon, the Median in the north, the Persian in the east and the Greek Empire in the west of Babylon. Other scholars, like Hugo Gressmann, *Der Messias*, Göttingen, 1929, have argued, that the powers must be contemporary with one another. They are, therefore, interpreted as the four kingdoms of the Diadochi, who succeeded Alexander the Great. Our author identifies the four beasts as the empires of the Persians, Romans, Hellenes (Byzantines) and the Ishmaelites.

6. *The first animal being like a bear having wings on it like an eagle. I was looking until its wings were mowed; and they gave to it a heart of men, and it stood upon its feet.*

Bibl. Par. " The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings. Then as I looked its wings were plucked off, and it was lifted up from the ground and made to stand upon two feet like a man; and the mind of a man was given to it ". *Dan.* VII, 4.

The word used in the Coptic text ⲗⲁⲃⲟⲓ, may be either bear or lion, also she-bear or lioness. Whereas, the bear (*Dan.* VII, 5) is inferior to the lion and does not play any significant part in Oriental symbolism, the lion-eagle or winged lion represented the Babylonian Empire as seen by the great winged lions of the Mesopotamian temples and palaces. In *Jer.* IV, 7, XLIX, 19, L, 17 Nebuchadnezzar is compared to a lion and his armies to eagles.

7. *The second beast being like man's flesh, being exceedingly terrible, and is stood upon its side, and I was looking until three parts of its mouth were broken and the fourth part of the mouth was strengthened, and I was looking until its teeth were rooted out from its mouth.*

Bibl. Par. " And behold, another beast, a second one, like a bear. It was raised up on one side, it had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth, and it was told, 'Arise, devour much flesh' ". *Dan.* VII, 5.

This beast moved lopsidedly to symbolize an unstable and unbalanced empire as compared to the Babylonian Empire. In the context of the Vision of Daniel, it has been advanced, that the three ribs or the three parts of its mouth represent the three

provinces, which the Medes conquered. Our apocalypse, however, identifies this beast with the Roman Empire.

8. *The third beast being like a leopard having wings on it, and four heads, eating quickly, rejecting the rest.*

Bibl. Par. " After this I looked, and lo, another like a leopard, with four wings of a bird on its back, and the beast had four heads; and dominion was given to it ". *Dan.* VII, 6.

According to the Vision of Daniel, the winged, four-headed leopard symbolized the Persian Empire. Though the leopard is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, this is a heraldic animal like the winged lion. In our apocalypse, the third beast is identified with the Empire of the Hellenes (Byzantines). Apparently, there is a number symbolism running through this section of the vision, *e. g.* the symbolic number of the first beast is two (two wings of an eagle). The number of the second beast is three, therefore, lopsided, and the number of the third beast is four (four heads).

9. *The fourth beast I saw being like a lion, being terrible beyond any of all the beasts which were before.*

10. *There was given to it authority and a great power. Its hands were iron, its claws were bronze, eating, chewing, trampling the rest beneath its feet.*

Bibl. Par. " After this I saw in the night visions, and behold, a fourth beast, terrible and dreadful and exceedingly strong; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. It was different from all the beasts that were before it... ". *Dan.* VII, 7. Also *Dan.* VII, 19.

The fourth beast of the Vision of Daniel symbolizes the Greek Empire of Alexander's successors with its policy of Hellenization. This was already recognized by the author of the *Sibylline Oracles* (III, 388-400). Like the Greeks, who attempted to transform the local customs and religious attitudes of the people they conquered, so also the Ishmaelites, whom our apocalypse identifies

with the fourth beast, imposed their religion upon their new subjects.

11. *I saw ten horns which came up upon its head, and I saw a small horn which came up near the ten horns; there was given to it great authority and strong power.*

Bibl. Par. " ... And it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and behold, there came upon them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots... ". *Dan.* VII, 7 b and 8.

In apocalyptic literature, the horns always represent kings or dynasties of that empire, which is symbolized by the beast, whose horns they are. In the Vision of Daniel, the ten horns refer to the ten kings who succeeded Alexander, and the *Sibylline Oracles* referred to the horns as individuals in the Seleucid succession. In our apocalypse, however, the ten horns are caliphs, who belong either to the 'Umayyad Dynasty or to the Fâṭimîd Dynasty or to both dynasties. The *small horn* was interpreted in the context of the Vision of Daniel as representing Antiochus IV Epiphanes. In our apocalypse, however, the " small horn with great authority and strong power " represents Muḥammad the Prophet.

12. *I saw another four which came up on its left and I saw another four which came up after them all, each different, and these all make nineteen.*

With verse 12, the author departs from the canonical Vision of Daniel and clearly adopts his own scheme. In order to arrive at nineteen horns, it is necessary to add the "small horn" of verse 11 ($10 + 1 + 4 + 4 = 19$). According to Old Testament symbolism, the nineteen horns could also be interpreted in terms of the nineteen Kings of Israel from Jeroboam I to Hoshea. Whereas Macler sees in the nineteen caliphs fourteen caliphs belonging to the Fâṭimîd Dynasty and five caliphs as belonging either to the Ṭûlûnids or the Ikhshîdids, Becker interprets the nineteen horns as representing the fourteen 'Umayyad caliphs, the four orthodox caliphs and the Prophet Muḥammad (or Ḥaṣan ben 'Alî or 'Abdullah ben Zubaîr).

13. *I heard a voice saying to me: " Daniel, man of desires, hast thou understood what thou hast seen?" I said to him: " How is it ever possible for me to know, if no one leads me?"*

14. *I beheld, I saw an angel of God standing on my right hand, his wings being of great lightness. I feared, I fell down upon the earth.*

15. *The angel took me, he set me up and he said to me: " Stand upon thy feet that I may instruct thee in those things which shall be at the end of the times ".*

Bibl. Par. " When I, Daniel had seen the vision, I sought to understand it; and behold, there stood before me one having the appearance of a man. And I heard a man's voice between the banks of the U'lai, and it called, " Gabriel, make this man understand the vision ". So he came near where I stood; and when he came, I was frightened and fell upon my face. But he said to me, " Understand, O son of man, that the vision is for the time of the end ". *Dan.* VIII, 15-17.

The *voice* is that of a celestial being, which according to *Dan.* VIII, 16 had the appearance of a man. Daniel, who realizes his own insufficiency with regard to the interpretation of his vision, requests help and insight. Another vision occurs, and the revelation is in the form of an *angel.* The *wings* are the descriptive attributes of the angel and, in this case, they stand for illumination. The angel, therefore, is Gabriel the messenger of God. Whereas, in the company of Christ, Gabriel stands on His left side, in the company of men, he stands on the " right hand ". Gabriel is commemorated by the Coptic Church on the 22nd of Kîhak, the 26th of Baû'ûnah and the 30th of Baramhât. — Falling down upon the earth or falling on the face at the approach of an angel is a common response in accounts of celestial appearances cf. *Josh.* V, 14; *Ezek.* I, 28; III, 23; XLIII, 3; *Apocalypse* I, 17; *Enoch* XIV, 14, 24; II *Esdras* X, 29. In part, this was an Oriental mark of respect, but, likewise, it was a desire to hide the face from the *mysterium tremendum.* The *end of the times* stands for the Last Days, and this reference, is certainly eschatological. The " end " is the culmination of the present era which makes way for the entrance of the new and final era.

16. *The four beasts which thou hast seen are four kingdoms, and the beast which thou didst see, being like a bear, this is the King of the Persians. He will possess the earth 555 years. After these things his kingdom shall perish, and it shall not be powerful for ever.*

For the " *four beasts* " cf. verse 5; for the ' *bear* " cf. verse 6. The domination of the Persians in Egypt began with Cambyses, who was crowned King of Egypt and assumed all the titles of a pharaoh in 525 B. C. The Persian rule lasted until 332 B. C. In that year, the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great marked the end of the Persian domination. The number 555 should not be understood in historical terms, on the contrary, it belongs the realm of apocalyptic mythology. Everything related to " five " represents enlightenment, whereas " three " stands for dynamic perfection. 555 therefore, would be the " perfection of enlightenment ".

17. *The second beast which thou hast seen, being like man's flesh, this is the King of the Romans, as iron he shall hold the earth, he shall spread over it. He shall be in strength unto the land of Ethiopia, and he shall rule upon the earth 911 years.*

For the " *second beast* ", cf. verse 7. In 30 B. C., Egypt was reduced to a Roman Province, which was placed under the personal jurisdiction of the Emperor. In 395 A. D., the Roman Empire was divided, and from then on, Egypt formed part of the Eastern or Byzantine Empire with Byzantium (Constantinople) as its capital. The Roman Era, therefore, lasted 425 years. *He shall hold the earth, he shall spread over it.* The Roman Empire included all of Europe south of the Danube and approximately west of the Rhine, Asia Minor, all of North Africa and Egypt as far south as the first cataract, *i. e.* " unto the land of Ethiopia ".

18. *But the city of the kingdom he shall not possess until many days are completed.*

Though Nero (54-68 A. D.) conceived the idea of invading " Ethiopia ", *i. e.* the region south of Egypt, no one was able to supply him with exact information, and he abandoned his

plan. For the next 200 years (60-260 A. D.). the Romans contented themselves with developing the district between Aswân (Syene) and Dakkah; and Trajan (98-117 A. D.), and Hadrian (117-138 A. D.) repaired the temples of Philae and Kalabshah. In the beginning of the IIIrd century, the Blemmyes invaded Egypt, and, during the reign of Diocletian (284-305 A. D.), the Roman garrison at Aswân was withdrawn. The *city of the kingdom* refers probably to the Northern Kingdom of Nubia, known as Nobadia, and its capital was Ballana. In 542 A. D., the capital was moved to Bukharas or Faras. However, this reference could also refer to the Kingdom of Makorita or Mukarra with its capital of Old Dongola, At the time of the Arab Conquest, when in 651-652 A. D. 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'ad, the Governor of Egypt, made his second expedition to Nubia, he found the whole country from Aswân to the frontier of Alodia under one ruler. This means, it would seem, that either before or in 652 A. D. the kingdoms of the Nobatae and the Makoritae were amalgamated with a joint capital of Dongola.

19. *The third animal which thou hast seen, being like a leopard, this is the King of the Hellenes. He shall rule upon the earth one thousand years and thirty days, and his kingdom shall not remain unto the age.*

For the " *third beast* " cf. verse 8. The *King of the Hellenes* stands for the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine rule in Egypt lasted from 395 A. D. until the Arab Conquest in 640 A. D., when Egypt was invaded by 'Amr ibn al-'As. The *one thousand years* refer to the " Day of the Lord " (*II Pet.* III, 8, *Ps. XC*, 4), which stands for a long period.

20. *The fourth beast which thou hast seen, being like a lion, this is the King of the Sons of Ishmael.*

21. *His kingdom shall be upon the earth very strong for many days.*

22. *That kingdom shall be from the race of Abraham, from the maidservant of Sarah, the wife of Abraham.*

Bibl. Par. " Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bore him no children. She had an Egyptian maid whose name was Hagar; and Sarai said to Abram,

'Behold now, the Lord has prevented me from bearing children; go in to my maid; it may be that I shall obtain children by her...' "And he went in to Hagar, and she conceived... and Hagar bare Abram a son; and Abram called the name of his son, whom Hagar bore, Ishmael". *Gen.* XVI, 1, 2, 4 a, 15.

For the "*fourth beast*" cf. verse 9.

23. *It shall destroy all the cities of the Persians and the Romans and the Hellenes, and nineteen kings shall rule upon the earth from that race from the Sons of Ishmael, until the completion of the end they shall be.*

The *cities of the Persians* were conquered during the caliphate of ʿUmar (634-644 A. D.). Saʿad ibn Abî-Waqqâṣ, one of the Companions of the Prophet, defeated in 637 A. D. the troops of the Persian Rustam, the administrator of the Empire, at al-Qâdisîyah, not far from al-Ḥîrah. The same year, Ctesiphon (al-Madâ'in), the Persian capital, 32 km south-east of Baghḍâḍ, was captured. In 641 A. D., Mosul (Mawṣil) near the site of the ancient Nineveh was captured. The military camp al-Kûfah became the capital of the newly conquered territories. The *cities of the Romans and the Hellenes* refer to the Islamic expansion especially during the ʿUmayyad and ʿAbbasîd dynasties. Large sections of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, especially all of North Africa and Spain fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Constantinople was attacked three times by ʿUmayyad forces. For the *nineteen kings*, cf. verse 12.

24. *The tenth king who shall be from them will be as a prophet, the number of his name is* 399. *He will do justice, he will give bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked, and he will perform salvation for those who serve. His mercy will extend over all the earth, and his justice unto the height of heaven.*

(*A*) [1]

The 10th "king" is Sulaîmân (715-717 A. D.), who, indeed, is the 10th caliph, if we do not include Muʿâwiyah II (683 A. D.),

[1] For the *sigilla* (*A*), (*B*), (*C*), cf. pp. 398-405.

who is frequently omitted. The Greek letters of Sulaîmân added up give the number 399. $\Sigma o\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\nu = \Sigma\ (200) + o\ (70) + \lambda\ (30) + \eta\ (8) + \mu\ (40) + \alpha\ (1) + \nu\ (50) = 399$.

(*B*)

The 10th "king" is Abû Manṣûr Nizâr al-'Azîz (975-996 A. D.), son of al-Mu'izz and the fifth caliph in the Dynasty of the Fâṭimîds. He was the first Fâṭimîd to commence his reign in Egypt. During his reign, a large amount of toleration was conceded to the Christian communities. In his attitude, he was undoubtedly influenced by his Christian vizir 'Isa ibn-Nastûr and his Ukrainian wife, the mother of his son and heir al-Ḥâkim, and sister of the two Melkite patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 632. The chronicler of the *History of the Patriarchs* states: "There was great peace for the churches during the reign of Nazâr Abû'l-Manṣûr al-'Azîz bi'llah (*HPEC*, II, II, 151). *His mercy will extend over all the earth.* During the reign of al-'Azîz the Fâṭimîd empire reached its zenith, and the name of this caliph was recited in the Friday prayers from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 620.

(*C*)

Sulaîmân is the only caliph, whose Graeco-Coptic letters would correspond to the number 399. Moreover, he can be legitimately regarded as the 10th caliph of the 'Umayyad Dynasty. *As a prophet* may also apply to Sulaîmân, who considered himself as the person referred to by ***hadîth*** that a caliph bearing the prophet's name was to conquer Constantinople, cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 203. On the other hand, the *History of the Patriarchs* (HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 68-70) bears witness, that during the reign of Sulaîmân the Christians were severely persecuted, and fear ruled over Muslims and Christians alike. "At last the gracious and merciful God heard their (the monks') supplication and delivered them suddenly, for Sulaîmân, who was at that time sovereign prince, died and was succeeded by 'Umar, son of 'Abd al-'Azîz". Indeed, it is unlikely, that our author could have thought of Sulaîmân as a "king of justice and mercy". On the contrary, Sulaîmân was

noted for his cruelty and jealousy. The description sounds more like the Islamic glorification of 'Umar II (717-720 A. D.), who, in fact, was the 'Umayyad saint. To later tradition, which expected a *mab'ûth* (one sent) to appear every hundred years to renovate al-Islâm, he became the " one sent " at the beginning of the second century A. H. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 202.

The 10th king, therefore, might stand for the era of the reigns of Sulaîmân and 'Umar II.

25. *The eleventh king who shall be from them will do injustice upon all the earth; he will destroy the ancient things made by hand.*

(*A*)

The 11th " king " is 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz (717-720 A. D.) as he must have appeared to the Christians. The most striking regulation issued by this 'Umayyad caliph was the exclusion of Christians from public offices, the prohibition of their wearing turbans, the demand to cut their forelocks, to wear distinctive clothes with girdles of leather, to ride without saddles or only on pack-saddles, to erect no places of worship and not to lift their voices in time of prayer. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 234. In the *History of the Patriarchs* (HPCC, *P. O.* V, 71-72) we read that 'Umar (though he did much good before men, acted ill before God ". He demanded from the Christians to accept the faith of al-Islâm or to leave the country. He extended the poll-tax to include all men, even in cases where it was not customary to take it. God, however, destroyed him swiftly, because he was like Antichrist.

(*B*)

The 11th " king " is al-Ḥâkim (996-1021), whose violent persecutions of the Christians and the destructions of the churches sadly interrupted the tolerant and peaceful attitude of the Fâṭimîd rulers. Al-Ḥâkim killed several of his vizirs, and he also ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He was the third caliph in al-Islâm after al-Mûtawakkil and 'Umar II to impose stringent measures on the Christians.

(*C*)

The reference to the destruction of the *ancient things made by hand* would apply more to Yazîd II (720-723 A. D.), who issued orders that the crosses should be broken in every place, and that the pictures, which were in the churches should be removed. " Moreover, his reign of 28 months may be inferred in the " ' forty months ' of verse 26, which stands for a " short time ".

The 11th " king ", therefore, might be interpreted to signify the reigns of ʿUmar II and Yazîd II.

26. *He will afflict those who are upon the earth that thou wilt not be able to find him who is there, neither he who gives forth every groan for forty-two months. If the God of heaven be long-suffering towards him, his kingdom will endure for forty months.*

The description of this verse reflects a limited period of severe persecutions, which occurred during the caliphates of ʿUmar II (717-720 A. D.) and al-Ḥâkim (996-1021). The period of forty-two months is definitely apocalyptic, and it stands for " a time, two times and half a time " (*Dan.* VII, 25, VIII, 14). In the Vision of Daniel, this is the period, during which the Syrians under Antiochus IV Epiphanes would desecrate the Temple and persecute the Jews. The Seer of Patmos also used the forty-two months to describe the power of the Roman beast. " ... And the beast was given a mouth uttering haughty and blasphemous words, and it was allowed to exercise authority for forty-two months ". *Apoc.* XIII, 5. The number forty also stands for a limited, yet complete, time, cf. *Ex.* XVI, 35; *Nu.* XIV, 33; *Ps.* XCIV, 10; *Matt.* IV, 4.

27. *The twelfth king who shall be from them, his kingdom shall be strong according to the judgments of his mouth.*

28. *He shall do changing works upon the earth in his kingdom until those things which he did were admired* (*sic*).

(*A*)

The 12th " king " should be Yazîd II, yet any identification seems to be impossible.

(*B*)

The 12th " king " is aẓ-Ẓâhir (1021-1036), the successor of al-Ḥâkim. During the reign of aẓ-Ẓâhir there was great tranquility and peace, and " the religion of the Christians " was in good state and its people respected. The churches were rebuilt. Cf. HPEC, II, II, 209, Aẓ-Ẓâhir also received permission from Constantine VIII to have his name mentioned in the mosques of the emperor's domain and to have the mosque at Constantinople restored in return for the caliph's permission to have the Church of the Holy Sepulchre rebuilt. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 621.

(*C*)

The description of the 12th " king " conforms best to the accounts which we have of the reign of Hishâm (724-743 A. D.). The *History of the Patriarchs* portrays him as a God-fearing man, who loved all men. No one was treated unfairly, so God gave him a prosperous reign, and he continued to rule twenty-two years; and no war continued against him, but everyone that rose up against him was delivered by God into his hands (HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 74). In the eyes of Muslim authorities, he was the last statesman of the house of ʽUmayyah.

29. *There will be many wars in his kingdom. At the end of times there shall be a king who shall trouble all the kingdom of the Sons of Ishmael for one hundred and forty seven years.*

Neither Becker nor Macler refer to the " troublesome king ". If we assume, that our apocalypse treats of the Fall of the Fâṭimîds, then this king, who is not identified with a beast, may be identified with the orthodox and zealous Seljuk Turkomans, who, after having subdued Persia, conquered Palestine and entered Jerusalem in 1071 and Damascus in 1076.

If, however, we identify the " kings " with the ʽUmayyad caliphs, in that case, " the ' king ' who shall trouble all the kingdom " could refer to the Coptic revolts. In fact, the first revolts broke out in 720 A. D. during the caliphate of Yazîd II, the 12th " king " of the ʽUmayyads. Though temporarily suppressed,

the Copts revolted again in 767 A. D., when they defeated the governor's forces and expelled the tax-collectors. A considerable part of the Nile Delta was in open revolt, and order was not restored until several years later. The 147 years may indicate the year 147 A. H. or 764 A. D., which approximately coincides with the date of the last rebellion.

30. *And in the one hundred and tenth year of his kingdom there shall be a war in his midst with the Ethiopians.*

31. *The Sons of Ishmael shall dominate over them until they take the city of the kingdom which is Souban.*

32. *They shall send to them seeking peace, and they shall give to them much silver and gold, and they shall be paying tribute among the Ethiopians.*

For the Ethiopian wars, *i. e.* the Nubian invasions, which are referred to in verses 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 41, 43 and 50, cf. the introductory discussion on "The Nubian Invasions". The *one hundred and tenth year* would correspond to A. D. 728. Verse 31 may be a reference to the military exploits of al-Kâsim, who "went up the river to Upper Egypt as far as Aswân". Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 95. *Souban* is Aswân or Syene, which was never the capital of the Ethiopians, *i. e.* the Northern Kingdom of Nubia. On the other hand, Becker reads Sûba, the capital of Alodia, which is situated at the confluence of the Blue and the White Nile. Yet, there is no evidence, that the Egyptians ever penetrated as far south as Sûba. The reference to *much silver and gold* and the payment of the *tribute* in verse 32 can only be understood in terms of the *bakt*, the slave tribute, which had been imposed upon the Nubians by ʿAbd ʿAllah ibn Saʿad in 652 A. D. Every year, about four hundred slaves were taken to al-Qaṣr opposite the Island of Philae, where they were surrendered to the Governor of Aswân. Cf. Röder, G., "Die christliche Zeit Nubiens und des Sudan", in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXIII, 3, 1912.

33. *The thirteenth king shall be from among them, there is not mercy in him at all, neither fear before him. His kingdom shall endure a few days only.*

(*A*)

Becker suggests that the 12th and the 13th " king " be exchanged. This would make Yazîd II (720-723 A. D.) the thirteenth " king ".

In this case, the text may refer to the financial oppressions of the Copts by 'Ubaidallah ibn al-Ḥabḥâb, who was known for his ruthlessness and cruelty. Cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 43.

(*B*)

Macler identifies the 13th " king " with al-Mustanṣir (1036-1094). The son of a Sudanese slave, al-Mustanṣir ascended the throne at the age of seven and ruled for fifty-eight years, which is the longest reign in Muslim annals.

(*C*)

The 13th " king ", whose *kingdom shall endure a few days only* is al-Walîd ibn Yazîd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (743-744), who exploited the Egyptians terribly and was assassinated. Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 115. Al-Walîd II was the most " incorrigible libertine ", who spent his life in desert castles, at parties, at festivities and in drinking. He instituted the harem system with its concomitant auxiliary of eunuchs.

34. *The fourteenth king who shall be from them shall take much gold and silver, and he shall give judgment upon the earth.*

35. *He will assemble a war in Egypt that the East may have rest in their sighings and sufferings.*

(*A*)

Following the 'Umayyad chronology, the 14th " king " would be al-Walîd ibn Yazîd, and as stated (verse 33 C), he exploited the Egyptians.

(*B*)

The 14th "king" is al-Must'alî (1094-1102), whose vizir Šahîn Šah al-Afḍal was always victorious and assured the caliph of both peace and glory.

(*C*)

This "king" should not be identified with any particular caliph, and the taking of *much gold and silver* may refer to any of the VIIIth century oppressions of the Copts by the vizirs, which resulted in the Coptic insurrections. The *war in Egypt* refers either to the Coptic revolt under a certain John in the vicinity of Samannûd (749 A. D.) or to the insurrection of 'Amr ibn Suhaîl ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân, who had ambitions to become ruler.

36. *The Ethiopians shall not submit to him at all, nor shall they give to him the tribute, and there shall be war in the land of the Romans in those days.*

In the beginning of the IXthe century, th Christian kingdoms of Nubia gained in political importance and military strength. Thereupon, they determined to discontinue the annual payment of the *bakt*, which had been imposed upon them by 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'ad. Then, during the patriarchate of Yûsâb (831-849 A. D.), Ibrâhîm, the brother of al-Mâ'mûm (813-833 A. D.), sent a message to Zacharias, King of Nubia, ordering him to pay the annual *bakt*, which was fourteen years in arrears. The *land of the Romans* in connection with the "Ethiopians" could *à la rigueur* refer to the Kingdom of the Makoritae. Cyriacus, the King of the Nubians, was known as "the Orthodox Ethiopian King of al-Mukarrah, and he was entitled the 'Great King', upon whom the crown descended from Heaven for he is the Greek (Rûmî) King, fourth of the kings of the earth". Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 146.

37. *The Ethiopians shall war with the southern parts, and they shall pillage all the villages and the cities of Egypt until they reach the city which Cleopatra built in the south, which is Šmoun.*

The parallel to this verse is found in the questionable account of the Nubian invasion in the *Vita Michaelis*. According to the

History of the Patriarchs, King Cyriacus of Nubia with one hundred thousand horsemen and one hundred thousand camels invaded Egypt. "They plundered and slew and made prisoners of the Muslims in Upper Egypt", and finally, they reached Miṣr, where they forced the Governor 'Abd al-Malik to release the imprisoned Patriarch", cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 144. *Šmoun*, al-Ašmûnaîn or Hermopolis Magna is mentioned by Abû 'l-Makarim as the city, which was built by Alexander the Macedonian, who called it Cleopatra. Moreover, this is also the place, where the last of the 'Umayyad caliphs was killed on the rock. Cf. Abû Ṣâlih, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*. Oxford, 1895. 221.

38. *After these things, the King of Syria shall hear and shall fear for the end, because the war drew near to him.*

39. *And at the end his kingdom shall be established and shall stand well.*

(*A*)

Though neither Becker nor Macler identify the "King of Syria", we may attempt to see in the "king's fear" a certain awareness that with the fall of the 'Umayyads the glory of Syria passed away. The Syrians awoke too late to the realization that the centre of gravity in al-Islâm had passed from their land, and had shifted eastward. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 286.

(*B*)

However, the "King of Syria" may also stand for the Seljuks, who appeared in Syria shortly before 1070. In this year, Sultan Alp Arslân made the Arab prince of Aleppo his vassal, and Alp's general Atsiz entered Jerusalem and wrested Palestine from Fâṭimîd hands. By 1098, Jerusalem had reverted to the Fâṭimîds, whose strong fleet had also recaptured the coastal towns including Ascalon, 'Akka, Tyre and Byblos. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 635.

40. *After these things there shall arise a child of the Sons of Ishmael, who is the fifteenth king who is from them.*

(*A*)

According to the ʿUmayyad chronology, the 15th " king " should be Ibrâhîm (744 A. D.).

(*B*)

Macler identifies the 15th " king " with al-Amir (1102-1130), who ascended the throne at the age of five and ruled for twenty-eight years.

(*C*)

A child of the Sons of Ishmael. Al-Ḥâkim was 11 years of age when he became caliph. After al-Ḥâkim, immature youths were made caliphs, with the real power in the hands of the vizirs, who later even assumed the title al-malik. Al-Ḥâkim's son and successor aẓ-Ẓâhir was sixteen years of age when he came to the throne. After al-Mustʿalî, his son, a child of five years, was declared caliph by al-Afḍal, who gave him the honorific title of al-Amir. When al-Ḥâfiẓ (1130-1149) died, his son and successor aẓ-Ẓâfir (1149-1154) was then a gay youth. After the death of aẓ-Ẓâfir, his four year old son, al-Fâ'îz (1154-1160) was proclaimed caliph. The young caliph died at the age of eleven and was succeeded by his nine years old cousin al-ʿAdîd. Young caliphs, therefore, were quite common among the Fâṭimîds.

41. *He shall be hard as iron in his soul, and he shall send forth his sword unto the Romans, his right hand upon the Ethiopians, he shall be of two faces and two tongues.*

Bibl. Par. " And there shall be a fourth kingdom, strong as iron, because iron breaks to pieces and shatters all things, and like iron which crushes, it shall break and crush all these ". *Dan.* II, 40.

The *hard as iron* should refer to a dynasty rather than to a particular caliph. In the *Book of Daniel*, the fourth kingdom is described as being " strong as iron ".

(A)

If we assume that our apocalypse treats of the Fall of the 'Umayyads, then, *the sword unto the Romans* may refer to the landings of the Greeks at several places on the Egyptian Mediterranean coast. They besieged Tarûga in the vicinity of Alexandria and took many prisoners. *His right hand upon the Ethiopians* could possibly refer to the appointment of 'Ubaid 'Allah ibn al-Ḥabḥâb as Governor of Africa. Both events, however, occurred during the caliphate of Hishâm (724-743 A. D.). Cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 45.

(B)

If, however, we assume that our apocalypse treats of the Fall of the Fâṭimîds, then, *the sword unto the Romans* would refer to the Crusaders. During the reign of al-Amir (1102-1130), the Christian kings of Jerusalem occupied 'Akka, Tripolis and Sidon. In 1117, Baldwin I, successor of Godfrey of Bouillon, pushed into Egypt as far as al-Farâma (Pelusium). In 1118, the Crusaders occupied Tyre, which, at that time, was under Egyptian administration. *His right hand upon the Ethiopians* could refer to the intrigues of Kanz ad-Dawlah and Saif ad-Dawlah in Nubia, which led to the capture of Solomon, King of Nubia, at the Nubian Monastery of St. Onuphrius, and his transfer to Cairo, where he died and was buried in the Monastery of St. George at al-Khandaq.

(C)

This verse should not be interpreted as applying to any particular caliph. The two principal concerns of the caliphs, *i. e.* the Christians and the Nubians, are expressed in apocalyptic language. To be of *two faces and two tongues* may depend on " the sharp two-edged sword " of *Apoc.* I, 16, II, 12. The tongue is a powerful weapon, a symbolism, which is derived from *Isa.* XI, 4, where the Messiah " shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked ". Analogous symbolism is to be found in other sources. in *II* Thess. II, 8 the Lord Jesus will destroy the lawless one

" with the breath of his mouth " and in *II Esdras* XIII, 9-13, the Man from the sea (Messiah) will destroy his enemies with the fiery stream from his mouth, the flaming breath from his lips, and the storm of sparks from his tongue.

42. *In the days of his kingdom there shall be great trouble upon all the earth, and his word shall be hard as iron.*

Bibl. Par. " And you will hear of wars and rumours of wars, see that you are not alarmed; for this must take place, but the end is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there will be famines and earthquakes in various places ". *Matt.* XXIV, 6, 7.

This verse is a prediction of political developments, which will usher in the Last Day.

43. *The Ethiopians shall bring to him gifts, gold, silver, and pearls, and he shall impose labour upon every one.*

This verse is a parenthetical account. For an explanation of the *bakt,* cf. verse 36.

44. *He shall take captive many lands and shall afflict them, and they shall not be satisfied with bread all the days of his kingdom, nor shall there be peace in the days of his kingdom, and there shall be much pillage in his days.*

Like verse 42, this verse reflects the traditional apocalyptic expectations preceding the Last Day, *i. e.* the *penuria panis,* wars and pillage.

45. *The sixteenth king who shall be from them, there shall not be war in his kingdom.*

46. *There shall be given to him a long peaceful time, and his kingdom shall be set up in uprightness.*

(*A*)

In terms of the Fall of the 'Umayyad Dynasty, the 16th " king " would be either Yazîd III (744 A. D.) or Ibrâhîm (744

A. D.), whose reigns were very brief, and, therefore, would not correspond to a long and peaceful time. Moreover, there was a great deal of strife within the 'Umayyad realm, mainly on account of theological parties, *i. e.* the Qaysites and the Khârijites.

(*B*)

According to the Fâṭimîd chronology, al-Ḥâfiẓ (1130-1149) would be the 16th " king ". At his time, however, the power of the Fâṭimîds had steadily declined, so that when he died, his influence hardly extended beyond his own palace.

(*C*)

The description of the 16th " king " should not be interpreted historically. The long and peaceful reign of the 16th " king " provides the background to the catastrophic events as described in verse 47.

47. *The seventeenth king who shall be from them, there shall be war between him and his race. His name will make the number 666.*

(*A*)

Becker identifies the 17th " king " with Marwân II (744-750 A. D.), the last of the 'Umayyad caliphs. By adding to the four orthodox caliphs thirteen 'Umayyad caliphs, we arrive at the 17th caliph, who is Marwân II. Moreover, his name corresponds to the number 666: μερουαν = μ (40) + ε (5) + ρ (100) ο (70) υ (400) + α (1) + ν (50) = 666.

(*B*)

Without commenting on the number 666. Macler identifies the 17th " king " with aẓ-Ẓâfir (1149-1154), the successor of al-Ḥâfiẓ, who ascended the throne at the age of seventeen. During his reign, Baldwin occupied Ascalon. The Muslims of Sicily revolted and landed in Egypt, and set fire to the city of Tanis.

The assassination of Ibn as-Sallâr (1153), the Kurdish vizir, by his wife's grandson Naṣr ibn 'Abbâs, who was later encouraged by the caliph to make an attempt on the life of his father, 'Abbâs, Ibn as-Sallâr's successor in the vizirate, and, finally, the secret murder of aẓ-Ẓâfir himself by the young conspirator, form one of the darkest chapters in the history of Egypt. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 623.

(*C*)

The 17th "king" is Marwân II, for his number is 666 as shown under (*A*). *There shall be war between him and his race.* In the *History of the Patriarchs* we read: "And for a time the Muslim fought one against the other, and shed one another's blood, so that on one day twenty thousand or thirty thousand or seven thousand were slain". Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V. 150.

Bibl. Par. "This calls for wisdom: let him who has understanding reckon the number of the beast, for it is a human number, its number is six hundred and sixty-six". *Apoc.* XIII, 18.

The number 666, or 616 according to Codex *C* Ephraemi, has been suggested to stand for *Nero revivivus, i. e.* the Antichrist. By transliterating the Greek Νέρων Καῖσαρ into Hebrew letters, a solution to the enigme may be found. נרון קסר = ר (200) + ס (60) + ק (100) + ן (50) + ו (6) + ר (200) + נ (50) = 666.

48. *There shall arise one of his race and he shall war with him, he shall pursue him into Egypt with the wealth of his kingdom.*

One of his race, this was either Abû Muslîm, the hero of the new 'Abbâsid Dynasty, or his son 'Abd 'Allah. Having conquered the 'Umayyad empire, except Egypt, Abû Muslîm pursued Marwân II into Egypt.

49. *And he shall abandon his race and his host, and he shall scatter the money in the streets and the paths.*

He shall abandon his race, when Marwân learnt that his enemy's troops had been divided into four parts, he fled two days before they crossed the river, and thus he escaped secretly. Cf. HPCC,

P. O., V, 183. *He shall scatter the money in the streets.* Realizing his utter helplessness, Marwân set fire to Fusṭâṭ, to the storehouses of provisions, and cotton and straw and the supplies of barley. Then Miṣr was set on fire, and the people were lying in the streets and lanes and gardens in the district of al-Ǧîzah like corpses. Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 165.

50. *And descending into Egypt with the wealth, he shall go to the south in Egypt, wishing to pillage Aswân, city of the Ethiopians, with the rest of the wealth.*

Bibl. Par. " And I will make the land of Egypt an utter waste and desolation from Migdol to Syene, as far as the border of Ethiopia ". *Ez.* XXIX, 10.

To the south is ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲥ (maris) or the Ṣaʿîd, *i. e.* Upper Egypt. *Aswân* or Syene constitutes the extreme southern limit of Egypt. The population of Aswân was and still is largely Nubian. Ever so often, the Nubians invaded Upper Egypt and occupied Aswân, though never for any length of time. Becker reads Sûba, the capital of the southern Kingdom of Nubia. Sûba does not correspond to the " south in Egypt ".

51. *And one of his race shall kill him in the southern part of Egypt, and he shall carry off the remainder of the wealth.*

One of his race shall kill him. " And they (the ʿAbbâsids) followed him as far as Mount Abbah *i. e.* Ǧabal al-Tûnah, to the west of Cleopatra, the city founded by Alexander the Macedonian (cf. verse 37). And with Marwân was killed also Rayân, son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz, but the sons of Marwân escaped ". Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 186. As to the place of Marwân's death, there pertains some uncertainty, since the village of Baṣîr is mentioned. However, there is a Bûṣîr al-Malak at the entrance to the Fayyûm, a Buṣîr in the Province of al-Ǧîzah, and a Bûṣîr west of al-Ašmûnaîn, *i. e.* Ǧabal at-Tûnah. *And he shall carry off the remainder of the wealth.* " And the Khorassanians seized all the money of Egypt, and Marwân's followers were slain by the sword ". Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V., 187.

52. *The eighteenth king who shall be from them, shall do many evils in the beginning of his reign, one thousand two hundred and sixty days.*

Bibl. Par. " And I will grant my two witnesses power to prophecy for one thousand two hundred and sixty days, clothed in sackcloth ". Cf. *Apoc.* XI, 3; also XII, 6.

(*A*)

Becker identifies the 18th " king " with Abû'l-'Abbâs as-Saffâḥ (750-754 A. D.), who referred to himself as as-Saffâḥ, the bloodshedder. He ruled just a little more than one thousand two hundred days.

(*B*)

Macler, on the other hand, sees in the 18th " king " al-Fâ'îz (1154-1160), who ascended the throne at the age of five. The infant, who had been permanently incapacitated by the scenes of violence which accompanied his accession, died in 1160.

(*C*)

The 18th " king " should not be identified with a historical personage. As in the *Apocalypse*, the one thousand two hundred and sixty days or three and a half years stand for the period, during which the Romans will be permitted to continue their evil rule and wickedness, so in our apocalypse, the one thousand two hundred and sixty should be interpreted as an indefinite period of oppression, which culminates in the persecutions of the 19th " king ".

53. *And there shall be war against him in the western parts, and he shall gain the victory up to the day of his death.*

The western parts. With the emergence of the 'Abbâsid caliphate residing in Baghḍâḍ, the western parts would be Syria, which, indeed, was in constant turmoil. Becker, however, reads *maghrib* for " western parts ". Ṣâliḥ ibn 'Alî, the vizir of Egypt,

was also appointed vizir of Palestine and Maghrib. In 753 A. D. as-Saffâḥ sent a large army towards Africa, while Abû 'Aûn prepared a fleet to sail for Barqa (Pentapolis). *Up to the day of his death.* As-Saffâḥ died at the age of thirty-three due to smallpox, and his successor 'Abd Allah Abû Ǧa'far al-Manṣûr ordered the return of the troops from Barqa. Cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, II, 4.

54. *Afterwards, a child shall arise from them, who is his son, who is the nineteenth king who shall come from them. For he shall be born of two races, his father being from the Sons of Ishmael, his mother a Roman.*

(*A*)

Becker identifies the 17th and the 19th " king " with Marwân II, who also had a non-Arab mother. Eutychius calls her an Armenian, whereas Tabarî, Belâdhurî and Abû 'l-Maḥâsin call her a Kurd. — Following the chronological sequence, the 19th " king " should be al-Manṣûr (754-775 A. D.), who also had a non-Arab mother. She was a Berber, and was known as 'Umm walad Salâma. However, al-Manṣûr was the brother and not the son of as-Saffâḥ. Yet, al-Manṣûr was the real founder of the 'Abbâsid Dynasty, and he proved to be one of the greatest, though most unscrupulous, of the 'Abbâsids.

(*B*)

Though chronologically speaking al-'Adîd (1160-1171) is the 19th " king ", and also the last one of the Fâṭimîds, Macler concedes that " the author must have confused this person with al-Ḥâkim, who, indeed, had a Christian mother ".

(C)

A child, cf. verse 40. *He shall be born of two races.* There were many caliphs, who were born ot two races. Yazîd III (744 A. D.) was the first caliph in al-Islâm, who was born of a slave-mother, she was supposedly a descendant of the last Persian Emperor Yazdagird. Among the 'Abbâsids, al-Manṣur (754-775

A. D.) was born of a Berber slave, al-Ma'mûn's (813-833 A. D.) mother was a Persian slave, al-Wâthiq's (842-847 A. D.) mother and al-Muhtadî's (869-870 A. D.) mother were Greeks, the mother of al-Muntaṣir (861-862 A. D.) was Graeco-Ethiopian, al-Musta'în's (862-870 A. D.) mother was a Slav, while al-Muktafî's (904-908 A. D.) as well as al-Muqtadir's (908-932 A. D.) mothers were Turkish slaves. Harûn's (786-809 A. D.) mother, another foreign slave, was the famous al-Khaysurân, the first woman to exercise any appreciable influence in 'Abbâsid caliphal affairs. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 332.

In this case, the child is al-Ḥâkim. " The king al-'Azîz had received a son from a concubine of his, a Greek (Rûmîah), and his son sat on the throne after him, and he was surnamed al-Ḥâkim... and he was very young ". Cf. *HPEC*, II, II, 170, 174. Moreover, it is possible, that the author engaged here in an intentional play on names. Becker pointed out that the 19th " king " should be al-Manṣûr (the victorious), however, al-Ḥâkim was also known as the al-Imâm al-Manṣûr. Cf. *HPEC*, II, II, 174.

55. *There shall be a war in Egypt with Syria for twenty-one months.*

The *twenty-one months* is half of the fory-two months of verse 26, and, therefore, stand for a very limited period.

If we accept al-Ḥâkim as the 19th " king ", the war between the Egyptians and the Syrians could be any of numerous attempts of the Syrians to gain independence. Syria had been a dependency of Egypt with brief intermissions since the day of Ibn Ṭûlûn (870-881 A. D.), but under the Fâtimîds the relationship had become increasingly strained. Only by force could the Syrians be induced to recognize the Egyptian caliph. Even under the rule of al-Ḥâkim, Syria remained in a chronic state of revolt, Tyre had to be reduced, and the Garraḥ family at Ramlah set up a rival caliph in the sherîf of Mecca with the title of ar-Rašîd.

However, this verse could also refer to the dispute between Šâwar, the Prefect of Upper Egypt, and his Syrian allies for the possession of Egypt. Šâwar, being unable to cope with the Syrians, demanded help from Amaury I (Amalric), the Frankish king of Jerusalem and brother and successor of Baldwin III, who hastened to his aid with a large force, which united with the troops of

Šâwar, and besieged Šîrkûh in Bilbais for three months. At the end of this time, owing to the success of Nûr ad-Dîn in Syria, the Franks granted Šîrkûh a free passage with his troops back to Syria, on condition that Egypt would be evacuated (October, 1164). Two years later, Šîrkûh persuaded Nûr ad-Dîn to place him at the head of another expedition to Egypt, which left Syria in January 1167, and entering Egypt by the land-route, crossed the Nile at Iṭfîḥ, and camped at al-Ǧîzah, when a Frankish army hastened to Šâwar's aid. Cf. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 159.

56. *For that king shall cast their swords among themselves, he, whose name makes the number 666, and is called by three names, and these are Mametios, and Khalle and Sarapidos.*

(*A*)

Because of the reference to 666 in verse 47 and 56, Becker identifies the 17th and the 19th " king " with Marwân II.

(*B*)

Macler, on the other hand, here interprets the number 666. Al-'Adîd (1160-1171), whose reign was sadly interrupted by Syrian and Frankish invasions, is the last of the Fâṭimîds, and his name stands for 666.

Adhed = A (1) + d (300) + h (60) + e (5) + d (300) = 666. For a detailed discussion on Macler's theory, cf. " B. Macler's Interpretation: The Fall of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty ".

(*C*)

The names Mametios, Khalle and Sarapidos stand for the number 666.

μαμετίος = μ (40) + α (1) + μ (40) + ε (5) + τ (300) + ι (10) + ο (70) + ς (200) = 666.
χαλλέ = χ (600) + α (1) + λ (30) + λ (30) + ε (5) = 666.
σαραπίδος = σ (200) + α (1) + ρ (100) + α (1) + π (80) + ι (10) + δ (4) + ο (70) + ς (200) = 666.

Mametios is a graecized form of Maḥmet, *i. e.* Muḥammad, Khalle may represent ('Alî), if we accept that the ع has been transcribed by a χ, in order to obtain the number 600. Sarapidos may stand for the "gift of Sarapis", but it is more likely the genitive of Sarapis. Sarapidos represents the non-Christian Egypt, whose strenght and power will ultimately be destroyed, even as the worship of Sarapis disappeared.

Sarapis is the famous Graeco-Egyptian god, whose statue in the Serapeum of Alexandria showed him enthroned with a basket or corn measure on his head, a sceptre in his hand, Cerberus at his feet and a serpent. The name is usually explained as an assimilation of Apis and Osiris. The worship of Sarapis along with that of Isis and Horus spread throughout the ancient world, and ultimately became one of the leading cults in the west. The destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria (385 A. D.) and of the famous idol within it, marked the death-agony of paganism throughout the empire.

The 19th "king" is al-Ḥâkim, *whose name makes the number 666.*

χάκεμ = χ (600) + ά (1) + κ (20) + ε (5) + μ (40) = 666.

57. *For he shall reign being a child and he shall do great evil. He shall command all the Jews who are in every place to return to Jerusalem. All the earth shall be troubled in the days of his kingdom, until they sell a man for a coin.*

He shall reign being a child, cf. verse 40. *He shall do great evil.* Al-Ḥâkim's rule was noted for its terror, cruelty and persecutions of the Christians. But also the Jews were severely oppressed. They had to wear bells, and in the streets they had to display a wooden image of a calf, in pleasing allusion to a discreditable episode in their early history. On the other hand, the return of the Jews to Jerusalem is another apocalyptic image, cf. *Isa.* XXXV, 10; LI, 11. *They sell a man for a coin.* During the reign of al-'Adîd (1160-1171), the Ghuzz pillaged Miṣr (Cairo), and sold Copts, Sudanese, Armenians and Turks. The price for a Christian being twenty dirhams, a Turk was sold for ten dirhams and a Negro for five dirhams. Cf. *HPEC,* III, 1.

However, this may also be a reference to the "rule of unrighteousness" cf. *Amos* II, 6 b. "... because they sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes".

58. *He shall be impudent of face and shall be unmindful of the fear of God.*

He shall be impudent of face. Al-Ḥâkim's aspect was that of a lion, and his two eyes were large and of blueness in colour. If he looked at a man, he would tremble owing to the greatness of his awe of him. His voice was loud and fearful. Cf. *HPEC,* II, II, 187. *Unmindful of the fear of God.* Eventually, al-Ḥâkim declared himself the incarnation of God, and was so accepted by a newly organized sect, the Druzes, who were so called after its first great missionary, ad-Darazî (d. 1019).

59. *He shall not remember the law of Ishmael, his father, neither his mother, for she is Roman. He shall be arrogant and a drunkard at every hour.*

His mother, for she is a Roman. Al-Ḥâkim's mother, indeed, was a " Rûmî ". *A drunkard at every hour.* There were many caliphs, who were drunkards. Muʿâwiyah's son Yazîd was the first confirmed drunkard among the caliphs and won the title " Yazîd al-Khumûr ", the " Yazîd of wines ". Yazîd, we are told, drank daily, whereas, al-Walîd I contented himself with drinking every other day; Hishâm, once every Friday after Prayers, and ʿAbd al-Malik only once a month, but then so heavily, that he perforce disburdened himself by the use of emetics. The palm for drinking should be handed to al-Walîd II, who is said to have gone swimming habitually in a pool of wine of which he would gulp enough to lower the surface appreciably. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 227. However, al-Ḥâkim was a zealous abstainer, as all Muslims are expected to be. Beer was forbidden, wine was confiscated, vines cut down, even dried raisins were contraband, and " the vessels in which was *nabîdh* were broken in every place ". Cf. *HPEC*, II, II, 188.

The verse, however, may also be interpreted in its apocalyptic sense, " drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus ". Cf. *Apoc.* XVII, 6.

60. *He shall kill a multitude eating with him at a table, by potions of magic medicines, and there shall be great devastations in those days.*

This verse could refer to the Fall of the 'Umayyads, for, following the death of Marwân II (750 A. D.), the 'Abbâsids embarked upon a policy of exterminating the 'Umayyad house. Their general 'Abdullah shrank from no measure necessary for wiping out the kindred enemy. On June 25th, 750 A. D., he invited eighty 'Umayyads to a banquet at Abû Futrus, the ancient Antipatris, and in the course of the feast, he had them all cut down. After spreading leathern covers over the dead and dying, he and his lieutenants continued their repast to the accompaniment of human groans. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 285. However, this may also be a reference to Šâwar's intention of arresting Šîrkûh, the uncle of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, and his officers at a banquet (1169). — The administration of poison was always an acceptable method of disposing of the enemy, cf. *II Kings* IV, 38-41, IX, 14-34. In 1811, Muḥammad 'Alî held a reception in the Cairo Citadel to which the Mamelukes were invited. The coffee drinking over, the Mamelukes filed out through a narrow passage towards the main gate, and were then and there abruptly assailed and slaughtered. Of the four hundred and seventy, very few escaped. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 724.

61. *He will set free Syria and the land of the Jews, and the East and Egypt he will make to suffer, he will establish epistolarios in Egypt.*

During the reign of al-Ḥâkim the territorial extent of the dominions of the Fâṭimîds were reduced to a little more than Egypt itself. After 1043, the Fâṭimîd possession in Syria, always loosely bound to Egypt, began rapidly to disintegrate, while Palestine was often in open revolt. *Epistolarios* is a vizir or a governor.

62. *The East, two and three, they will be against one another in one year. In the year of this one, who is the nineteenth, he shall not seek judgment nor justice, but he shall seek gold at every hour.*

The first part of this verse may refer to the Seljuk and Crusader invasions of Syria and Palestine. The second part of the verse may again point to the terror or oppression of al-Ḥâkim, the 19th

" king ", cf. verse 56. However, the second part may also be an apocalyptic reference to *Dan.* XI, 43, where we read: " He shall become ruler of the treasures of gold and of silver, and all the precious things of Egypt ".

63. *And he shall establish an epitropos in the regions of Africa with a great multitude, and there shall be war in its midst with them.*

The *epitropos* is a commissioner, delegate or superintendent. *The regions of Africa* are the North African coast-line. The African wars refer to the tribal fightings between the Sunnis under the Governor al-Mu'izz and the Shi'ites. The Egyptians intervened (1044) by sending the Arab tribe of al-Hilâl to bring al-Mu'izz back to his former allegiance. The Hilâl occupied Barqa and Tripolis and settled there. Mu'izz, however, though defeated, maintained his independence at Mahdiyah, permitting other minor states to spring up further west. Cf. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 138. After 1044, the Fâṭimîd African provinces were severing their tributary connection, and they passed either into open independence or reverted to their old allegiance to the 'Abbâsids.

64. *They shall wipe out the multitude which is with him, and he shall sit in the regions of Africa with those who shall remain to him of the multitude for many years and he will not conquer it.*

This verse, like the preceding, refers to the decline of the Fâtimîd power in North Africa.

65. *Afterwards, there shall arise over him a nomad nation, called Pitourgos, and he shall war with him.*

(*A*)

Becker identifies *Pitourgos* with the Turk, and refers to the *History of the Patriarchs*, in which Marwân II is called the " Prince of those Turks ". Cf. HPCC, *P. O.*, V, 118.

(B)

Macler also identifies *Pitourgos* wfth the Turk, but refers to Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn (1138-1193).

(*C*)

The XIVth Vision of Daniel mentions the *Pitourgos* in six verses, 65, 67, 69, 71, 72, 75. The *Pitourgos* is a " nomad nation ", who shall fight the Egyptians (Sarapidos), moreover, the *Pitourgos* dominates " all Syria and its boundaries " and shall fight in Egypt. The *Pitourgos* is of the nation of the Romans. The war with the Egyptians shall take place in the city of al-Ašmûnaîn, where *Pitourgos* shall conquer the Egyptians (Sarapidos) and shall take the kingdom from them. This description would lead us to conclude, that the Pitourgos, is Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, who was born in Takrît on the Tigris in 1138 of Kurdish parentage. To the Egyptians, the troops of Šîrkûh and his brother's son, Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, must have appeared like nomads.

66. *And Sarapidos shall dominate multitudes of Romans and the Pentapolis and the Metos, and he shall take all their spoils and shall dominate their cities, and he shall go unto the city which he built, and the lands which his father had brought together.*

If we accept that Sarapidos stands for the Egyptian Fâṭimîds, then, this verse can only refer to the reign of al-'Azîz, during whose administration the Fâṭimîd power reached its height. *Dominate the multitudes of Romans.* This may be a reference to the Fâṭimîd encounters with the Emperor Basil II in Syria. Though not victorious, the Fâṭimîds captured two hundred and fifty Romans, whom they paraded through the streets of Cairo (995 A. D.). Al-Ḥâkim won two victories over the Romans, by sea off Tyre and on land near Apamea. Cf. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 159. *Pentapolis* or the Five Cities. These are: Berenice or Benghazi, Barqa or al-Merg, Ptolemais or Tolmeitha, Cyrene or Shahat and Apollonia or Susa. *Metos* stands for the Medes, who are a people speaking an Iranian language, and who live in the mountainous country to the south-west of the Caspian Sea. In the Old Testament, Medes and Persians are often mentioned together, *e. g. Dan.* V, 28, VI, 12. The Egyptians at this period did not dominate the Medes.

67. *The Pitourgos shall gather together to their wars, wishing to take the kingdom from the hand of Sarapidos.*

The ardent ambition of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn was to substitute Sunnite al-Islâm for the Shi'ite heresy, which had been maintained in Egypt since the beginning of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty.

68. *While Sarapidos sitteth in his house, his spoils before him, beholding a great wealth, gold and silver and every precious stone and every desirable vessel.*

69. *They shall bring news to him that Pitourgos has dominated all Syria and its boundaries. He will go forth with great trepidation with all his multitude. And all his spoils he shall leave them behind, he shall not take anything of them with him.*

Verses 68 and 69 should not be interpreted historically. No doubt, the author attempted to create a similar setting to that of Belshazzar's Feast, cf. *Dan.* V, 1-31. The story of Belshazzar's Feast refers to the end of the Neo-Babylonian Kingdom. Nebuchadnezzar had passed away and was succeeded by Belshazzar, who, like his predecessor, flouts the God of Israel and is punished. Nebuchadnezzar had sinned by idolatry and pride. To these Belshazzar adds the crime of using for his pleasures the sacred vessels taken from the Temple in Jerusalem. The 'writing on the wall' announces his doom, and that night Babylon falls. Similarly, verses 68 and 69 announce the final stage of the Fâṭimîd Dynasty.

70. *But he shall be thinking with the heart of a beast, he shall not know what he shall do.*

Sarapidos, the Egyptian Fâṭimîd, is the beast. According to *Dan.* VII, 4 " a man's heart was given to the first beast ".

71. *If he escape, coming down into Egypt, Pitourgos shall precede him with his host.*

72. *And they shall meet one another with their host, and they shall fight with one another until much blood shall flow. And Pitourgos is of the nation of the Romans.*

Verse 71 could refer to Šîrkûh's invasion of Egypt at the beginning of 1167, when he reached the Nile at Iṭfîḥ, some forty miles south of Cairo. Verse 72 might refer to the confrontation of the troops of Šâwar and the Franks, and those of Šîrkûh on the west and east banks of the Nile. Certainly, Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn was not of the nation of the Romans, and the only explanation that can be gives is, that, once upon a time, Mesopotamia, the home of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, constituted part of the Roman Empire, — but so did Egypt (!)

73. *The war shall be in the city of Šmoun until the water of the river becomes blood through the multitude of the slain, that they may not drink the waters of it.*

74. *A multitude of men shall die by the sword, countless of them. Those who shall be left of them shall flee to their country, the place from which they came.*

Šmoun or al-Ašmûnaîn in Upper Egypt was the site of the battle between the troops of Nûr ad-Dîn, which were under the command of Šîrkûh and his nephew, the young Ṣâlaḥ ad-Dîn, and the troops of the Franks who had been joined by the Egyptians. The Christians and the Egyptians were completely defeated.

However, there is another village of al-Ašmûn, situated about three miles east of Dikirnis on the south bank of the canal which connects the Damietta branch of the Nile with Lake Manzalah. The battle of al-Ašmûn, known as the Battle of the Little River, was fought between St. Louis and his crusaders and the troops of al-Kâmil (1218-1238). The Christians were defeated and suffered great losses. *The water of the river becomes blood.* This image is borrowed from the *Apocalypse,* " the third angel poured his bowl into the rivers and the fountains of water, and they became blood ". Cf. *Apoc.* XVI, 4. *A multitude of men shall die.* The number of warriors engaged in the battle of al-Ašmûnaîn is variously estimated. The Arab historians give Šîrkûh only two

thousand horsemen. William of Tyre (*Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XIX, 25) puts the Saracen force at nine thousand men and three thousand archers and, at least, ten thousand Arabs. The Latins, he says, had only three hundred and seventy-four knights and an uncertain number of light infantry (Turcopoles), and a body of Egyptians, who were more of a burden than a help. *Flee to their country.* After the surrender of Alexandria to Šâwar (August 4th, 1167), Šîrkûh led his exhausted remnant of two thousand soldiers back to Damascus.

75. *Pitourgos shall slay Sarapidos, and shall take his kingdom from him, it shall not be established anymore (that) of the Sons of Ishmael, but this one is the end of their number.*

This verse may refer to the murder of Šâwar the vizir by Širkûh in 1169. Širkûh, however, died of indigestion two months afterwards and al-'Adîd appointed Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn as successor to Šîrkûh. In 1171, the name of the 'Abbâsid caliph was substituted for that of al-'Adîd in public worship. The latter's death occurred almost at the same time. On the death of al-'Adîd, Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn was confirmed in the prefecture of Egypt as deputy of Nûr ad-Dîn, and on the decease of the latter in 1174, Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn took the title of Sultan, so that with this year the Ayyûbid period of Egyptian history properly begins.

76. *After these things a king of the Romans shall arise over them. He shall give them a wiping out with the edge of the sword among the Sons of Ishmael in the desert of Thribon, the land of their fathers.*

77. *The Sons of Ishmael shall serve the Romans all their time. The Romans shall dominate Egypt for forty years.*

The verses 76 and 77 should not be interpreted historically. The *king of the Romans* could refer to the Crusaders, who invaded Egypt several times, but never gave them " a wiping out ". In the eyes of the author, the forty years rule of the Romans is the prelude to the apocalyptic era and the introduction to the cosmic encounters between Gog and Magog. The battle in the *desert of*

Thribon should, therefore, be understood in the light of the apocalyptic blood-bath of *Apoc.* XVI. Becker identifies *Thribon* with Athrib. It is unlikely, that the author would have thought of the battle of Athrib in 641 A. D., when ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs, after taking Nikiou, pressed northwards towards Athrîb, Bûṣîris, Damsîs and Sakhâ.

78. *After these things, two races will go forth, the names of these are Gog and Magog, they shall move the earth for a multitude of days.*

Bibl. Par. " And when the thousand years are ended, Satan wil be loosed from his prison and will come out to deceive the nations, which are at the four corners of the earth, that is, Gog and Magog, to gather them for battle, their number is like the sand of the sea ". *Apoc.* XX, 7, 8.

The wars of Gog and Magog are interpreted by Macler historically as pertaining to the invasions of Jenghiz Khan (1162-1227), of Ogdai Khan, his second son, and especially of Hulagu.

The author has clearly departed from the historical sphere and projects purely cosmic engagements. The names of *Gog* and *Magog* appear first in the *Prophecy of Ezekiel* XXXVIII and XXXIX. According to the prophecy, God will entice Gog of the land of Magog to attack and plunder the seemingly defenceless Israelites dwelling in their cities in peace and prosperity. This prediction of Gog of Magog changed to Gog and Magog. In some apocalyptic visions, Gog and Magog would make their appearance before the messianic reign, in others, during it, and in still others, as in the *Apocalypse*, following the Kingdom of the Messiah. Cf. *Apoc. XX*.

79. *The number of these is great as the sand, and the Antichrist will appear and he will deceive a multitude, so that if it were possible he would lead astray even the elect.*

Bibl. Par. " ... their number is like the sand of the sea ". *Apoc.* XX, 8 b " For false Christs and false prophets will arise and show great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray, if possible, the elect ". *Matt.* XXIV, 24.

The *Antichrist,* the earliest direct mention of the name is in *I John* II, 18, 22, IV, 3, *II John* 7, though the conception of a mighty ruler, who will appear at the end of time, and whose essence will be enmity of God is older and traceable in Jewish eschatology (*Dan.* XI, 36). The historical figure, who served as a model for the Antichrist was Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the persecutor of the Jews. With the beginning of the Islâmic Period and again later at the time of the Crusades, the theme of the Antichrist runs through many prophetic books, *e. g.* the *Pseudo-Methodius,* the so-called *Liber Clementis discipuli S. Petri* (*Petri apostoli apocalypsis per Clementem*), the late Syrian *Apocalypse of Ezra,* the Ethiopian *Wisdom of the Sibyl.*

80. *And he will slay the two prophets Enoch and Elias, that they become for three days half-dead in the streets of the great city of Jerusalem.*

The two prophets are generally identified as Moses and Elijah, cf. *Matt. XVII,*3; *Mk. IX,*4. Although the two martyr-witnesses have deadly supernatural fire at their disposal, with which they are supposed to kill their opponents, they are nervertheless, overcome by the Antichrist. Cf. *Apoc XI,*3-12. In most instances this is the outcome, but in the account of the *Akhmîm Apocalypse of Elijah* 42-43, Elijah and Enoch kill the Antichrist. *Enoch,* son of Cain, "was taken up so that he should not see death". The fact, that his years are given as three hundred and sixty-five suggests that he was a solar-hero (*Gen.* V, 23; *Heb.* XI,5). *Elias,* the prophet of Tishbeh in Gilead, was a contemporary with Ahab, King of Israel (876-853 B. C.). *Three days half-dead in the street.*

Bibl. Par. " And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified ". *Apoc.* XI, 8.

81. *Afterwards, the Ancient of Days shall raise them from the dead.*

82. *This is He Whom I saw coming with the clouds of heaven, as a son of man. His power is an eternal power and his kingdom doth not fall.*

Bibl. Par. " I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man, and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him ". *Dan.* VII, 13.

" Then I looked, and lo, a white cloud, and seated on the cloud one like a son of man, with a golden crown on his head, and a sharp sickle in his hand ". *Apoc.* XIV, 14.

In the *New Testament* and in the *Book of Enoch* XLV and LVII, the " son of man " is an individual, whose office is to be interpreted both messianically and apocalyptically. *One as a son of man* is the Heavenly Being seated on the clouds of heaven. In *Apoc.* I, 13; Christ is termed " one like a son of man ", which justified the assumption, that the author here thinks of Christ.

83. *And He shall slay the Antichrist with all his multitude which is with him.*

Verse 83 refers to the cosmic victory of the Ancient of Days over the Antichrist.

84. *Truly, woe to every soul which is upon earth at that time, for, indeed, there shall be violence and great oppression and weeping; and the salvation of men is in the hands of the God of Heaven, and this is the completion of the word.*

This is an apocalyptic description of the events preceding the establishment of the New Era, using partly the New Testament image of the destruction of the Temple.

Bibl. Par. " All these are the beginnings of sorrows ". *Matt.* XXIV, 8. "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth ". *Matt.* XXIV, 51.

85. *The angel said to me: Daniel, Daniel, close these words; seal them unto the time which shall finish, for this is the end of all things.*

Bibl. Par. " But you, Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, until the time of the end ". *Dan.* XII, 4.

The angel bids the seer to conceal his words until the time is ripe for their disclosure. In the *Apocalypse* XXII, 10, the seer is admonished not to seal up the vision, for the time was

already at hand. Yet, it is not unusual to read that apocalyptic books are to be concealed in some secret place until an appropriate time, cf. *II Esdras* XII, 37, *Assumption of Moses,* I, 17,18.

86. *I, Daniel, I arose, I stamped the words, and I sealed them.*

Daniel responds willingly to the order of the angel.

87. *I gave glory to God the Father of all and the Master of everything and Who knows the times and the years.*

Bibl. Par. " But of that day and hour no one knows, not even the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father only ". *Matt.* XXIV, 36.

88. *To this One is due the glory and the might unto the age. Amen.*

This is a normal liturgical ending, cf. *Romans* XVI, 27, *Jude* 24.

OTTO MEINARDUS

L'opera della Chiesa ortodossa romena nella creazione della lingua letteraria nazionale

(*seguito*)

6. – La Bibbia di Bucarest (1688) o « Biblia lui Şerban ».

Se a Dosoftei spetta il merito di aver introdotto la lingua nazionale nel servizio religioso in Moldavia, in Muntenia questo merito si deve in massima parte ai traduttori delle corti dei due voevodi Şerban Cantacuzino (1778-1788) e Costantino Brîncoveanu (1688-1714): sono gli stessi fratelli del principe, Iordache Cantacuzino, e lo stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino, zio di Constantin-Vodă Brîncoveanu, già studente a Padova, certo il più erudito di tutti, nonché i logoteti fratelli Radu e Şerban Grecianu. Un posto a parte occupa come vedremo, il metropolita Antim Ivireanul, il creatore della predica originale in romeno.

Durante il voevodato dei due principi venne introdotto nella Chiesa l'obbligo di leggere in romeno non solo la spiegazione del Vangelo fatta dal cantore sui testi denominati *Cazanie* o *Evanghelie cu învăţătură*, ma anche il Vangelo stesso e gli Atti degli Apostoli, la cui lettura era di pertinenza del diacono e del pope. Ora, per la solita lettura del Vangelo, il testo coresiano e il Nuovo Testamento di Bălgrad erano sufficienti, ma non lo erano più per le nuove disposizioni, per le quali il testo evangelico e quello degli Atti doveva esser distribuito in pericopi secondo i bisogni giornalieri del servizio divino; a ciò provvidero l'adozione del Vangelo del 1682 e quella degli Atti degli Apostoli dell'anno dopo, 1683, adattati ai nuovi bisogni della liturgia, edizioni che stanno a dimostrare un nuovo passo avanti nella introduzione della lingua romena nella chiesa anche per la parte che doveva essere

letta non solo dai cantori, che erano dei laici, ma dai popi e dai diaconi, che appartenevano all'ordine sacerdotale. Il traduttore del Vangelo, come appare dalla prefazione, era stato il fratello del voevoda, Iordache Cantacuzino; in quella degli Atti è detto che la traduzione era stata fatta « întru folosul preoţilor şi tuturor credincioşilor », a vantaggio dei sacerdoti e di tutti i fedeli; dei sacerdoti anche, i quali non tutti evidentemente intendevano il testo slavone del servizio divino. Ma prevaleva ancora un senso di solidarietà con le altre Chiese ortodosse della penisola balcanica, che usavano ancora lo slavone, tanto che, sempre nell'epoca di Şerban Cantacuzino, nella prefazione alla *Liturghie* del 1680, il metropolita Teodosie affermava che « Liturghia toată a o propune pre limbă noastră nice am vrut, nice am cutezat », non aveva voluto né avuto la temerarietà di proporre tutta la liturgia in lingua romena. Bisognerà attendere ancora Antim Ivireanul; ma frattanto si fa un grande passo avanti con la stampa della traduzione completa della Bibbia, che corona tutta l'opera religiosa del voevoda Ştefan Cantacuzino e inaugura quella, ben più ampia e fruttifera, di Constantin Brîncoveanu (1).

Nel 1688, proprio all'inizio del voevodato, di costui usciva alle stampe la prima traduzione completa della Bibbia, pubblicata a Bucarest, la cui paternità era attribuita ai logoteti fratelli Greceanu, pur non mancando chi sosteneva che il traduttore fosse lo spătar Nicola Milescu, figura ben nota nella letteratura romena e in quella europea (2).

Effettivamente si avevano notizie di una traduzione fatta dal Milescu, ma se ne erano perdute le traccie; senonché due manoscritti contenenti la traduzione dell'Antico Testamento, trovati uno nella Biblioteca dell'Accademia della Repubblica Socialista Romena a Bucarest nel 1915, catalogato col n. 4389, e l'altro nella Biblioteca Centrale di Blaj, segnalato nel 1944, oggi catalogato come ms. rom. 45 della Biblioteca della filiale di Cluj del-

(1) Per tutto questo cf. CARTOJAN, *o.c.*, III, Bucureşti, 1945, pp. 213-14.

(2) Il primo sostenitore dell'attribuzione della versione al Milescu fu il noto filologo Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu fin dal 1866; lo seguirono, tra gli altri, il Picot, lo Sbiera, il Săineanu, P. P. Panaitescu, Dan Simonescu; furono contrari S. D. Grecescu, C. Solomon, Şt. Cioban, N. Cartojan, Al. Piru, L. Predescu. L'Iorga fu contrario alla attribuzione fino al 1915, favorevole dopo.

l'Accademia stessa (1), hanno permesso a Virgil Cândea di sostenere brillantemente la tesi che effettivamente, sia pure attraverso revisioni e correzioni, la parte della Bibbia di Bucarest, che contiene la traduzione dell'Antico Testamento è da attribuirsi allo spătar Nicola Milescu (2). Ai fratelli Grecianu non rimarrebbe che la traduzione del Nuovo Testamento, in cui pare abbiano avuto l'aiuto di altri traduttori, tra i quali forse, come già detto, anche il famoso ex studente di Padova e zio del voevoda Constantin Brâncoveanu, lo stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino (3).

Certamente, mentre pare che la traduzione dell'Antico Testamento del Milescu sia completamente originale perché, probabilmente, fatta a Costantinopoli quando vi era rappresentante presso la Sublime Porta del voevoda Grigore Ghica, i fratelli Grecianu dovettero tener presente le stampe di Coresi e le precedenti traduzioni neotestamentarie, di cui potevano disporre con una facilità, che non era possibile ottenere nella lontana capitale dell'impero turco.

L'aver trovato già tante traduzioni precedenti e averne copiate talvolta letteralmente lunghi brani pone la *Biblia dela București*, nota anche come *Biblia lui Șerban* in una posizione di privilegio nella storia della lingua letteraria romena, perché ne stabilisce la continuità dall'inizio delle traduzioni e delle stampe di Coresi sino alla fine del secolo XVII, ed è, in un certo senso, anche nella monumentalità delle sue 944 pagine, la sintesi del lavoro di traduzione di quasi due secoli: un punto di arrivo, se si vuole, ma, e più, un traguardo intermedio che lascia, oltre, libera la via per i futuri sviluppi della lingua letteraria, che avrà alla base il dialetto munteno.

La lingua della traduzione non presenta una grande unità dal punto di vista fonetico e sintattico; in cambio è molto unitaria nella morfologia.

(1) Il primo fu segnalato dal Bianu nella seduta del 25 giugno 1915 e attribuito, come datazione, al decennio 1650-1660; il secondo fu descritto con molti errori da N. Comșa, *Catalogul manuscriselor Bibliotecii Centrale din Blaj*, Sibiu, 1944, pp. 43-49.

(2) V. Cîndea, *Nicolae Milescu și începuturile traducerilor umaniste în limba romînă*, in *Limbă și Literatură*, 7, București, 1963, pp. 36-39.

(3) Mi limito a citare, fra le tante opere che ne trattano, Al. Piru, *Literatura romînă veche*, ed. II, București, 1962, p. 216.

Foneticamente, tuttavia, oltre a numerosi arcaismi, in gran parte di uso popolare, la discontinuità delle alternanze più che ai traduttori deve forse imputarsi alla mancanza di norme fonetiche stabili nella lingua romena, o meglio nel dialetto munteno di allora; dal punto di vista sintattico si notano costruzioni insolite nella lingua romena, dovute a regimi verbali romeni che differenziano da quelli dell'originale, a disaccordi di genere che nascono dalla diversità del genere romeno da quello dell'originale slavone o greco, oppure a costruzioni preposizionali la cui traduzione è errata a causa delle differenze di polisemia tra l'uso delle proposizioni dell'originale e quello della lingua romena, o ancora a frasi redatte in una topica che è della lingua greca ma non usuale nel romeno, oppure a frasi tradotte in modo talmente confuso da non riuscire a intenderle (1).

Riportiamo dal Bălan un esempio, confrontando la *Palia de la Orăştie* con la *Biblia de la Bucureşti* (2), aggiungendo, per il confronto, la corrispondente traduzione Radu-Galaction, e per l'intelligenza del testo quello della Vulgata:

ESODO, I,8-10

Palia de la Orăştie	*Biblia de la Bucureşti*	*Radu-Galaction*
Atunci se rădicâ împărat nou în Eghipet, carele despre Iosif nemică nu ştiia, şi zise oamenilor săi: iaca oamenii ficiorilor lui Izrail mai mulţi şi mai tari de noi. Veniţi cu mîndrie săi călcâm pre ei: că doarâ se vor înmulţi şi se va fi navălind pre noi oaste: se vor da cătrâ vrăjmaşii noştrii, şi războind pre noi vor eşi den cest pământ afară.	Şi se sculă alt înpărat pre Eghipet, care nu ştiia pre Iosif. Şi zise limbii lui: Iată limba fiilor lui Israil mare mulţime şi poate mai mult de noi. Veniţi dară săi meşteguşim pre dânşii pentru ca să nu se înmulţéscă, şi când ni se va întâmpla războiu, se vor adaoge şi acesté, cătră nepriateni, şi bătând pre noi vor eşi den pământ.	Atunci s-a ridicat stăpân în Egipt un împărat nou, care nu ştia de Iosif. Şi el a grăit către poporul său: Uitaţi-vă, poporul fiilor lui Israel este mai numeros şi mai tare decît noi. Haidem să ne purtăm cu ei cu iscusinţă, ca să nu se înmulţească şi cînd s-ar întîmpla vre-un război, să nu se dea şi ei de partea vrăjmaşilor noştri şi să lupte împotriva noastră şi să plece din ţară.

(1) Per più ampie informazioni, cf. ROSETTI-CAZACU, *o.c.*, pp. 147-51.
(2) BALAN, *o.c.*, pp. 165-66.

Surrexit interea rex novus super Aegyptum, qui ignorabat Iosef; et ait ad populum suum: Ecce populus filiorum Israel multus et fortior nobis est: venite, sapienter opprimamus eum, ne forte multiplicetur et, si ingruerit contra nos bellum, addatur inimicis nostris, expugnatisque nobis egrediatur de terra.

Esodo, III, 1-2

Moysi iarâ păştea oile socrusău Etro a popei din Madian; şi mână oile în pustiie den lăuntru, vine în muntele lui Domnezeu Horev. Şi îngerul domnului se ivi lui în pară de foc den mijloc de rug şi vedé cum rugul ardé şi nu se amistuia.

Şi Moysi era păscând oile lui Iothor socrusău, popei de Madian, şi aduse oile supt pustiiu, şi veni la muntele lui Dumnezeu Horiv. Şi să arătă lui îngerul Domnului, în para de foc den rug, şi văzu cum rugul arde cu foc, şi rugul nu ardea.

Şi Moise păştea oile socrului său Ietro, preotul din Madian, şi odată a mînat turma în fundul pustiei, şi a ajuns la muntele lui Dumenzeu, adică la Horeb. Atunci îngerul Domnului i s-a arătat lui în flacăra de foc din mijlocul unui desiş de mărăcini, şi s-a uitat Moise şi iată mărăcini ardeau cu flacără,! dar nu se mistuiau.

Moyses autem pascebat oves Iethro, soceri sui sacerdotis Madian; cumque minasset gregem ad interiora deserti, venit ad montem Dei Horeb. Apparuitque ei Dominus in flamma ignis de medio rubi, et videbat quod rubus arderet et non combureretur.

Non aveva torto Samuil Clain quando, nella prefazione alla sua traduzione della Bibbia, stampata a Blaj nel 1795, giudicava la lingua della traduzione nella Bibbia de la Bucureşti « cu foarte întunecată şi încurcată aşezare a graiului romînesc şi mult osibit de vorba cea de acum obişnuită şi mai ales de graiul şi de stilul cel din cărţile bisericeşti, ce în toate bisericele romîneşti se cetesc, şi pentru aceea pretutindinea tuturor şi de toţi iaste cunoscut şi înţeles » [1].

[1] « Con un ordine e una disposizione della parlata romena oscuri e imbrogliati, molto diversi dal parlare oggi usato, e soprattutto dalle parole e dallo stile dei libri ecclesiastici che in tutte le chiese romene sono letti, e per questo da tutti conosciuti e capiti ».

Per quanto riguarda il vocabolario, è da notare una forte riduzione, nei confronti con le precedenti traduzioni, del numero delle voci ecclesiastiche di origine slavone, sostituite da voci di origine latina o greca, o prese anche dall'ungherese e dal polacco; così pure è da notare un maggior uso di voci popolari che danno alla versione dei fratelli Grecianu un senso di più vivo accostamento alla lingua parlata. Non tutte le voci prese dal greco sono state assunte secondo la struttura morfologica del romeno, e a giustificazione di ciò nella introduzione era detto: « Şi măcară că la unele cuvinte să fie fost foarte cu nevoie tălmăcitorilor pentru strîmtarea limbii romîneşti, iară încăş, avînd pildă pre tălmăcitorii latinilor şi slovenilor, precum aceia, aşa şi ai noştri le-au lăsat precum să citesc la cea elinească (1).

Il Bălan ha dimostrato i molti errori che sono stati fatti nella traduzione (2) ma non si può non apprezzare il tentativo dei traduttori, che, non dimentichiamolo, erano dei laici, di esprimersi in una lingua comprensibile a tutti; ne riportiamo un breve esempio, comparandolo alla traduzione moderna di Radu-Galaction; tralasciamo il testo latino, perché il passo è noto:

ATTI, XXV,9-12

Biblia dela Bucureşti

Iară Fist ... răspunzînd lui Pavel, zise: Vei la Ierusalim să te sui, acolo, pentru acestea să te judeci de mine? Şi zise Pavel; La divanul lui Chezariu stînd, sînt unde trebuie să mă judec; jidovilor nici o strîmbătate n-am făcut, după cum şi tu mai bine ştii. Pentru că de am făcut strîmbătate şi vrednic de moarte am făcut cevaş, nu mă feresc de moarte; iară de nimică nu iaste de care aceştea mă pîrăscu,

Radu-Galaction

Festus ... a răspuns lui Pavel, şi a zis: Vrei să mergi la Ierusalim şi acolo te judeci, înaintea mea, asupra acestor lucruri? Dar Pavel a grăit: Stau înaintea tribunalului Cezarului; aici se cuvine să fiu judecat. Judeilor nu le-am stricat nimic, precum prea bine ştii şi tu. Dacă am stricat şi am făptuit ceva vrednic de moarte, nu mă dau în laturi de la moarte; dacă însă nu se alege nimic din cele ce ei îmi pun în

(1) « Benché alcune parole siano abbisognate ai traduttori, a causa delle limitazioni della lingua romena, avendo preso l'esempio dai traduttori dal latino e dallo slavone, come essi fecero, così anche i nostri le hanno lasciate come si leggono nella lingua greca »; BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *Bibliografia romînească veche*, I, p. 286.

(2) BALAN, *o.c.*, pp. 163-65, 166, 170-79, 182-86.

nimeni nu poate pre mîne lor să mă dăruiască. Pre Chesariu chem. Atunci Fist, grăind împreuna cu sfatul, răspunse: Pre Chesariu ai chemat, la Chesariu vei merge.	sarcină, nimeni n-are dreptul să mă dea în mîna lor. Cer să fiu judecat de Cezarul. Atunci Festus, luînd cuvîntul cu sfetnici lui, a răspuns: Ai cerut să fii judecat de Cezarul, la Cezarul te vei duce.

Nonostante tutti i difetti trovati, valgono ancora i giudizi espressi dallo Iorga che la *Biblia lui Şerban* è il primo sicuro documento di una lingua letteraria stabilita per la comprensione di tutti i Romeni e che fu opera di unità nazionale in quel dominio morale dal quale tutti gli altri valori prendono vita (1). Ed è altrettanto vero che la traduzione, anche se dal punto di vista della lingua letteraria presenta forti disuguaglianze nelle varie parti, contribuì, con la sua larga diffusione nelle terre abitate da Romeni dentro e fuori i confini dei voevodati di Muntenia e di Moldavia, a imporre a base della lingua letteraria la parlata muntena. In misura più o meno accentuata, la *Biblia lui Şerban* fu utilizzata in tutte le versioni posteriori del testo sacro, a dimostrazione del posto fondamentale che occupa nella storia culturale romena e nella fortuna dello stile biblico nella letteratura del paese.

* * *

7. – L'opera del metropolita Antim Ivireanul.

La figura del metropolita Antim Ivireanul è molto complessa: era nello stesso tempo ottimo tipografo, xilografo di molto gusto, pittore e scultore con un raro senso dei toni e delle forme, conoscitore profondo dei tessuti per i paramenti dei servizi religiosi: conosceva, oltre la lingua materna georgiana, il greco, il turco e l'arabo e imparò, in età non più giovanile, il romeno e lo slavone.

Nato, pare, da una famiglia di origine georgiana, non si sa con precisione se il soprannome di Ivireanul l'abbia assunto dalla probabile patria di origine, Iviria, antica denominazione greca della Georgia, o dal monastero atonitico Ivir. Fatto schiavo dai

(1) IORGA, *Istoria bisericii romîneşti*, ed. II, p. 407; ROSETTI-CAZACU, *Istoria limbii romîne literare*, p. 156.

Turchi e portato a Costantinopoli, fu affrancato poi dai suoi padroni, probabilmente per il suo talento artistico. Appena fu libero si fece monaco. Avuta notizia di lui, Constantin-Vodă Brîncoveanu lo indusse a venire in Muntenia, forse verso il 1690 e gli affidò la direzione della tipografia della Metropolia; nel 1695 fu eletto egumeno del monastero di Snagov, vicino a Bucarest; nel 1705 assurse al vescovato di Rîmnic e nel 1709 fu eletto metropolita della Valacchia, con la sede a Tîrgovişte. Dopo la caduta del Brîncoveanu, venuto in sospetto al nuovo voevoda Nicolae Mavrocordat, fu per ragioni politiche ridotto allo stato monacale, spogliandolo delle dignità vescovile e metropolitana, esiliato e inviato in un monastero del Monte Sinai, dove non giunse mai, perché assassinato dalla scorta turca nel 1716 non lontano da Adrianopoli.

L'opera sua principale, alla quale è ora legato nella storia letteraria romena, è la raccolta di ventotto prediche, *Predicile* o *Didahiile*, da lui pronunciate a Bucarest o a Tîrgovişte, il cui valore storico-letterario e artistico è, per il suo tempo, veramente eccezionale. Naturalmente sono numerosissime le citazioni della Bibbia, ma difficilmente esse, sia dal Vecchio e dal Nuovo Testamento, sono fatte alla lettera: Antim cita a memoria, il che ci fa persuasi che le sue prediche non erano lette anche se probabilmente stese prima per iscritto, ma dette così « ex abrupto », come il cuore e la mente le ricordavano, sotto le dirette impressioni dei fedeli che le ascoltavano. Le citazioni dei Padri della Chiesa, Atanasio, Dionigi l'Areopagita, Basilio, Efrem Siro, Gregorio Teologo, Giovanni Boccadoro, Eusebio di Cesarea, Teofilatto di Bulgaria, gli servono solo per rafforzare le sue argomentazioni.

L'alto senso morale lo porta a difendere il popolo con tutto il suo cuore, con il caldo convincimento di compiere un'opera sociale, umana e religiosa nello stesso tempo, parlando alla mente ma anche al cuore degli ascoltatori con una armoniosa facilità di parola, che si adatta musicalmente ad esprimere ogni minima sottigliezza di pensiero; per questo la sua lingua resta vicina a quella del popolo con il suo fonetismo, talvolta regionale e arcaizzante, con un ricco pregnante lessico colorito, morfologicamente non dissimile dalla lingua parlata, espressa in frasi di largo respiro, che in modulata flessibilità hanno caldi accenti di reale compartecipazione ai dolori del popolo e di meditate rampogne per l'egoismo dei ricchi.

Lo stile è ricco con molteplicità di forme usate con consumata maestria, dalla breve saltellante frase paratattica al più lungo periodare ritmato su larghe cadenze, dalla semplicità placata e trattenuta nel breve giro di poche parole all'ampio coro, sonorizzato da complesse espressioni di sentimenti.

Tutto gli serve, l'epiteto, la comparazione, l'antitesi, la ripetizione l'interrogazione l'esclamazione, il sarcasmo, l'incisività, per dare alla predica una nervosa plasticità che la rende espressiva e convincente (1). E non gli fanno difetto il lirismo, la poesia. Si veda questo brano della predica per la festa dell'Assunzione della Madonna; il soggetto è la Madonna stessa:

« ...pre dînsa o au ales Dumnezeu mai înainte decît toată zidirea, pentru ca să-i fie lăcaş vecinic, după cum grăiaşte David: Aceasta iaste odihna mea în vecii vecilor, şi într-însa voiu lăcui, pentru că-o am ales.

Aleasă iaste, cu adevărat, ca soarele, pentru că iaste încununată cu toate razele darurilor dumnezeeşti şi străluceşte mai vîrtos între celealalte lumini ale ceriului. Aleasă iaste şi frumoasă ca luna, pentru că cu lumina sfinţeniei stinge celelalte stele şi pentru marea şi minunata strălucire de toate şireagurile stelelor celor de taină să cinsteşte, ca o împărătească. Aleasă iaste ca răvărsatul zorilor, pentru că ia au gonit noaptea şi toată întunerecimea păcatului şi au adus în lume zioa cea purtătoare de viaţă. Aleasă iaste, că iaste izvor carele cu curgerile cereştilor bunătăţ adapă sfînta biserică şi tot sufletul creştinesc. Aleasă iaste, că iaste chiparos carele cu nălţimea covîrşaşte ceriurile şi pentru mirosul cel din fire s-au arătat departe de toată stricăciunea. Aleasă iaste, că iaste crin, că măcar de au şi născut între mărăcinii nenorocirii ceii de obşte, iar nu ş-au pierdut nici odată podoaba albiciunii. Aleasă iaste, că iaste nor carele n-au ispitit nici o greime a păcatului. Aleasă iaste, pentrucă iaste fecioara mai înainte de naştere, fecioara şi după naştere şi iaste o adîncime nepreceputǎ a bunătăţilor şi o icoană însufleţită a frumoseţilor celor cereşti. Iaste o grădină încuiată dintru care au eşit floarea cea neveştejită şi o fîntînă pecetluită, dintru care au curs izvorul vieţii, Hristos » (2).

(1) Rosetti-Cazacu, *o.c.*, pp. 168-69.

(2) « Perché Ella l'ha scelta il Signore prima d'ogni creazione, perché Gli fosse eterna dimora, come dice Davide: — Questa è il mio riposo nei secoli dei secoli, e in Lei voglio abitare, perché l'ho scelta —. Ella è eletta veramente come il sole perché è coronata con tutti i raggi dei doni celesti ed è più lucente fra le altre luci del cielo. È eletta e bella come la luna, poiché con la luce della santità smorza le altre stelle, e della grande miracolosa lucentezza di tutte le collane delle stelle misteriose si onora come una imperatrice. È eletta come l'aurora perché ha scaccia-

È tuttavia è un peccato che tutto questo tesoro stilistico sia rimasto sepolto per secoli, inutilizzato per la lingua letteraria per non esser stato pubblicato, per la prima volta, che molto tardi, nel 1886 (1), di modo che l'influsso di Antim Ivireanul sulla lingua letteraria romena deve esser affidata soltanto alla sua opera di tipografo operoso e intelligente, nella quale certamente egli deve aver profuso, e come autore e come traduttore o anche nella semplice sorveglianza di quanto usciva dalle sue tipografie, il suo buon gusto stilistico, il suo amore per il bello scrivere, l'innato senso artistico che lo faceva cesellatore di periodi, nell'opera svolta a rafforzare l'uso del romeno come lingua liturgica nella Chiesa.

Quando nel 1680 il predecessore di Antim sul soglio metropolitano di Tîrgovişte, Teodosie, aveva pubblicato la *Liturghie* e, come abbiamo già detto, non aveva osato tradurla tutta in romeno, adduceva a ragione del suo operato « săvai că şi pentru scurţi limba noastrî ce iaste; o amŭ făcut şi pentru lipsa dascălilorŭ » (2), per la lingua romena che era « scurtă », cioè povera nelle espressioni necessarie per l'esposizione dogmatica, e anche per la mancanza di maestri che potessero rimediare a questa povertà. Vi era poi un'altra difficoltà, quella di adattare le traduzioni romene alle necessità melodiche della liturgia, la quale non variava con il variare della lingua, fissata com'era nei canoni

---

to la notte e tutte le tenebre del peccato, ed ha recato al mondo il giorno portatore di vita. È eletta perché è la fonte che, con lo scorrere dei beni celesti abbevera la santa chiesa e ogni anima cristiana. È eletta perché è il cipresso che con la sua altezza soverchia i cieli e con il profumo naturale si tiene lontano da ogni contaminazione. È eletta perché è il giglio che, anche se nato tra le spine delle avversità della natura, non ha perso mai il tesoro del candore. È eletta perché è la nube che non ha mai cercato il peso del peccato. È eletta perché vergine prima del parto, vergine nel parto, vergine dopo il parto, ed è un inconcepibile abisso di bene, un'immagine entusiasmante delle bellezze celesti. È un chiuso giardino da cui è uscito il fiore sempre vivo e la fonte suggellata da cui è discesa l'origine della vita, Cristo ». Cf. G. ŞTREMPEL, *Antim Ivireanul, Predici*, Bucureşti, 1962, pp. 88-89.

(1) *Predice făcute pe la praznice mari de Antim Ivirénul, Mitropolitul Ungrovlachiei*. 1709-1716; publicate ... de prof. I. BIANU, Bucuresci, 1886.

(2) BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *Bibliografie romînească veche*, I, p. 234; riporto da N. ŞERBANESCU, *Antim Ivireanul tipograf*, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Romînă*, LXXIV, nn. 8-9, p. 758.

della Chiesa ortodossa [1]. Antim, l'abbiamo già detto, aveva una vasta conoscenza linguistica e una cultura molto superiore a quella dei suoi contemporanei; sapeva perfettamente che né i popi né il popolo comprendevano lo slavone e il greco, la vecchia e la nuova lingua in cui si officiava il servizio divino, e desiderava con tutto il cuore che tutti fossero liberati da questa specie di servitù spirituale che li faceva schiavi di lingue non capite. Non poteva quindi desiderare se non che tutta la liturgia fosse capita dai popi e dal popolo, e non solo la lettura dell'Epistola, del Vangelo e la sua spiegazione in forma di predica. Aveva tutte le qualità necessarie per ottenere questo suo proposito; era colto, non era legato alla tradizione, era tipografo, e non si sottrasse a quello che sentiva essere il suo dovere.

Nei ventisei anni di attività tipografica Antim pubblicò o fece pubblicare ben 64 opere, delle quali 38 furono di sua pubblicazione, 7 del suo discepolo l'ipodiacono Mihai Istvanovici, 12 dell'altro discepolo Gheorghe Radovici, tre dell'ieromonaco Dionisce Florŭ, di cui una iniziata da Antim e terminata dal Floru, probabilmente anch'esso discepolo del metropolita, e infine una pubblicazione, l'*Alexandria*, traduzione romena del romanzo di Alessandro, di cui si ha solo una notizia bibliografica [2], e altre tre che, pur essendo dell'epoca, mancando della prima pagina del titolo, non si possono sicuramente attribuire al maestro o ad alcuno dei discepoli. Trenta sono in lingua greca, ventiquattro in romeno, una in slavone, cinque col testo bilingue slavone-romeno, una greco-romeno, due greco-arabe e una trilingue greco-slavone-romeno.

Delle opere pubblicate quattro sono scritte da Antim, di cui tre in romeno, la *Invățătură pre scurt pentru taina pocăinții*, (Breve insegnamento sul mistero della penitenza) del 1705, l'*Invățătură bisericească* (Insegnamento religioso) per l'istruzione dei sacerdoti, del 1710, le *Capete de poruncă* (Elenco dei doveri dei sacerdoti e dei diaconi) del 1714, e uno in greco, *Νουθεσίαι χριστιανικοπολιτικάι*, (Consigli cristiano-politici) del 1715; sei opere furono da lui tradotte dal greco e stampate a sue spese, e sono l'*Octoih* (Inni liturgici) del 1712, il *Molitvenic* (Rituale) le *Pilde*

[1] N. Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii romîne vechi*, III, p. 223.

[2] A. M. Del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valacchia*, Venezia, 1718.

filosofeşti (Esempi dei filosofi) e la *Liturghie*, tutte e tre stampate nel 1713, il *Catavasier* (Raccolta di canti religiosi) del 1714 e il *Ceaslov* (Libro delle ore canoniche) del 1715; altre dieci hanno prefazioni o lettere dedicatorie scritte da lui, per altre cinque ha composto dei versi, per sei ha scritto l'explicit con la rituale invocazione di perdono da parte dei lettori per gli eventuali errori di stampa [1].

L'opera di inserimento del romeno nel servizio religioso viene effettuata da Antim a gradi, che riferiamo nei tratti principali.

Vuole che i Romeni abbiano fiducia nelle possibilità della propria lingua di esprimere le verità evangeliche, e nel 1693 pubblica a Bucarest il testo greco-romeno del Vangelo, il cui titolo romeno è *Sfîntă şi dumnezeiască Evanghelia elinească şi rumănească*, con il testo a fronte su due colonne, in modo da provare, non solo come è detto nella prefazione, che si possa controllare, sia pure in due lingue diverse, che il testo evangelico era identico, ma anche che la lingua romena era degna di essere posta a fronte col greco, che in fatto di Vangelo faceva testo; lo scopo dell'opera era espresso chiaramente nel titolo « spre cea de opşte a pravoslavnicilor folosinţă » per l'uso dei fedeli in generale.

Nel 1694 dà alla luce nella tipografia del monastero di Snagov la traduzione del libro dei Salmi, *Psaltirea a proorocului şi înpăratului David*, destinata non solo ai popi ma a tutti i fedeli che l'avrebbero letto, ai quali avrebbe distribuito la grazia di Dio; segue nel 1697 il Vangelo nel solo testo romeno, *Sfîntă şi Dumnezeiască Evanghelie*, noto anche come il Vangelo di Snagov, il quale alla fine porta versi di non indegna fattura:

> Precum cei străini doresc moşiia să-ş vază
> Cînd sînt într-altă ţară de nu pot să şază
> Şi ca cei ce-s pre mare bătuţi de furtună
> Şi roagă pre Dumnezău de linişte bună,
> Aşa şi tipograful de-a cărţii sfîrşire
> Laudă ne-ncetată dă şi mulţemire [2].

(1) N. Şerbanescu, *art. cit.*, p. 750.

(2) « Come gli stranieri desiderano vedere la casa paterna / quando sono in altra terra dove non si possono fermare, / e coloro che nel mare sbattuto dalla tempesta pregano Dio per la bonaccia, / così il tipografo alla fine del libro / rende lodi infinite e ringraziamenti ».

Dopo aver pubblicato un'edizione romena del Nuovo Testamento, forse perché la Bibbia del 1688 non era facilmente reperibile, a dimostrazione che il romeno si prestava a cantare le lodi del Signore, Antim pubblicò a Bucarest nel 1703 un *Ceaslov slavo-romîn*, edizione grande di 720 pagine, in cui le ultime 209 riportano i canti in lingua romena; da questo *Ceaslov*, per venire in aiuto ai fedeli e metter loro nelle mani un libro più maneggevole, tolse molte delle più comuni preghiere tradotte in romeno, a cui premise l'inno acatistico della Madonna, detto così perché veniva cantato stando in piedi, *Acatistul şi cu alte rugăciuni de folos*, l'Acatisto con altre utili preghiere.

Nella sua opera di nazionalizzazione del servizio divino Antim continua strenuamente anche dopo la sua elezione al vescovato di Rîmnic, dove trasferisce anche la sua attività di tipografo. Si appoggiava a quanto S. Paolo aveva scritto nella prima Epistola ai Corinzi, XIV, 19 «...in ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui, ut et alios instruam, quame decem millia verborum in lingua» e alla già ricordata risposta del patriarca di Antiochia Teodoro Valsamon al patriarca Marco di Alessandria, che riporta testualmente nelle prime due pagine della edizione del *Molitvelnic* di Rîmnic del 1706 [1] e ripete nella ristampa di Tîrgovişte del 1713 di quest'opera fortunata, tanto bene accolta da dover essere ristampata nel giro di soli sette anni il che non è poco trattandosi di un rituale che andava in mano al clero, anche se si può pensare che sia stata acquistata da qualche laico, qualcuno solo, in un'epoca in cui non eran molti coloro che sapevano leggere.

Per i cantori nel 1712 stampa un *Octoih*, una raccolta di inni, il primo pubblicato in lingua romena, seguito l'anno dopo dal *Ceaslov* e dal *Catavasier*, chiudendo in questo campo la sua magnifica opera con la *Liturghie* del 1713, cioè con le tre liturgie di S. Giovanni Crisostomo, di S. Basilio Magno e di Gregorio Nazianzeno, seguite dalle preghiere da usare in particolari cerimonie; forse se la morte non lo avesse raggiunto, dandogli l'aureola del martirio, l'opera sua di traduttore non si sarebbe arrestata e avrebbe dato alla Chiesa ortodossa romena anche le edizioni dei menologi, *Minee*, del messale, *Triod*, e il rituale speciale per il periodo dalla Pasqua a Pentecoste, *Penticostar*.

[1] Nella penultima pagina è detto che l'edizione fu fatta seguendo quella greca stampata da Nicola Glychys nel 1691 a Venezia.

I libri liturgici pubblicati dal Metropolita Antim sono degni in realtà di ogni lode, perché sono un modello che si può copiare ancor oggi. L'epoca fanariota ritardò l'applicazione del romeno a tutta quanta la liturgia, ma il merito di Antim rimane, e portò i suoi frutti soltanto più tardi.

E ben lo meritava, perché la lingua delle sue traduzioni si era spogliata da influssi slavoni o greci per ammantarsi della frase scorrevole popolare, divenuta modello per ulteriori traduzioni. A due secoli e mezzo di distanza da noi la sua lingua era già molto vicina a quella che oggi è in uso nella Chiesa ortodossa romena; se ciò in parte è dovuto alla grande circolazione delle sue opere a stampa e all'influsso da esse esercitato, è anche effetto dell'esser stato sempre aderente come lessico e sintassi alla parlata del popolo, alla quale seppe dare il crisma dell'arte con il suo inconfondibile stile.

Di questo influsso che rende simili le traduzioni ancora dopo tanti anni portiamo qualche esempio, raffrontato ad edizioni moderne (1).

«Octohic», Tîrgoviște, 1710	*«Catavasier», ed. IV, Cernica, 1926*
Prea blagoslovită ești de Dumnezeu Născătoare Fecioară că, prin Cel ce s-au întrupat din tine, iadul s-au robit, Adam s-au chemat, blestemul s-au pierdut, Eva s-au slobozit, moartea s-au omorît, și noi am înviat. Pentru aceasta cîntînd strigăm: Bine ești cuvîntat Hristoase Dumnezeul nostru Cel ce bine ai voit așa, mărire Ție.	Prea bine cuvîntată ești Născătoare de Dumnezeu Fecioară, că prin Cel ce s-a întrupat din tine, iadul s-a robit, Adam s-a chemat, blestemul s-a pierdut, Eva s-a mîntuit, moartea s-a omorît și noi am înviat. Pentru aceasta cîntînd strigăm: Binecuvîntat ești Hristoase Dumnezeule, Cel ce bine ai voit așa, slavă Ție.

È tolto dal tropario della Madonna, che si canta al mattino della domenica prima della grande dossologia (2).

(1) N. Serbanescu, *art. cit.*, pp. 764, 765, 766.

(2) «Sii benedetta, Vergine Madre di Dio, perché Colui che ha preso corpo in Te ha reso schiavo l'inferno, ha chiamato Adamo, ha annullato la maledizione, ha redento Eva, ha ucciso la morte e noi siamo stati salvati. Perciò cantando gridiamo: Sii benedetto, Cristo Signore, che hai voluto che così fosse bene; gloria a Te».

«Liturghier», Tîrgoviște, 1713

Stăpîne Doamne Dumnezeul nostru, cela ce ai pus în ceriuri cetele și oștile îngerilor și ale arhangelilor spre slujba măririi Tale, fă împreună cu intrarea noastră să fie intrarea Sfinților îngeri, care slujesc împreună cu noi și împreună măresc bunătatea Ta.

«Liturghier», București, 1950

Stăpîne Doamne Dumnezeul nostru, cela ce ai așezat în ceruri cetele și oștile îngerilor și ale arhangelilor spre slujba măririi Tale, fă ca împreună cu intrarea noastră să fie și intrarea sfinților îngeri, care slujesc împreună cu noi și impreună măresc bunătatea Ta.

È, nella liturgia di S. Basilio Magno, la preghiera recitata dal sacerdote nell'entrata solenne in chiesa ([1]).

«Catavasier», Tîrgoviște, 1715

Inviiarea cé de obste mai nainte de patima ta încredințîndu-o, pre Lazăr din morți l-ai sculat Hristoase Dumnezeule. Pentru aciasta și noi ca coconi, sémnele biruinții purtînd, Ție biruitorului morții strigăm: Osana întru cei de sus, bine ești cuvîntat cel ce vii întru numele Domnului ... Viața în mormînt pusu-te ai, Hristoase, și oștile céle îngerești s-au înspăimîntat, plecăciunea ta proslăvindu-o.

« Triod » ed. IV, București, 1930

Invierea cea de obște mai înainte de patima Ta, încredințîndu-o, pre Lazăr din morți l-ai sculat, Hristoase Dumnezeule. Pentru aceasta și noi ca prunci, semnele biruinții purtînd, ție biruitorului morții strigăm: Osana celui dintre înălțime, bine ești cuvîntat cel ce vii întru numele Domnului ... In mormînt viiața pus ai fost, Hristoase, și s-au spăimîntat oștirile îngerești plăcăciunea ta cea multă preslăvind.

Fa parte del tropario della domenica delle palme ([2]).

Ben a ragione il Rosetti ed il Cazacu hanno espresso l'opinione nella loro *Istoria limbii literare romine* che se per le sue prediche Antim Ivireanul si può considerare l'iniziatore dell'ora-

([1]) « O Signore padrone, Dio nostro, che hai posto nel cielo le schiere e gli eserciti degli angeli e degli arcangeli per servizio il Tuo splendore, fa che insieme con noi entrino i santi angeli, che servono insieme a noi e insieme accrescono la Tua bontà ».

([2]) « Assicurandogli pubblica resurrezione prima ancora della Tua passione, hai svegliato dalla morte Lazzaro, Cristo Signore. Per questo anche noi, come figli che portiamo i segni della vittoria e Te vincitore della morte, gridiamo: Osanna nell'alto dei cieli, benedetto Tu che vieni nel nome del Signore ... La vita hai posto nel sepolcro, o Cristo, e le schiere angeliche si sono spaventate, lodando la tua obbedienza ».

toria sacra romena, a maggior diritto deve esser considerato il fondatore della lingua liturgica della Chiesa ortodossa di Romania [1].

* * *

8. – L'opera del vescovo Damaschin di Rîmnic.

Contemporaneo di Antim Ivireanul, era stato eletto vescovo di Buzău ai primi dell'ottobre 1702, succedendo poi a Rîmnic ad Antim quando costui fu eletto metropolita; morì nel 1725. Era uomo colto, conosceva il greco, il latino e lo slavone, ed aveva in comune con Antim l'amore per la tipografia e l'incisione. Nel 1683 aveva dato alla stampa a Bucarest una edizione degli Atti degli Apostoli, *Apostolul,* alla quale aveva premesso una introduzione, che verranno poi ristampati da lui stesso a Buzău nel 1704.

Prima di diventar vescovo aveva anche collaborato alla traduzione dal greco e alla stampa del *Triod* di Buzău del 1700, contenente tra l'altro il canone e il sinassario delle vite dei santi, a quella del *Molitvelnic,* del *Penticostar* e della *Psaltire,* pubblicato sempre a Buzău nel 1701 all'epoca del vescovo Mitrofan.

Divenuto vescovo, si preoccupò della traduzione integrale dei rituali, di cui egli pubblicò soltanto dal testo slavone dal metropolita Gavril Severos di Filadelfia in Asia, la *Invățătură pentru şapte taine* (Insegnamento per i sette sacramenti) un anno prima della morte, nel 1724; ma i suoi successori nella cattedra episcopale di Rîmnic, Inochentie, Climent e Gregorie continuarono la sua opera pubblicando altri libri del rituale, di cui riproducono integralmente il testo preparato da Damaschin, oppure partono dalle sue traduzioni.

Nel *Triod,* messale pubblicato nel 1731, è detto espressamente che la stampa era stata fatta secondo la traduzione di Damaschin, «nimica schimbîndŭ cuvintele», non cambiando neppure una parola [2]; la stessa affermazione è fatta nel *Penticostar* del 1743 « . . . am urmat izvodului răposatului părintului Damaschinu episcopulŭ Rîmnicului, din cuvîntu în cuvîntu nimicŭ schim-

[1] Rosetti-Cazacu, *o.c.*, p. 172.
[2] Bianu şi Hodoş, *Bibliografia romînească veche,* II, p. 44.

bîndŭ ... » (1), era stata seguita la versione del defunto Damaschin, seguendola parola per parola, senza nulla cambiare.

Nell'*Antologhion* per il servizio divino di tutte le feste dell'anno, pubblicato nel 1745, è detto che la stampa è stata fatta « după tălmăcire răposatului Chyr Damaschinŭ (2), secondo la traduzione del defunto monsignor Damaschin.

Nelle due edizioni del *Penticostar* di Bucarest e di Rîmnic, ambedue del 1743 è chiaramente affermato che si adoperava la traduzione di Damaschin; infatti per l'edizione bucarestina, il metropolita Neofit affermava che « iubitoriulŭ de Dumnezeu şi întocma fratele nostru răposatulŭ Damaschinŭ Episcopulŭ Rîmnicului socotindu a-lŭ aduce la lumină ca să înţelégă toţi şi să să foloséscă sufleteşte, l-au tălcuitŭ de pre slovenie pre limba romînească » (3) e cioè che l'adoratore di Dio ed anche fratello nostro, il defunto Damaschin vescovo di Rîmnic, pensando di farlo conoscere perché tutti lo capiscano e perché sia utile spiritualmente, lo tradusse dallo slavone in romeno, e ne affidava la revisione al secondo postelnic, cioè ciambellano Ianachie: a sua volta, nell'edizione di Rîmnic il vescovo Climent scriveva nella introduzione che l'opera era stata « tălmăcită de pre limba elinéscă, slovenéscă şi latinéscă deplinŭ pre limba noastră romînéscă prinŭ ostenéla şi toată osîrdiĭa şi nevoinţa celui întru Dumnezeu răposatŭ părinte Episcopŭ şi Dascălŭ şi alŭ nostru întru Duhulŭ sfîntŭ frate chyr Damaschinŭ » (4) era stata interamente tradotta dalla lingua greca, slavona e latina nella lingua romena dalla fatica, dallo zelo e dalle preoccupazioni del defunto in Dio, padre vescovo e maestro, il nostro nello Spirito Santo fratello monsignore Damaschin; e nell'explicit confermava che « noi amŭ urmatŭ izvodului răposatului Damaschinŭ, episcopulŭ Rîmnicului, din cuvînt în cuvînt, nimic schimbîndŭ » (5), aveva seguito

(1) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 76.

(2) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 81; probabilmente è lo stesso lavoro che P. P. Aaron ricorda a p. 44 della sua *Păstoriceasca poslanie* (lettera pastorale), pubblicata a Blaj nel 1760, come stampata a Rîmnic nel 1745 con il titolo di *Ceaslov*, e che il vescovo di Argeş, Grigorie, nella prefazione alla sua *Loghica*, chiama *Orologhion* e dice che fu tradotto da Damaschin; cf. BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *o.c.*, II, p. 85.

(3) BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *o.c.*, II, p. 72.

(4) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 74.

(5) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 76.

la traduzione del defunto padre Damaschin vescovo di Rîmnic, parola per parola, non cambiando nulla.

Nella ultima pagina dell'*Evanghelie,* stampato a Rîmnic nel 1746, il vescovo Climent asseriva «că amŭ urmatŭ tălmăciturii izvodului Părintului Damaschinŭ Episcopulŭ, dascălulŭ celŭ mare» (¹), che aveva seguito la traduzione del manoscritto del padre Damaschin vescovo, grande maestro.

Esempio di un testo riveduto può essere l'*Antologhion* del 1737 dove nell'explicit lo ieromonaco Lavrentie del monastero di Hurezi dice d'aver corretto il testo per ordine del vescovo Climent, e aggiunge: « Nu doară cu vre-o procopsélă de învăţătură, care nu o amŭ, numai atingîndu-mă şi eu de un dégetŭ din céle mici alu picioarelorŭ măritului Episcopulŭ Damaschinŭ amŭ fostŭ diorthositoriŭ (²), non aveva corretto per alcuna supposizioni di scienza, che sentiva di non avere, ma solo toccando anche lui uno dei mignoli dei piedi del grande vescovo Damaschin.

Nel *Molitvenic* di Rîmnic del 1747, pubblicato dal metropolita Neofit, lo stesso ieromonaco Lavrentie del monastero di Hurezi ricordava che, se nel tipico aveva seguito la regola della chiesa russa, « iarŭ in tălmăcire cuvintelorŭ şi asezaré vorbei rumîneşti amŭ urmatŭ tălmăciturilorŭ părintului Damaschinŭ Episcopŭ şi Dascălulŭ (³), nella traduzione delle parole e nella disposizione del parlare romeno aveva seguito le traduzioni del padre Damaschin, vescovo e maestro.

Si sa che fece anche la traduzione del Menologio, di cui si ha notizia in una lettera da lui scritta al generale Tige, uomo di fiducia dell'imperatore d'Austria in Oltenia (⁴) nonché nelle prime righe dell'explicit dell'ora citato *Antologhion* del 1737, che comprende, come dice lo ieromonaco Lavrentie « întru sine totŭ anulŭ, după izvodul Mineiului celui romînescŭ », quanto occorre per tutto l'anno, secondo la versione del Menologio romeno, versione che non può essere se non quella fatta da Damaschin, che verrà

(¹) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 92.
(²) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 53.
(³) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 101.
(⁴) È stata pubblicata da Al. Lapadatu, *Damaschin, episcopul şi dascălul*, nella riv. *Convorbiri Literare*, 1906, p. 568; cito da Balan, *o.c.*, p. 255, n. 1.

poi completamente utilizzata dai redattori dei Menologi di Rîmnic, stampati fra il 1776 e il 1780, come vedremo(1).

Nonostante l'eccellenza delle traduzioni di Damaschin abbiamo visto che alcuni suoi testi furono riveduti prima della loro pubblicazione; portiamo ad esempio le già citate edizioni contemporanee del 1743 del *Penticostar* di Bucarest e di Rîmnic, di cui abbiamo ricordato che la prima fu affidata alla correzione del postelnic Ianachie, mentre la seconda mantenne integra la traduzione di Damaschin(2).

Nell'edizione di Bucarest, infatti, il metropolita Neofit scriveva nell'introduzione « socotindŭ că dinŭ limba elinească a să tîlcui rumîneşte prinŭ limba slovenéscă s-ar fi pututŭ întîmpla a să pricinui multe greşăli, amŭ pohtitŭ pre duhovnicesculŭ nostru fiĭu Domnélui Ianachie Vtori Post. ca să-lŭ îndreptéze mai cu dédinsulŭ de pre limba cé elinéscă » (3), pensando che tradurre in romeno dal greco attraverso lo slavone poteva esser causa di molti errori, aveva pregato il figlio spirituale Ianachie, secondo postelnic, di correggere attentamente riferendosi all'originale greco. La supposizione del metropolita era errata perché Damaschin non si era giovato esclusivamente del testo slavone, e Ianache non ha certamente corretto in meglio il testo di Damaschin; basta un semplice confronto fra l'originale nell'edizione di Rîmnic e il testo corretto in quella di Bucarest per convincersene (4).

PENTICOSTAR 1743

ed. Rîmnic	*ed. Bucureşti*
Zioa învierii, să ne luminăm noroade, Paştile Dmnului Paştile: că din moarte la viaţă şi de pre pămînt la ceriu. Hs Dmne-	Zioa învierii iaste, noroadelor să ne luminăm. Paştele iaste a Dmnului Paşte. Că néu trecut pre noi din moarte la viiaţă, şi

(1) BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *o.c.*, II, p. 53.

(2) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 81.

(3) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 72.

(4) « È il giorno della resurrezione; rallegriamoci, o popoli, è la Pasqua del Signore; la Pasqua, poiché dalla morte alla vita, dalla terra al cielo Cristo Signore ci ha portato, noi che cantiamo il canto della vittoria. Sono venute prima dell'alba quelle che erano con Maria, hanno trovato la pietra rovesciata nel sepolcro, hanno udito l'Angelo: Colui che è nella luce eterna voi lo cercate tra i morti, come se fosse uomo; vedete le fasce funebri; andate e predicate al mondo che il Signore è risorto uccidendo la morte, che è il Figlio di Dio, il quale ha salvato il genere umano ».

zeu néu trecut pre noi, cei ce cîntăm cîntare de biruinţă. Venitau mainainte de diminéţă céle ce au fost cu Mariia; şi aflînd piiatra răsturnată de pre mormînt, auzitau de la înger: pre cela ce iaste întru lumina cé pururé fiitoare, cu morţii cel căutaţi ca pre un om; vedeţi înfăşurăturile céle de îngropare: Alergaţi şi lumii propoveduiţi, că sau sculat Dmnul, omorînd moarté: că iaste Fiul lui Dmnezeu celui ce au mîntuit némul omenesc.	de pre pămînt la ceriu, Hs Dmnezeu pre cei ce cîntăm de biruinţă. Venind mainainté zorilor céle ce au fost cu Mariia, şi aflînd piiatra răsturnată de pre mormînt, au auzit dela înger: pentru ce căutaţi cu cei morţi ca pre un om, pre cel ce iaste în lumina cé pururé. Vedeţi înfăşările céle de îngropare. Alergaţi şi propoveduiţi lumii, Că sau sculat Dmnul omorînd moarté, că iaste fiiul lui Dumnezeu, celuia ce mîntuiaşte némul omenesc.

A parte l'aggiunta iniziale del verbo « iaste », non necessaria, e l'uso di Pastele al singolare mentre in romeno è plurale, è da notare il brutto iperbato che separa con l'intrusione del complemento diretto complicato da due complementi indiretti, il soggetto posposto al verbo preposto (că néu ... Hs. Dmnezeu); « cîntăm de biruinţa », letteralmente cantiamo di vittoria, non ha senso se non con l'aggiunta di « cîntare », canto; non è esatto l'uso della voce « înfăşările », che non può riferirsi alle bande funebri, ma alle fasce in cui si avvolgono gli infanti.

Per la sua opera di traduttore, tanto apprezzata dai suoi immediati successori nella cattedra episcopale da stampare direttamente le traduzioni inedite o prenderle, a ragione o a torto, a base di edizioni corrette, indubbiamente Damaschin merita di essere citato fra le figure ecclesiastiche che hanno contribuito al consolidamento della lingua letteraria romena.

Non ebbe la sua opera la risonanza di quella di un Dosoftei o di un Antim Ivireanul, non irruppe con la violenza di un torrente, ma fu come l'acqua cheta che lavora in silenzio e decanta; dopo settanta anni dalla sua morte, l'opera sua era ancora apprezzata sì da permettere al vicario Ioan Halmaghi di prenderla a modello per una specie di guida spirituale, che intitolò *Mîna lui Damaschin* e pubblicò a Sibiu nel 1793, dicendo che l'operetta era « precum am luat izvodită cu mare meteşug de pré osfinţitul chyr Damaschin Episcopul Rîmnicului » [1], copiata con grande arte, così come l'aveva presa dal santo monsignor Damaschin;

[1] BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *o.c.*, II, pp. 345-55.

quattro anni dopo, Radu Tempea, nome tutt'altro che ignoto nella letteratura romena, scriveva nella prefazione alla sua *Gramatica romînéscă* pubblicata a Sibiu nel 1797 che « cé mai mare parte a cărţilor bisericeşti s-au tălmăcit de Damaschin Episcopul Rîmnucului ... cu stil şi graiu foarte minunat » (1) la maggior parte dei libri ecclesiastici erano stati tradotti da Damaschin con stile e parlata veramente ammirevoli. Samuil Clain, uno dei corifei della scuola latinista transilvania, nella sua *Theologhie dogmatică şi moraliciască despre Tainele preste tot*, pubblicata a Blaj nel 1801, alla fine dell'opera ripubblica il lavoro di Damaschin *Invăţătură pentru şapte taine*, che, trattando lo stesso argomento, gli doveva esser piaciuta tanto da riportarla a conforto dell'opera sua (1).

Tutto ciò dimostra quanto l'opera del vescovo Damaschin sia stata apprezzata dagli immediati posteri; essi, più di noi, sentivano l'importanza della sua opera di romenizzazione del servizio divino, coraggiosa opera quando nei libri ad uso liturgico tutta la parte cantata era ancora in slavone.

Le traduzioni di Damaschin completano l'opera di Antim Ivireanul; giunte in un momento in cui più se ne sentiva il bisogno, esse hanno dato ai fedeli in espressioni comprensibili la gioia di cantare le lodi del Signore nella propria lingua, di rivestire di parole umane l'impeto del cuore, il desiderio dell'infinito, il bisogno della divina consolazione.

Nella Chiesa ortodossa esse vivono ancor oggi, esempio di una vitalità che si esprime in scandita e canora bellezza.

* * *

9. – Chezarie e Filaret vescovi di Rîmnic. Mineele.

Deve trascorrere mezzo secolo dalla morte di Damaschin prima di giungere alla stampa della completa versione romena dal Menologio, ultimo, importante libro che ancora mancava in lingua nazionale alla Chiesa ortodossa romena.

La stampa si deve ai due vescovi di Rîmnic, Chezarie e Filaret, che sedettero sulla cattedra episcopale rispettivamente dal

(1) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 396.
(2) Id., *ib.*, II, p. 429.

1773 al 1780, e dal 1780 al 1792, guadagnando imperituri meriti nella storia della letteratura romena.

Chezarie era uomo istruito, che aveva imparato il greco, il latino, il russo e, cosa fuori dell'ordinario allora, il francese. Nel 1770 aveva fatto parte di una delegazione inviata a Pietroburgo, a capo della quale era il metropolita Grigorie. I rapporti culturali con l'occidente erano da lui mantenuti oltre che con l'intermediario di Zenobie Pop, uno scrittore romeno di lingua greca che viveva a Vienna, anche per mezzo del negoziante Constantin Hagi di Sibiu, che gli forniva libri e riviste francesi, quali il ben noto *Mercure historique litteraire et politique*, e il *Journal encyclopedique de libre propagande philosophique*; non riuscì invece mai ad avere l'Enciclopedia del Diderot (1) che ebbe invece il suo successore Filaret (2) di greca origine, uomo dotto, anch'egli conoscitore della lingua francese, futuro Metropolita di Ungrovalachia.

Tutto ciò dimostra in Chezarie una notevole curiosità filosofica, in cui è innegabile un certo influsso illuministico, che si avverte nei suoi scritti, soprattutto nelle prefazioni ai sei volumi di *Mineele*, i Menologi fra i mesi dall'ottobre al marzo; tale influsso è chiarissimo nelle introduzioni dei sei altri tomi, dall'aprile al settembre, edite da Filaret (3).

Alla traduzione dei menologi dei vari mesi Chezarie dovette lavorare certamente a lungo, pur avendo a guida non solo gli originali greci e la traduzione che ne aveva fatto più di cinquant'anni prima Damaschin, ma soprattutto la redazione fatta nel secolo precedente dal vescovo di Buzău, Mitrofan, che si era basato sulla opera di Dosoftei, *Viața și petrecerea Sfinților*, e che da lui era stata pubblicata nel 1698 (4); la traduzione di Mitrofan resta pur sempre la principale fonte, tanto che spesso è riprodotta alla

(1) La lettera con la quale Chezarie richiedeva l'Enciclopedia fu pubblicata da N. IORGA, *Contribuții la istoria literaturii romîne în veacul al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea*, in *Anal. Acad. Romîne, s. II, Memor. Secț. Lit.*, t. XXVIII (1905-06), București, 1906, pp. 193 e 195.

(2) D. POPOVICI, *La littérature roumaine à l'époque des lumières*, Sibiu, 1945, p. 102; per l'influsso di Montesquieu su Chezarie cf. p. 182.

(3) Per questo influsso si veda: *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, pp. 713-14; C. JOJA, *Perioada învățămîntului și culturii în limba romînă în spirit iluminist*, nel vol. collettivo *Istoria gîndirii sociale și filozofice în Romînia*, București, 1964, pp. 122-24.

(4) BIANU ȘI HODOȘ, *o.c.*, II, p. 365-69.

lettera, talvolta con brevi sostituzioni di parole, talaltra con piccole modificazioni di ordine sintattico.

Ciò non diminuisce, tuttavia, il merito letterario di Chezarie, poiché la parte più importante delle *Mineie*, cioè gli inni cantati, è opera esclusiva sua, tradotta per la prima volta in romeno.

Che l'opera fosse già tutta tradotta, nonostante che il merito se lo sia attribuito, solamente per verità per i tomi del semestre aprile-settembre il suo successore Filaret, non possono sussistere dubbi, poiché nel 1779 Chezarie attestava che si stava lavorando per dare alla luce gli ultimi sei volumi (1); del resto basta pensare agli anni di stampa: il primo volume che contiene il Menologio di ottobre appare nel 1776, quello di novembre nel 1778, i quattro tomi per i mesi da dicembre a marzo compreso nel 1779, gli altri sei da aprile a settembre nel 1780: Chezarie muore il 9 gennaio di quell'anno, quando il tomo per il mese di aprile era già in tipografia: infatti l'explicit ci dice che il volume fu composto e stampato tra il 9 dicembre 1779 e il 29 gennaio 1780. Le date di composizione e stampa degli altri cinque sono: per il Menologio di maggio dal 1 febbraio al 24 marzo, per quello di giugno dal 26 marzo al 16 maggio, per luglio dal 18 maggio al 18 luglio, per agosto dal 23 luglio al 24 settembre; non si possono attestare le date mensili per il Menologio di settembre, perché l'esemplare posseduto dall'Accademia della R.S.R. è mutilo della pagina del titolo e di quelle della prefazione, fermo restando il 1780 come anno di pubblicazione, desunto da altre fonti bibliografiche (2). Lo stesso celere ritmo della pubblicazione nel breve giro di un anno ci fanno persuasi che la traduzione dell'intera opera doveva essere già compiuta alla morte di Chezarie, e che Filaret non poté portare che semplici ritocchi al lavoro del predecessore.

Sono interessanti tutte le prefazioni, le sei di Chezarie e le altre sei di Filaret, per gli influssi illuministici che qui non ci interessano, ma che meriterebbero un ampio studio, perché furono le prime che subirono l'influsso che l'epoca dei lumi ebbe anche su altre persone eminenti della Chiesa, quali Iacob Sta-

(1) *Istoria literaturii romîne*, I, p. 713.

(2) Per tutte le date si veda BIANU ŞI HOSOŞ, *o.c.*, II, pp. 256, 260, 262, 264, 267. La prefazione del tomo di settembre è pubblicata in quello corrispondente del *Mineiul mare* di Budapest del 1805, ma non ci illumina sulla data di composizione e di stampa; cf. BIANU ŞI HODOŞ, *o.c.*, II, pp. 457-58.

mati, vescovo di Huşi (1782-1792) e poi metropolita di Moldavia, 1792-1863) il vescovo di Hotin, Amfilohie (1768-1770), il metropolita di Moldavia Veniamin Costachi (1812-1842), il metropolita di Ungrovalachia, Grigorie (1823-1834), ed altri ancora.

La lingua dei vari tomi delle *Minee* non varia, salvo qualche sfumatura dialettale o arcaicizzante, da quella letteraria del secolo XVIII; l'aspetto fonetico non è sempre unitario e presenta alcuni tratti popolari, la struttura sintattica è scorrevole, naturale, con tratti che ricordano il linguaggio del popolo. La frase, che in testi precedenti aveva costruzioni straniere al romeno, in genere calchi da sintassi di altre lingue, diviene nelle *Minee* armoniosamente, popolarmente naturale, di largo respiro, anche se conserva il tipico carattere dello stile biblico delle traduzioni romene, e cioè una certa arcaicità, che dà un leggero sapore di cose lontane; il carattere popolare è dato dall'uso di parole di espansa circolazione che evitano forme slavone, ed anche dall'adattamento alla struttura morfologica della lingua romena di neologismi in genere d'origine greca, latina o romanza, che esprimono idee e nozioni nuove. Sotto un certo punto di vista si può affermare che il linguaggio delle *Minee* di Rîmnic, per la ricchezza e la varietà, ricorda Dosoftei di *Viaţa şi petrecerea Sfinţilor*, opera che, in fondo, non è che un riassunto dei Menologi (1).

I Menologi di Rîmnic furono riprodotti testualmente nei dodici volumi del *Mineiul mare*, stampato a Buda nel 1805, e attraverso questa edizione sono riprodotti fino ai giorni nostri; l'unica differenza tra le due edizioni consiste nel fatto che la successione dei tomi del *Mineiul mare* di Buda segue l'anno solare, portando la numerazione da uno a dodici, cioè da gennaio a dicembre, non nel titolo di ciascun tomo ma nella numerazione dei singoli fascicoli in-folio. Ciascun volume è attribuito, secondo l'edizione di Rîmnic, sia a Chezarie che a Filaret. A questa edizione di Buda è premessa una nota del Vescovo di Argeş, Iosif de Sivas (1793-1820), il quale avverte che l'edizione è stata curata dal noto dottore Ioan Molnar, professore dell'Accademia di Cluj, che ne ha corretto gli errori di stampa riscontrati nell'edizione di Rîmnic, ha sostituito qualche parola dialettale e, infine, ha tolto alcuni uffizi di santi, perché non contenuti negli

(1) ROSETTI-CAZACU, *o.c.*, pp. 177-80.

originali greci, quali, p. es., l'uffizio di S. Visarione, quello di S. Paraschiva e il secondo canone di quelle di S. Gregorio Decapolita [1].

La fortuna della traduzione dei Menologi ci dice il grande valore dell'opera e la sua importanza nella storia della lingua letteraria; l'esser diventata la traduzione tipica, sì che i suoi canti ancor oggi risuonano sotto le curve volte delle chiese, non si deve certamente a casualità, ma alla sua riconosciuta eccellenza, di cui diamo alcuni esempi [2].

Riportiamo dall'uffizio del primo di ottobre per la festa di Romano il Melode il seguente passo:

« Făcătoriul de musica, alăuta dumnezeescului duh, privighietoarea, greerul, fluerul dumnezeeştilor cîntări ale bisericii, pune înnaintea noastră tuturor ospăţul lui cel de cîntări, şi dintr-însa veseleşte pre gînditorii de Dumnezeu.

Sfeşnicul cel prea luminos şi prea limpede, alăuta cea de cîntare, struna cuvintelor duhului celor de bun semn, cîntă luminat învăţînd toată lumea a slavoslovi cu glasuri neîncetate, pre o lumină a dumnezeirii.

Tu ca unul ce stai înaintea stăpînului tuturor şi ai îndrezneală cătră dînsul, părinte, adu-ţi aminte de noi carii săvîrşim luminată prăznuirea ta, să ne izbăvim de primejdii şi de supărări, Romane de Dumnezeu fericite » [3].

Dall'uffizio del primo di novembre, festa di S. Ermenegildo:

« Acesta au fost născut din tată ce să chiema Liuvighind, craiul Gotthilor celor mai din lăuntru, carele cu toată limba lui era arian. Deci, învăţîndu-se pravoslavnica învăţătură de la Leandru, pravoslavnicul episcop, şi mîniindu-se tată-său pentru premenirea sa, avea despre dînsul multe supărări, luîndu-l şi cu bine şi cu rău în toate zilele, şi el era neschimbat şi nebiruit. Pentru care lucru întîiu îl lipsi tată-său de moştenirea împărătească şi, legîndu-i mîinele şi picioarele,

[1] Bianu şi Hodoş, *o.c.*, II, p. 460.

[2] Sono riportate da Rosetti-Cazacu, *o.c.*, pp. 184, 187, 188.

[3] « Il creatore di musica, il liuto dello Spirito Santo, l'usignolo, il grillo canterino, il flauto dei celesti canti della chiesa pone davanti a noi tutti il suo banchetto di canti e con essi rallegra i credenti di Dio. Il candelabro più luminoso e più splendente, il liuto del canto, la corda delle parole di buon segno dello spirito canta con sapienza insegnando a tutto il mondo a glorificare, con voce continua, la luce della divinità. Tu, come uno che sta dinnanzi al padrone di tutti e sei ardito con lui, o padre, ricordati di noi, che onoriamo la tua festa, perché ci possiamo salvare dai pericoli e dalle contrarietà, o Romano felice in Dio ».

îl închise într-o temniță întunecată. Deci fiind prasnicul paștilor, trimise tată-său pre popa ispitindu-l ca să se plece să-l cumunice cu tainele arienești, iar el nu să plecă, ci, scîrbîndu-se pre dînsul, îl goni. Pentru aceea porunci tată-său să-i taie capul acolo în temniță unde să afla, și, după ce îl tăiară, să pogorî cîntări și viersuri îngerești împrejurul trupului fericitului cu făclii, care minune înfricoșată porni pre toți credincioșii spre frica lui Dumnezeu, iară pre ucigaș îl spăimînta și-l tulbura și-l siliia ca să se pocăiască pentru păgînătatea ce au făcut » [1].

A testimonianza della bontà della traduzione riportiamo brevemente in ultimo l'inizio dell'uffizio del Natale, che è traduzione del Vangelo di Matteo, 2,1-2, confrontandolo con le traduzioni del *Tetraevanghelul* di Coresi del 1560-61, del *Noul Testament di Bălgrad* del 1648 e con la traduzione moderna Radu-Galaction.

MATTEO, 2,1-2

Coresi (1560-61)

Isus nâscu în Vitleemul Iudeilor în zilele lui Irod înpărat. Adecâ vlăfele dela râsârit vinerâ în Ierusalim grâind: unde iaste înpâratul Iudeilor sâ nascâ, că văzum steaoa lui spre râsârit și venim să ne închinăm lui.

Noul Testament (1648)

Iarâ déca născu Isus în Vitleemul jidovesc, în zilele lui Irod craiul, iaca mîndrii dela răsărit veniră în Erosalim, zicănd: unde iaste cel craiu jidovesc carele au născut? Că am văzut steaoa lui spre răsărit și am venit să ne închinăm lui.

[1] « Costui era nato da padre che si chiamava Leovigildo, re dei Goti più ignoranti, il quale con tutto il suo popolo era ariano. Avendo appreso la vera dottrina da Leandro, vescovo ortodosso, il padre era furioso per questa sua conversione ed aveva con lui molti screzi; lo prendeva tutti i giorni con le buone e con le cattive, ma egli rimaneva fermo e invitto. Per questo, come prima cosa, il padre gli tolse la successione al trono, e legato mani e piedi, lo chiuse in una buia prigione. Poi, essendo la festa di Pasqua, il padre gli mandò un sacerdote nel tentativo di piegarlo alla comunione secondo il rito ariano, ma egli non si piegò, e, anzi, disgustato lo cacciò via. Allora il padre comandò che gli fosse tagliato il capo nella stessa prigione dove era; ma dopo che fu decapitato, discesero canti e cori angelici con luci attorno al corpo del beato. Questo formidabile miracolo indusse tutti i fedeli al timor di Dio, mentre spaventò l'assassino e lo turbò, obbligandolo a far penitenza per la mostruosità commessa ».

Mineiu (1779)	*Radu-Galactione (1938)*
Deaca s-au născut Isus în Vithleemul Iudeii în zilele lui Irod împărat, iată maghii de la răsărit au venit în Ierusalim zicînd: Unde iaste cel ce s-au născut, împăratul jidovilor, că am văzut steaoa lui în răsărit și am venit să ne închinăm lui.	Iar dacă s-a născut Iisus în Betleemul Iudeii, în zilele lui Irod împăratul, iată magii de la răsărit au venit în Ierusalim întrebănd: Unde este împăratul Judeilor cel ce s-a născut? Căci am văzut la răsărit steaua lui și am venit să ne închinăm lui.

Cum ergo natus esset Iesus in Bethlehem Iuda in diebus Herodis regis, ecce magi ab oriente venerunt Ierosolymam dicentes: Ubi est qui natus est rex Iudeorum? Vidimus enim stella eius in oriente et venimus adorare eum.

E siamo giunti alla conclusione.

* * *

Conclusione.

Abbiamo visti gli inizi delle traduzioni dei libri sacri nel secolo XVI e poi l'azione della Chiesa ortodossa dei paesi romeni per l'introduzione progressiva della lingua romena nel servizio religioso; da questo lavoro è conseguita la progressiva formazione della lingua letteraria, i cui inizi sono merito esclusivo dell'uso del romeno nella liturgia. Non fu cosa né semplice né facile, perché il distaccarsi da usi secolari è sempre un atto difficile ad attuarsi; occorsero ragioni particolari, e le abbiamo viste, e dignitari ecclesiastici che, per amore alla Chiesa e al popolo, ebbero il coraggio di imporre novità, che in altri paesi e in altre congiunture non avrebbero attecchito. Occorre anche la lungimiranza dei principi, quali, tra quelli sin qui non nominati, p. es., i voevodi Matei Busarab e Vasile Lupu in Muntenia, dei quali il monaco Paolo d'Aleppo, che accompagnava il patriarca Macario di Antiochia nel suo viaggio per le terre romene negli anni 1653-55, scriveva che « au pus să se tipărească cărți romînești pentru popor, fiindcă mulțimea nu știe slavonește », avevano ordinato che si stampassero libri liturgici in romeno, perché il popolo non conosceva la lingua slavone; o ancora la premura del voevoda moldavo Gheorghe Duca, che ordinava alla Stavropigia di Leopoli

alla fine del gennaio del 1671 di stampargli quattrocento Salteri e duecento copie di una Cazania, il tutto in romeno, « pentru că nărodul, care nu ştie limba slavonă, să-o înţeleagă mai lesne » perché fossero intesi dal popolo, ignaro dello slavone.

È la Chiesa, aiutata dal potere civile, la quale sente il bisogno che i fedeli capiscano la lingua nella quale devono pregare Dio per rendergli onore e gloria; ed è ancora la Chiesa che vuol dare ai fedeli lo strumento per intendere il servizio divino, perché esso non sia solo uno spettacolo al quale assistere, ma divenga preghiera comune, alla quale si partecipa con tutto l'empito del cuore, con tutta la forza dei sentimenti.

Sono occorsi quasi tre secoli, dalle prime faticose traduzioni alla pubblicazione dei Menologi di Rîmnic: il punto di partenza sono le prime traduzioni del Maramureş, le principali tappe successive si chiamano Coresi, Varlaam, Simion Ştefan, Dosoftei, la Bibbia di Bucarest, Antim Ivireanul, e i vescovi di Rîmnic Damaschin, Chezarie e Filaret. In essi la lingua si affina sempre più, la espressione diviene più corrente, più limpida, più aderente ad una forma elevata del linguaggio popolare sino a diventare vera e propria espressione letteraria.

Agli inizi dell'Ottocento, pur continuando la bella tradizione della stampa dei libri liturgici, la Chiesa può lasciare il passo alla storiografia, che già nel secolo XVII aveva messo ali robuste, e di cui non si vuole negare l'importanza, e più tardi alla letteratura profana.

La lingua letteraria era stata creata: la Chiesa ortodossa romena in questo campo aveva assolto onorevolmente al proprio compito.

Mario Ruffini

A Checklist of Syriac manuscripts in the United States and Canada

(continued)

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

University of Chicago - The Oriental Institute

1155 East 58th Street 60637

Mrs. LEE SWITALSKI, Supervisor – Museum Office

179. A11997. Bar Hebraeus. Book of the Pupils of the Eye. 1299. Paper; red sheepskin binding; 12×16 cm; 105 f; 1 col; 17 l; p.i.; a.i.a.

Herman F. Janssens, "Bar Hebraeus' 'Book of the Pupils of the Eye,'" *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 47 (October, 1930) 26-49, 94-134; 48 (July, 1932) 210-263; 52 (October, 1935) 1-21. Apparently this work was never completed.

180. A11998. Book of Hymns.

Paper; bound in leather; 135×93 mm; 238 f; 1 col; 20 l; p.i.

181. A11999. Bar Hebraeus. Grammar (small). 1626.

Paper; brown leather binding; 16.5×12 cm; 65 f; 2 col; several hands; 20-22 l; p.i.

182. A12000. Evangeliary.

Vellum; c. 8×12 in; 1 f; 2 col; at least 21 l; brown and red ink; very large letters.

183. A12001. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics.

Vellum; c. 8×12 in; 1 f; 2 col; 42-43 l; brown and red ink; marginalia; p.i.

184. A12002. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics.

Vellum; c. 8×12 in; 1 f; 2 col; c. 40 l; brown ink with red markings; one side badly stained; p.i.

185. A12003. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics.
Vellum; c. 8×12 in; 1 f; 2 col; 44-45 l; brown ink with red markings; one side has writing in a different hand near the bottom in black ink; p.i.

186. A12004. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics.
Vellum; c. 8×12 in; 1 f; 2 col; 46 l; brown ink with red markings; a larger hand was used in writing the bottom portions; p.i.

187. A12005. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics.
Vellum; 8×11½ in; 1 f; 2 col; 45 l; brown ink with red markings; p.i.

188. A12006. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics.
Vellum; 8×11½ in; 1 f; 2 col; 45 l; red and brown ink; p.i.

189. A12008. Sermons and Discourses for Sunday and Yearly Feasts. " By leading figures of the Syrian Church from the 4th-7th centuries ".

Vellum; heavy cardboard binding; 63×46×7½ cm; 311 f; 3 col; 51 l; 10 f per q; " weighing over 50 pounds... with a total of 100,000 lines, is believed to be the largest Syriac manuscript in existence "; signs of waterlogging around the edges, but an excellent text; brown ink with red headings; p.i.; a.i.a.

University of Chicago, *The President's Report, 1929-1930*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, 99; *The University Record*, (New Series), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 16 (1930) 52 [1].

190. A12009. Liturgies for the Year.
Vellum; former cloth binding missing; 16½×12½ in; 2 col; 33 l; " about 35,000 lines " in brown and red ink; a.i.a.

University of Chicago, *The President's Report, 1929-1930*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, 99; *The University Record*, (New Series), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 16 (1930) 52 [1].

191. A12084. Old Testament. Peshitta (Exodus 14.21-Leviticus 25.48). VI-VII.

[1] According to Mr. Frank G. Burke, Assistant Curator for Archives and Manuscripts of the University of Chicago Library, the two university publications mentioned here would perhaps be found only in the larger libraries of the United States. They may be secured in America from the University of Chicago through the Interlibrary Loan service and would be available to anyone on microfilm or photocopies.

Vellum; sewn, but no back; 250×187 average mm; 58 p; 1 col; 34-35 l; a.i.a.

Ira Maurice Price, *The Ancestry of our English Bible*, second revised edition by William A. Irwin and Allen P. Wikgren, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, 96.

192. A12093. A Soothsayer's Manual. XIX.

Paper; brown leather binding; last p. numbered 291, though some are missing; 1 col; 17 l; red and brown ink; p. 134 carries the notation " Luther Yonan, 1919 " in blue ink; p.i.

Two further identifying marks should be noted. One of the first leaves bears a stamp mark " Ms. No. 85 Oroomiah ", and p. 286 shows a purple stamp mark " American Mission, Oroomiah, Persia ". It is possible that this item is listed in Oshana Sarau and William Ambrose Shedd's *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the Library of the Museum Association of Oroomiah College*, Urmia, 1898.

193. A12095. Commentary.

Paper; leather binding over decorated cloth; 16½×12 cm; 372 p; 1 col; 16 l; brown and red ink; p.i.

A note in this manuscript between f 29 and 30 refers to " Addai Sher, vol. I, p. 41, l. 19 ".

194. A12098. A Koodra (Church service for all the days of the year). Nestorian.

University of Chicago 60637

Harper Library – Rare Book Room

ROBERT ROSENTHAL, Curator of Special Collections

J. RICHARD PHILLIPS, Assistant Curator for Manuscripts and Archives

195. PJ5498 .9 A1 N5 — Sermon in Modern Syriac on " The New Covenant, or Second Birth ", based on John 3. XIX.

196. BX9426 .C2A5S9 — Sixteen Short Sermons in Modern Syriac (Nestorian characters) by Jean Calvin (1509-1564). XIX (?). 16 cm; 85 p.

197. BS1911 .A2 1200 — Goodspeed MS Sy 30. New Testament. Selections. Peshitta (Tehran). XIII.
Vellum; 24½ cm; 36 p; a.i.a.

198. BS1911 .A2 800 — Goodspeed MS Sy 31. New Testament. Selections. Peshitta. IX.
Vellum; 25 cm; 4 p; a.i.a.

199. BS1911 .A2 500 — Goodspeed MS Sy 26. New Testament. Selections. Peshitta. VI-VII.
Vellum; 26 cm; 70 p; contains portions of Acts, James, Romans, I Peter, I John and Luke; a.i.a.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Cleveland Public Library 44114

Dr. GEORGE J. MACIUSZKO, Head
John Griswold White Collection

200. W 091.9923 Eb31 — Ebed-Yeshu' bar Berikha. The Paradise of Eden. Late XIX (?).
Paper; wooden bindings; 6×8 in; 281 p; 1 and 2 col; 18 l; black ink with red headings; a.i.a.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

Ohio State University Library 43210

Rare Book Room

RICHARD A. PLOCH, Curator
Rare Books and Special Collections

201. Syriac Ms. B. Psalms of Tuqe. Fragments. Nestorian. XVI (?).

Broken wood cover; first pages mutilated, but in several different hands; a.i.a.

According to Mr. Ploch, Dr. Bowman of the Oriental Institute made a brief examination of this manuscript, which was acquired " many years ago ". Various sizes of pages and different hands suggest that originally it contained several texts.

202. Syriac Ms. C. A Rather Mystical Interpretation of the Sundays and Fast Days of the Church. Fragmentary. Nestorian. XV-XVI (?).

Board cover; neither title page nor colophon; a.i.a.

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Duke University Library 27706

Rare Book Room

DANIEL F. McGRATH, Curator

203. Syr. Ms. 1. New Testament. Gospels (incomplete). Peshitta. X.
Vellum; $6^3/_4 \times 5$ in; 87 f; Estrangela script, with occesional Jacobite letters and some interlaced designs in red and green;

damaged by fire; containing Ammonian sections and Eusebian canon numbers in the margins; a.i.a.

William Franklin Stinespring, " A Syriac Manuscript of the Gospels ", *Library Notes: A Bulletin issued for the Friends of Duke University Library*, 28 (November, 1953) 25.

The manuscript includes Matthew 18.15b-19.28a; 20.17b to the end; Mark in its entirety; Luke 1.1-39a, 1.59-3.28a, 4.23b-6.33a. In the spring of 1961 I collated the Gospel of Mark in this manuscript with that of the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition (1) and found a few unimportant variants.

HAMILTON, NEW YORK

Colgate University Library 13346

BRUCE M. BROWN, Librarian

204. 091/qL5. Gospel Lectionary. 1526 (?).

Paper; bound in boards, covered with leather, both in bad condition; 12×8 in; 151 f; 2 col; 21 l; a.i.a. See Mitchell, 233, and Wright, 143.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

Hartford Theological Seminary 06105

Case Memorial Library

Miss ELIZABETH ROOT, Librarian

205. A. Gospel Lectionary (fragment). Harclean. VIII.

Vellum; 43×31 cm; double leaf (not the inner leaf or a gathering); 2 col; colored ornaments and single point punctuation; a.i.a.

Descriptions of items 205-208 in this checklist are given by Duncan B. Macdonald in his " Description of the Semitic manuscripts in the library of the Hartford Theological Seminary ", JAOS *Proceedings* (March, 1894) lxix-lxx. He mentions that all four of the Hartford lectionaries resemble the facsimile in Plate VII of William Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum since the year 1838*, London, British Museum, 1870-1872, 3 vols. Father William F. Macomber has written that additional information in the form of " several manuscript notebooks " that contain valuable information on Syriac manuscripts are among the uncatalogued materials in the Case Memorial Library.

(1) *The New Testament in Syriac*, edited by G. H. Gwilliam, *et al.*, London, The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1955 edition.

206. B. Gospel Lectionary (fragment). Harclean. VIII.

Vellum (?); 1 f; 2 col, writing space 21 cm wide; one side filled with an illumination of Christ's raising from the dead; single point punctuation; a.i.a.

Macdonald, lxixf.

207. C. Gospel Lectionary (fragment). Peshitta. VIII.

Vellum (?); 1 f; 2 col; single point punctuation; rubrics and colored ornaments; a.i.a.

Macdonald, lxx.

208. D. Gospel Lectionary (fragment). Harclean. VIII.

Vellum; 1 f; 2 col; 43×32 cm; single point punctuation; rubrics and colored ornaments; a.i.a.

Macdonald, lxx.

209. Verses in the Alqosh Dialect on the Life of Christ. XVII.

210. Gregory (Maprinana). Verses and Epistles.

211. Syriac Astrology and Magic.

212. A Dialect Dictionary.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

Haverford College Library 19041

CRAIG R. THOMPSON, Librarian

213. Hav. 27. New Testament. Gospels.

Paper (much worm-eaten); 7×11 in; 105 f; 2 col; 22 l; Malkite characters; illuminated borders on 10 p. prefixing ms itself; red, yellow and black ink; lessons given; one p. contains an illuminated cross; in Syriac and Karshuni; a.i.a.

Items 213-219 (Hav. 27-33) are in the J. Rendel Harris Collection. The Haverford materials were described by Robert W. Rogers in his article, "A Catalogue of Manuscripts (Chiefly Oriental) in the library of Haverford College", *Haverford College Studies* 42 (1890) 28-50. See also Mitchell, 240; Smith, 249; and Wright, 174.

214. Hav. 28. New Testament, including the Anti-legomena Epistles, plus a Harmony of the Passion. Harclean. XIII (?).

Paper; 6½×8½ in; 2 col; 26 l; Estrangelo script; one p. contains an illuminated cross; several p. contain patristic extracts; a.i.a.

Mitchell, 240 f; Rogers, 44 f; Smith, 249.

215. Hav. 29. A Composition Concerning the Orthodox Faith. Late.
Paper (much worm-eaten); 5×7×1¼ in; 164 f; a.i.a.
Rogers, 45 f.

216. Hav. 30. A Service Book.
Paper; 2½×5 in; imperfect at beginning and end; margins ruled in red ink; divisions of the day and night indicated on the head lines; a.i.a.
Rogers, 46; Smith, 249.

217. Hav. 31. A Service Book, beginning with the Order of Services for the Forty Days of Lent.
Paper; 8½×12 in; 2 col; 20 l; a.i.a.
Rogers, 46; Smith, 249.

218. Hav. 32. The Order of Service, beginning with Lent.
Paper; a companion volume to the preceding; a.i.a.
Rogers, 46 f; Smith, 249.

219. Hav. 33. New Testament. Gospels (incomplete). Syriac and Karshuni. 1209.
Paper; 8×12½ in; 2 col (bi-lingual col on ea. p.); a.i.a.
Mitchell, 241; Rogers, 47; Smith, 249; Wright, 175.

220. Hav. 48. Hymns. A Discourse of Mar Ephrem. Hymns for the Whole Year.
Paper; leather binding; 6½×4½ in.

221. Hav. 49. Prayers. Mar Yahob. Dialogues on Grammar. 1845 (?).
Paper; wooden binding; 4½×6½ in; some Arabic notations; a.i.a.

222. Hav. 50. A Treatise on the Parts of Speech.
Paper; leather binding; 7×5 in.

223. Hav. 51. Lexicon of Difficult Words in the Bible and some Patristic Works. Syriac and Arabic. 1890.
Paper; leather binding; 9×7 in; 2 col; ornamented in red, purple and green ink.

224. Hav. 52. Mar Joseph. Discussions between a Teacher and Pupil. Explanation of the Ministry of the Church (?).
Paper; leather binding; 9×6½ in.

225. Hav. 53. Synascarion or Menology. Hymns for the Saints' Days.
Paper; wooden binding; 8×6 in; poor condition.

226. Hav. 54. Jacob the Monastic. A Treatise on Theology. Catalogues of Early Heretics, plus Astronomical Discourses, Geography, etc.

Paper; leather binding; 9×6½ in.

227. Hav. 55. Cantilena. Hymns. Theological writings of (Sabas) Kamis, son of Kardaha. Sahiba son of David on the Martyrdoms in the Days of the Wicked King Antiochus. Hymns of Warda.

Paper; wooden binding; 10×6 in; bad condition. The description sent from Haverford included, after Kardaha, above, the following reference, " Cf. Wright, *Catalogue*, II, 902 ".

228. Hav. 58. Gregorius (Bar Hebraeus). Treatise on Grammar.

229. Hav. 59. Gregorius (Bar Hebraeus). Grammar.

230. Hav. 60. Nine Discourses of Mar Ephrem (Joseph). The History of Mar John, the son of Ephremionos (?). The History of Mary the Virgin in the time of Wanma. Lament of David over Saul and Jonathan.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Yale University, Beinecke Library

Box 1603A Yale Station 06520

JAMES TANIS, Librarian

Dorothy W. Bridgwater, Assistant Head Reference Librarian

Two collections of manuscripts are housed in the Yale University Library. The first group, items 231-242, belongs to the American Oriental Society [1], but is on permanent deposit in this library. Several of these items are listed in the *Catalogue of the Library of the American Oriental Society*, edited by Elizabeth Stout [2]. The second collection, items 243-249, belongs to the library itself.

231. Rn. M86. Moses Geogtapa. Syriac-English Vocabulary. 1861.

232. Rn. Ab32. Abdiso. Paradise of Eden. 1735.

See Stout, 137.

(1) The office of the American Oriental Society is located in Room 329, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale Station. Mr. Ferris J. Stephens is Secretary-Treasurer.

(2) New Haven, American Oriental Society, 1930, 137f. Hereafter referred to as Stout.

233. Rn. Am358. English and Modern Syriac Lexicon.
Perhaps a gift of U.C.B.W.M.

234. Rn. Eb31. Ebed-Jesu. Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors and Their Works (fragment).

235. Life of Alexander the Great.

See Stout, 137, who says that it is in Nestorian script, and also " Notice of a Life of Alexander the Great... ", JAOS 4 (1854) 359-440. Notes indicate that the translation was filed with this copy of the Syriac text.

236. Rn. K15. Kasha Abraham. Paradigm of the verb *to be*, in the Tyary dialect of the Modern Syriac language.

237. Rn. R32. The Revelation of St. Paul (incomplete).

See, " Dr. J. Perkins' Translation of An Ancient Manuscript, containing a Version of the Apocryphal Revelation of St. Paul... ", JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1863, xxff; " The Revelation of the Blessed Apostle Paul. Translated... by Rev. Justin Perkins... ", JAOS 8 (1866) 183-211, with corrections and additions by Prof. Geo. E. Day in JAOS *Proceedings* for May, 1866, iv; and Stout, 137.

238. Rn. St64m. D. T. Stoddard. Dictionary of Modern Syriac and English.

David Tappan Stoddard, " Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as Spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan ", JAOS 5 (1856) 1—180h.

239. Rn. B47B. Old Testament (incomplete). IX-XI.
Vellum; 254 f; 2 col; c. 30 l; Nestorian script.

See reference in the first volume of JAOS, 1849, xii-xviii, which is Francis Gardner's " Donations to the Library ". Page xiii of the article says this item was given by the American missionary to Persia, Dr. Justin Perkins. See also *List*, 32.

240. Rn. C68. Collection of Treatises on Religious Subjects in Modern Syriac.

Stout mentions two works in her catalog, either of which might be the item listed here. The first work is a " Ṭeska (Church ritual with confessions of sin, etc.) " and the second is the " Letter of Holy Sunday, n. p. 1899-? ", which she lists as a gift from I. H. Hall. See Hall's discussion of this work, though perhaps not this same manuscript, in JAOS 15 (1890-1893) 121-139.

241. Rn. M36. Maruta of Meparkat. A Brief Account of the Council of Nice.

242. Rn. R32b. The Revelation of St. Paul.

Nestorian character, more nearly complete than Rn. R32.

See bibliographical references for item 237, above.

243. Syriac 1. Dictionary of Modern Syriac-English. c. 1855 (?).

24½×19½ cm; "Gift of the Rev. Allen Hazen"; a.i.a.

David Tappan Stoddard, "Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as Spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan", JAOS 5 (1856) 1-180h.

244. Syriac 2. Dictionary of Modern Syriac-English. c. 1855 (?).

19½×16 cm; another version of item 243 from the same donor.

See also the article listed there.

245. Syriac 3. An Outline of the Grammar of the Modern Syriac. 1853.

25×20 cm; gift of the same donor as in item 243.

See also the article listed there.

246. Syriac 3a. Synopsis of Modern Syriac verbs. 1853 (?).

25×20 cm; apparently an index of item 245, originally inserted loose inside back cover thereof.

See also the article listed in item 243.

247. Syriac 4. Solomon, Bishop of Basra. Book of the Bee and Cave of Treasures. 1687.

21½×15½ cm; 134 f; 22 l; Nestorian script, red and black ink; gift of Professor Charles C. Torrey, June, 1950; a.i.a.

248. Syriac 5. Hagiography, including History of the Apostles Matthew and Andrew, History of Abba Mareus of Mount Tharmaka, History of Cyriacus the Martyr and his Mother Julitta. 1888.

18×11 cm; 52 f; 17 l; Nestorian script in red and black ink; gift of Professor Charles C. Torrey, June, 1950, a.i.a.

249. Syriac 6. New Testament. Peshitta. 917/918.

Vellum; Oriental binding; 24×16½ cm; Estrangela script in red and black ink; a.i.a.

William Henry Paine Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, Boston, The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946 [1], 218 and Plate CLXVII; Smith, 249.

[1] Hereafter referred to as Hatch.

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

American Bible Society

1865 Broadway 10023

ELIZABETH J. EISENHART, Librarian

250. Evangelistarium. Gospel Lessons for the Monophysite Church. c. XIII.

Paper; wooden binding, covered in black leather, with clasps and catches missing; 14½×10½ in; 246 f; 2 col; 22-23 l; Estrangela script in dark brown ink; "Text largely the revision of the Philoxenian version..."; presented by Dr. Asahel Grant in 1843; a.i.a.

This item was in the New York Public Library from 1897 until 1936. One examiner has suggested an eighth or ninth century date. See American Bible Society, 27th Annual Report, 1843, p. 5-6; Isaac H. Hall, JAOS *Proceedings* (October, 1880) iii, x; Mitchell, 230; Wright, 120.

Aramaic Bible Society, Inc.

P. O. Box 2140 - Grand Central Station 10017

GEORGE M. LAMSA, President

Mr. George Mamishisho Lamsa is the owner of several manuscripts which are displayed at various places in the United States. The more important ones were exhibited at the New York World's Fair in 1964 and 1965. Prior to this time some of them were in a display case in the Oral Roberts Building in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Three items, one of which is Persian, were still there in the summer of 1965. Information on the items belonging to the Aramaic Bible Society, Inc., may be secured by writing to Mr. Lamsa at the above address. I list here the various items which Mr. Lamsa has told me he has or that have been described in print. The two prayerbooks in Tulsa are listed under that city as items 385 and 386.

251. New Testament.

A facsimile of this manuscript appears in Mr. Lamsa's book, *Gospel Light*, published in 1936 by A. J. Holman of Philadelphia. The facsimile appears with two others at the front of the book and is the third of the group. It is one of several brought to America from Kurdistan between 1924 and 1936.

252. New Testament. Peshitta. "Very old".

In a conversation with Mr. Lamsa in July, 1965, I was told that this item was then deposited in a bank vault, being too valuable to be exhibited.

253. New Testament. Gospels. c. XII.

Vellum; 1 col; c. 18 l; Jacobite characters in brown ink; p.i.

This item was on display at the New York World's Fair, 1964-1965.

254. Breviary, containing doctrines, prayers and teachings of the early Christian Church. VI-VII (?).

Vellum; c. 14×10 in; 1 col; 22-24 l; several hands.

This was one of the items on display at the New York World's Fair, 1964-1965.

255. Mar Abdisho. A Theological and Poetical Work. c. XIV (1).

1 col; 18 l; Jacobite script in brown and red ink; p.i.

Mr. Lamsa says this is " the only surviving book in which each line can be read from right to left asking a question and then read from left to right answering the same question " (2). This item was also exhibited at the New York World's Fair, 1964-1965.

Columbia University

801 Butler Library 10027

ROLAND BAUGHMAN, Head of Special Collections

Father Macomber has examined three of the items in Butler Library and some of the data on items 256-258 below were sent to me by him. Item 259, reported to be located there, could not be found during his visit.

256. Shelf Number X893.4-At3. St. Athanasius *et al.* Letters on Theological Subjects. c. XVII-XVIII.

Paper; 16×10 cm; 68 f; 1 col; 15 l; Nestorian script; a.i.a.

Listed by Smith, 249, as " The Apocrypha (paper, incomplete) ". According to Father Macomber the contents include: The Apocalypse of St. Paul (fragment); The Letter of Holy Sunday; The History of Mar Zay'a and of his Disciple Mar Tabor; Concerning the Luminaries, from the book of Sabriso'; A Poetical Homily on the Healing of the Lame Man of Bethesda (fragment); an unidentified poetical work on rare Syriac and Greek words (fragment); and a Poetical Treatise.

(1) Dates for manuscripts belonging to the Aramaic Bible Society, Inc., were provided by Mr. Lamsa.

(2) The Orient often produced works in this fascinating manner and some poetic items that can be read in both directions have made their way to this country. See item 300.

257. Shelf Number X893.4-B473. New Testament (fragments). Peshitta. c. XIII.

Paper; $5 \times 6^3/_4$ in; 6 f; 1 col; 19 l; Estrangela script; a.i.a.

Listed by Smith, 249. Father Macomber states that portions of Luke, John, Acts and I John are included.

258. Shelf Number X893-B47. The Story of Mary. 1796.

Paper; $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6^3/_8$ in; 103 f; 1 col; 16 l; Nestorian script; a.i.a.

259. New Testament. Gospels (incomplete). XV (?).

Paper; c. 12×18 in; 125 f; formerly owned by David Eugene Smith.

The Episcopal Church Center

Library of the Custodian of the Prayer Book
815 Second Avenue 10017

The Reverend Canon Charles M. Guilbert
Custodian of the Standard Book of Common Prayer

260. New Testament. Peshitta. 1207.

Vellum; heavy boards covered with leather, clasps missing; $10 \times 7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in; 273 f; 29-30 l; 25 q, 10 f per q; a.i.a.

Richard J. H. Gottheil's "On a Syriac manuscript of a New Testament belonging to the Rev. Mr. Neesan", JAOS *Proceedings* (May, 1887) clxxxiff, may not refer specifically to this manuscript, but it should be noted along with the following descriptions of item 260; Isaac H. Hall, "On a Manuscript of the Peshitto New Testament, with the Tradition of the Apostles", JAOS *Proceedings* (October, 1888) lixff; James A. Montgomery, "Notes on Two Syriac MSS.", JBL 39 (1920) 113-117; and Smith, 249.

261. Gospel Lectionary for the Year, with Expositions. Considerable portions of a Commentary in Arabic. 1276.

283 f; 2 col. "Bought by J. P. Morgan from Rev. Varoo M. Neesan and given by him to the present owner". a.i.a.

James A. Montgomery, "Notes on Two Syriac MSS.", JBL 39 (1920) 113-117; Smith, 249.

The Jewish Theological Seminary

3080 Broadway 10027

Dr. Menahem Schmelczer, Head Librarian

262. Lutzki 686. The Simon Hertz Memorial Collection. Old Testament. Psalms.

Vellum; brown leather cover; $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in; 168 f; 1 col; 12-13 l; red and black ink, surrounded by two thin red lines, with a few ornamentations in red and yellow ink on a green background; accession number 0281; "donated by Mr. Emanuel Hertz".

The Kevorkian Foundation

1411 Third Avenue 10028

RALPH MINASIAN, Executive Director

263. Gospel Lectionary (fragmentary).

Vellum; 13×17 in; 5 f; Estrangela script, with 5 miniatures, damaged by fire, including the Four Evangelists, the Last Supper (?), the Crucifixion, and the Entombment; a.i.a.

Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, 1947, p. 149 and Plate CVIII.

H. P. Kraus Company

16 East 46th Street 10017

264. Old and New Testaments. Palimpsest. Georgian above, Palestinian Syriac below. VI.

Vellum. The Palestinian Syriac portion contains parts of Jeremiah, Proverbs, Daniel, Mark, Luke, John and Catechetical Homilies of St. Cyril, plus some unidentified material.

Recently Mr. Kraus wrote me that the manuscript was now being examined by Dr. Julius Assfalg from Munich and that it should soon be ready for sale. Inquiries should be made to Mr. Kraus.

Metropolitan Museum of Art

P. O. Box 255

Gracie Station 10028

Department of Egyptian Art

Miss VIRGINIA BURTON, Assistant Curator

In 1921 the Metropolitan Museum of Art received several fragments from Egypt. Items 265-271 are reported to be "from Wady n Natrûn, possibly Dêr Anba Bishoi". Items 272-284 are "from the Kasr (small room adjoining great vaulted wine and oil cellar on South end, first floor)" Dêr es Suriani, Wady n Natrûn. Miss

Burton has written me recently that Professor W. Baars of the Peshitta Institute of Leiden University has offered to draw up a description of these fragments and that photographs of them have been forwarded to him for this purpose.

265. 21.148.1A,B.

3 f. A and B represent separate accession numbers for leaves of the same manuscript.

266. 21.148.2A,B.

2 f. A and B represent separate accession numbers for leaves of the same manuscript.

267. 21.148.3.

1 f.

268. 21.148.4.

1 f.

269. 21.148.5.

2 f.

270. 21.148.6.

2 f.

271. 21.148.7.

2 f.

272. 21.148.9A,B,C,D,E,F.

These letters represent accession numbers for various leaves, some in fragments, of the same manuscript.

273. 21.148.10.

1 f, with writing faded.

274. 21.148.11.

Fragment of a leaf, about ¼ p.

275. 21.148.12.

1 f; lacunae, writing faded.

276. 21.148.13.

1 f; lacunae, writing faded.

277. 21.148.14.

2 f.

278. 21.148.15.

1 f.

279. 21.148.16.
2 f.

280. 21.148.17.
1 f.

281. 21.148.18.
1 f.

282. 21.148.19.
1 f.

283. 21.148.20.
2 f.

284. 21.148.21.
1 f.

The Pierpont Morgan Library

33 East Thirty-sixth Street 10016

JOHN H. PLUMMER, Curator of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts

285. M. 235. New Testament. Peshitta. XIII (1).

Vellum, yellow and brittle; 10½×7²/₈ in; 322 f; 28-30 l; 31 q; unbound in red morocco case; illuminated by Bôkhtiso in Serne, Tyar; 2 full-page ornamental crosses, plus decorations.

Hugo Buchthal and Otto Kurz, *A Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1942, p. 18; Robert Pierce Casey, "New Testament Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library", *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series, 2 (1951) 64-68 (2); and, presumably, Smith, 249.

286. M. 236. New Testament. Peshitta. VIII.

Vellum, yellow and brittle; binding of dark brown calf over boards (XV century?), 9½×5³/₄ in; 200 f; 37-38 l; 20 q of 10 f ea.; a.i.a.

Casey; Smith, 249.

(1) The Galatians texts of items 285 and 286 in The Pierpont Morgan Library and item 293 in Union Theological Seminary were collated as part of my doctoral dissertation at Duke University from microfilm copies which are now in the Duke University Library. I hope eventually to collate the text of this epistle in a significant number of manuscripts and then to publish the results as a contribution toward establishing a definitive Peshitta text of the Pauline letters.

(2) Hereafter referred to as Casey.

287. M. 774. New Testament. Luke (fragment). Peshitta. XII-XIII.

Vellum; $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6^7/_8$ in; 1 f; portrait of St. Luke on the recto and Luke 1.1-10 in Estrangela; a.i.a.

Hugo Buchthal and Otto Kurz, *A Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1942, p. 18; Hatch, p. 22; Charles Flowers McCombs, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, New York Public Library, 1934, p. 24; *Pierpont Morgan Library: Review of Activities and Acquisitions of the Library from 1930 through 1935*, New York, 1937, p. 15, 91; The Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, 1947, p. 148 and Plate CVIII.

288. M. 783. New Testament. Gospels (incomplete). Peshitta. VI.

Vellum; modern English red morocco binding; $9^3/_4 \times 12$ in; 100 f; 2 col; Estrangela script; a.i.a.

Casey; The Pierpont Morgan Library, *Review of Activities and Acquisitions of the Library from 1930 through 1935*, New York, New York, 1937, p. 15, 97, and *The Bible: Manuscript and Printed Bibles from the Fourth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1947, p. 9 and facsimile No. II.

289. M. 784. New Testament. Gospels (incomplete). Peshitta. VI-VII.

Vellum; modern red morocco binding; $9^3/_4 \times 12$ in; 145 f; 2 col; Estrangela script; a.i.a.

Casey; Pierpont Morgan Library, *Review of Activities and Acquisitions of the Library from 1930 through 1935*, New York, New York, 1937, p. 15, 98.

The New York Public Library

Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street 10018

ROBERT W. HILL, Keeper of Manuscripts

290. No. 2, Case 49. Book of Charms to cure Disease. XVII (?).

Paper; 26 leaves; a.i.a.

291. No. 3, Case 49. Book of Charms to cure Disease. XIX.

Paper; 62 f; a.i.a.

292. No. 4, Case 53. Magical Prayers against Demons. Late XVII.

Paper roll, from Kurdistan, in the Eames Collection.

Union Theological Seminary

Broadway at 120th Street 10027

ROBERT F. BEACH, Librarian

The Union Theological Seminary in New York City holds another sizeable collection of Syriac Manuscripts which is in need of attention so far as location, proper identification, and cataloging are concerned. Father Macomber indicates in a communication from him that there are forty-two Syriac manuscripts there, and that there may have been as many as forty-eight in the past. The *Union Theological Seminary Library in New York City Shelf List*, 10 vols., Boston, G. K. Hall, 1960 (1), carries card catalog descriptions of items 293 and 294, below. According to Mr. Beach there are some uncataloged liturgical manuscripts also at Union. I trust we are not too far amiss when we list below (items 295-310) manuscripts which have been described in print and which are reported to have been at one time either located at Union or " recently acquired " by that institution. Our listing of the items so described in print, however, does not account for the number Father Macomber saw on his visit. Once again we see the value which supplements to this list will have.

General references to the Union Theological Seminary collection of Syriac manuscripts are given in Joshua Bloch's " The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament ", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 37 (1920-1921) 136-144, and in *The Ancestry of Our English Bible* by Ira Maurice Price, second revised edition by William A. Irwin and Allen P. Wikgren, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, p. 96. References to specific manuscripts reported to be in this library are found at various places in Baumstark's *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*. Some of these references are indicated with the appropriate items listed below, as in *Unlocated Manuscripts* H.

293. Cage CB42.7 n.d. New Testament. Peshitta. 1180.
Vellum; 23 cm; Estrangela; a.i.a.

Isaac H. Hall, " On Some Syriac Manuscripts recently acquired by the Union Theological Seminary, New York ", JBL (June and December, 1885) 93-100 (2), especially 94, where it is listed as no. 16; *Union Shelf List*, I, 724.

294. Cage CB42.7 11—. New Testament. Gospels, with a fragment of James. Peshitta. XII.

(1) Hereafter referred to as *Union Shelf List*.
(2) Hereafter referred to as Hall, " Recently Acquired ".

Vellum; delapidated binding; 7½×12½ in; 146 f; 2 col; 21-26 l; Old Jacobite character; obtained by Alpheus N. Andrus and given by him to the Seminary in March, 1872.

Isaac H. Hall, "The Syriac Manuscript of the Union Theological Seminary of New York", JBL (June and December, 1883) 142-152; Mitchell, 246-247; *Union Shelf List*, I, 724; Wright, 123 f.

295. The Lives of the Prophets. Epiphanius of Cyprus. Late (from a ms dated 1756).

Paper; Nestorian script; contains also a statement on "the Canonical Scriptures and of some of the Apocrypha" in addition to an "account of each of the prophets, beginning with Job"; a.i.a.

Listed as number 1 in Hall, "Recently Acquired", p. 93. See also Hall's "The Lives of the Prophets", JBL 5 (June, 1887) 28-40 for a longer description. This work is discussed by Baumstark, p. 95, and a reference is made to this particular manuscript in his footnote 5. See further in Baumstark, p. 290, and footnote 4.

296. The Cave of Pearls. Late (from a ms dated 1756).

Paper; Nestorian script; "supposed to be one of the yet unpublished works of Ephrem Syrus"; a.i.a.

Hall, "Recently Acquired", 93, listed as number 2.

297. The Creed of Constantine and the 318 Fathers. Late (from a ms dated 1756).

Paper; Nestorian script; a.i.a.

Hall, "Recently Acquired", 93, listed as number 3.

298. Burial Service. Nestorian. 1735.

Paper; 9×7×2¼ in; 148 f; 19 l; a.i.a.

Hall, "Recently Acquired", 93, listed as number 4; and, by the same author, "The Service of Obsequies, recently acquired by Union Theological Seminary", *Hebraica* 4 (1887-1888) 82-86, and "On a Syriac manuscript of *The Order of Obsequies* with a translated extract therefrom", JAOS 13 (1889), *Proceedings* for October, 1887, ccxxx-ccxxxii.

299. Two Services of the Church (Hodra). Nestorian.

Paper; a.i.a.

Hall, "Recently Acquired", 93, listed as number 5.

300. Poetical Treatise (Maqamat). Nestorian. 1715.

Paper; 2 col; poems arranged to be read from either side; a.i.a.

Hall, "Recently Acquired", 93 f, listed as number 6.

301. Poetical Works of Rabban Hormuzd. Nestorian.
Paper.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 94, listed as number 7.

302. Poems and other Pieces. Nestorian.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 94, listed as number 8.

303. A Treatise on Rhetoric. Rabban Ḥananiesu, in company with Rabban Ḥonain. 1883-1885.

Paper, bearing a Russian watermark; written space covers $5^3/_4 \times 6^3/_4$ in; 118-120 p; 19 l; contains two treatises, the first ending on p. 71; a.i.a.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 95, listed as number 9; see also, Richard J. H. Gottheil, " On a manuscript of a Syriac lexicographical treatise belonging to the Union Theological Seminary of New York City ", JAOS 13 (1889) clxxxiv-clxxxv. Baumstark discusses this work, p. 202, and refers to the manuscript at Union Theological Seminary in footnote 1 [1].

304. Theology of Mar Babi the Great. Nestorian. Late (from a ms dated 1735).

Paper; Nestorian; a.i.a.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 94, listed as number 10.

305. History of Mary. 1779.

Paper, Nestorian script.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 94, listed as number 11.

306. A Book of Week-day Prayers. Nestorian. 1823.

Paper.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 94, listed as number 12.

307. The Vision of Ezra the Scribe Concerning the Latter Times of the Ishmaelites. Late (from a ms dated 1756).

Paper; Nestorian script; 9½ p. of writing; 15 l; written space $5^3/_4 \times 6^3/_4$ in; a.i.a.

[1] Gottheil refers to an edition of this and other grammatical works published by a Professor Hoffmann under the title *Opuscula Nestoriana*. Moss' *Catalogue*, p. 478, gives a more detailed bibliographical reference: " Hoffmann, Johann Georg Ernst — Opuscula Nestoriana Syriace tradidit Georgius Hoffmann ...'Nânîsôn̈is Ḥdhaijabhĕni et Ḥunaini Ḥêrtheni liber canonum de aequilitteris; 'Abhdîšôn̈is Gazartĕni carmĕn heptasyllabum de aequilitteris; Anonymi interpretatio vocum difficilium biblicarum; Anonymi scholia biblica. pp. xxiii. 163. Kiliae, Parisiis. 1880. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7^3/_8$ in. 753.h.21. The text is lithographed ".

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 94, 95 f, listed as number 13; and by the same author, an article by the same title as that of the manuscript in *Presbyterian Review* 7 (1886) 537-541. It should perhaps be noted that an article in JBL for 1886, p. 105, erroneously states that this article appeared in the *Presbyterian Quarterly*.

308. Lectionary. Nestorian (in the Mosul dialect). Late (from a ms dated Gr 2080).

Paper; written space 6½×7½ in; 339 p; 16 l; a.i.a.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 96-98, listed as number 14.

309. Collection of Liturgical Miscellanies. Nestorian.

Paper; 8×6 in; 214 f; 16-17 l; 18 q, 12 f per q; " many long quotes from the New Testament and from the Fathers "; a.i.a.

Hall, " Recently Acquired ", 98-100, listed as number 15.

310. The Revelation of the Apostle Paul, the Extremity of the Romans, a Hymn of Praise before the Holy Mysteries. Nestorian.

Paper; binding of thick heavy boards covered with leather; 6×4¼×1¼ in; 98 f; 13-16 l; 10 q; double, ruled black line around the writing; a.i.a.

Isaac H. Hall, " The Extremity of the Romans: and Praise before the Holy Mysteries: Syriac Texts and Translations ", JAOS 13 (1889) 34-49, which is an article cited by Baumstark, p. 70, footnote 8; see also by Hall, " On the Syriac text of the book of the Extremity of the Romans ", JAOS *Proceedings* for May, 1887, vol. 13, clv-clvi.

311. Letter of the Holy Sundays. XVII.

Baumstark states, p. 71, footnote 1, that two copies of this work were known to be in America, one of them being at Union Theological Seminary and the other in the private library of Isaac H. Hall.

NEWTON CENTER, MASSACHUSETTS

Andover Newton Theological School

169 Herrick Road 02159

Ellis E. O'Neal, Jr., Librarian

312. CBMJ Sy/15th cent. Old Testament. Psalms, with Arabic translation. Peshitta. c. XV.

Paper; leather binding; 232-234 f; 2 col; 28 l; Syriac and Arabic on each p.

List, 63.

OMAHA, NEBRASKA

Joslyn Art Museum

2218 Dodge Street 68102

Mr. RICHARD AHLBORN, Curator

313. No. 1957 Burial Service (fragment). Nestorian. XIII.
341.3

Paper; $6^3/_4 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in; 1 f; 18 l; red and black ink; p.i.; a.i.a.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

The Free Library of Philadelphia

Logan Square 19141

ELLEN SHAFFER, Rare Book Librarian

314. 151. Hymns and Prayers (fragmentary). XVII (?).

Paper; $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ in; 25 f; 16 l; a.i.a.

Muhammed Ahmed Simsar, *Oriental Manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1937, p. 217.

315. 152. Philosophical (Theological?) Treatise. XIX (?).

Paper; $5 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in; 47 f; 1 col; 22 l; Nestorian script; titles in red ink; a.i.a.

Muhammed Ahmed Simsar, *Oriental Manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1937, p. 217.

University of Pennsylvania

University Museum - 33rd and Spruce Streets 19104

CAROLINE GORDON DOSKER, Assistant Registrar

316. Palimpsest, Hebrew over Palestinian Syriac.

Vellum; 1 f; a.i.a.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Princeton Theological Seminary

Speer Library P. O. Box 111

Mercer Street at Library Place 08540

KENNETH S. GAPP, Librarian

317. New Testament. Peshitta. VII-X (?).

318. Gazza (Treasury Book, incomplete). Nestorian.

319. Selection from Gospels for Festival Days. Nestorian.

320. New Testament. Gospels.

321. Lexicon (incomplete). Shemi Shi Yu—p. Nestorian.

322. Petition of Nineveh. Nestorian.

323. Treasury of Prayer and Song. Nestorian.

324. Old Testament Readings. Nestorian.

325. Loose leaves from different books. Nestorian.

326. Burial Service. Nestorian.

327. Marriage Service. Nestorian.

328. Ethics. Nestorian.

329. Prayer Book. Nestorian.

330. Philosophic Poem. Nestorian.

331. New Testament. Gospel (incomplete).

332. Supplications of Nineveh. Nestorian.

333. Thesis against Roman Heresies. Nestorian.

334. Science Book (incomplete). Nestorian.

335. Spiritual Blessings. Nestorian.

336. On Heresies. Nestorian.

337. Garden of Pleasure. Nestorian.

338. Hymn Books (pages from various manuscripts). Nestorian.

339. Song. Nestorian.

340. New Testament. Gospel (Luke, incomplete).
Vellum; listed among "Nestorian Documents".

341. Book of Philosophy.

342. Selections from the Treasury (incomplete). Nestorian.

343. School Textbook. Nestorian.

344. New Testament. Gospels.

345. New Testament. Epistle of Timothy (fragment).
1 f; listed among "Nestorian Documents".

346. History of the Virgin Mary. Nestorian.

347. Funeral Service. Nestorian.

348. Complete litany. Nestorian.

349. Ritual for Daily Service (fragmentary). Nestorian.

350. Ritual for Sundays (fragmentary). Nestorian.

351. Ritual for Feast Days (fragmentary). Nestorian.

352. Turgama. Homily. Nestorian.

353. Unidentified contents.
Vellum; 2 f; listed among " Nestorian Documents ".

354. Old Testament Discussions (fragmentary). Nestorian.

355. Prayer Book. Nestorian.

356. New Testament. Gospel of Matthew (incomplete).

357. Lectionary for the Church Year. Nestorian.

358. Book of the Magnet, a philosophical-theological Treatise. Nestorian.

359. A Treatise on Ethics (fragmentary). Nestorian.

Father Macomber has written that several manuscripts, formerly among the holdings of Princeton Theological Seminary, were given to the Syrian Archbishop for the United States. Thus far I have been unable to locate manuscripts in the possession of the Syrian Orthodox Church or Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church in America.

Princeton University

The Firestone Library 08540

Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

ALEXANDER P. CLARK, Curator of Manuscripts

Mr. Alexander P. Clark has made a general description of " The Manuscript Collections of the Princeton University Library " in his article by that title in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 19 (1957-1958) 160 ff. Some manuscripts in this library have been examined by Professor Cullen I. K. Story and are briefly described in his article entitled " Syriac Manuscripts of the New Testament ", which appears in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 22 (1960-1961) 90-92 (1). More extensive information than that given in the article was compiled by Professor Story, and typed copies of his notes have been sent to me by Mr. Clark. A few of the details given below for items 360 through 364 and 376 are from Professor Story's notes. The more elaborate descriptions are in themselves deserving of publication, and we may hope that they will soon appear in print.

(1) Hereafter referred to as Story.

Items 360 through 375 are included in the Robert Garrett Collection and items 376 through 378 are in the Princeton Series. This distinction should be made when using the numbers for the individual manuscripts.

360. Garrett Collection No. 1. New Testament. Peshitta.

Vellum; 18.5×27.5 cm; 114 f; 1 col; 29-30 l; black and brown ink, with red headings; Estrangela script; originally 29 q; 10 f per q; a.i.a.

See Story, and also Smith, 249, which lists one New Testament manuscript of the eleventh century in the Garrett Collection.

361. Garrett Collection No. 2. New Testament. Peshitta.

Vellum; delapidated binding; 24×16.5 cm; 159 f; black and brown ink with red headings; Estrangela script; originally at least 23 q; 10 f per q; a.i.a.

Story.

362. Garrett Collection No. 3. New Testament. Peshitta. XII-XIII (?).

Vellum; 27.5×20 cm; 113 f; 2 col; 32 l; black ink with red headings; Estrangela script; originally 26 q; 10 f per q; a.i.a.

Story.

363. Garrett Collection No. 4. New Testament. Acts (fragment). Peshitta.

Vellum; 20×25.5 cm; 1 f; 2 col; 34 l; black ink; contains Acts 18.14-19.12; a.i.a.

Story.

364. Garrett Collection No. 5. Gospel Lectionary for Lent. Harclean.

Paper; 32.5×44.5 cm; 68 f; 2 col; 22 l; large Estrangela script; black ink with red headings; a.i.a.

Story.

365. Garrett Collection No. 6. Prayer Book (incomplete). XII (?).

Vellum; wooden binding, covered with brown leather; c. 50 f.

366. Garrett Collection No. 7. Old Testament. Psalms and other unidentified contents. Peshitta.

367. Old Testament (incomplete). Peshitta. XVII-XVIII.

Paper, wooden binding; 12×8 in; 221 f; 24-27 l; Nestorian script; black ink with red Rubrics; a.i.a.

Charles T. Fritsch, " A Syriac Manuscript of the Prophetic Books of the Old Testament ", *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 4 (1942-1943) 79-81.

368. Garrett Collection No. 9. New Testament. Gospels. XII.
Paper.

369. Garrett Collection No. 10. New Testament. Gospels (portions, interspersed with Arabic).
C. 100 f.

370. Garrett Collection No. 11. Prayer Book.
Wooden binding; c. 60-70 f.

371. Garrett Collection No. 12. Papyrus. Unidentified.
5 fragments.

372. Garrett Collection No. 13. Prayer Book. 1794.
Over 100 f; used by the Marionite Church of Mt. Lebanon.

373. Garrett Collection No. 14. Prayer Book.
C. 100 f.

374. Garrett Collection No. 15. New Testament. Gospels.
Binding of boards covered with leather; c. 150 f; major portions of contents not identified.

375. Garrett Collection No. 24. Unidentified contents of a Palimpsest, the upper portion of which are Hymns in Georgian. XI.
Vellum; modern brown morocco binding; 15×12 cm; 99 f; a.i.a.

My attention was first brought to this item by Seymour de Ricci and William Jerome Wilson's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 volumes, New York, H. W. Wilson, 1935-1940, vol. 1, p. 868. Most of the underwriting is reported to be a Greek theological text, but a few pages are in Syriac. The manuscript came originally from Mount Sinai and was included in an exhibition of materials from " Mount Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine " held at Princeton in the winter of 1960. According to an account of the exhibit given in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 21 (1959-1960) 237-243, it was written in A. D. 986 by a Sinaitic monk, Johannes Zosimus and is probably " the codex recorded as No. 93 in Tsagareli's 1888 catalogue of Georgian manuscripts then in the Mount Sinai library ". It was acquired by Mr. Robert Garrett, an alumnus of Princeton, from a German dealer in 1924.

376. Princeton Series No. 1, The McCormick Manuscript. New Testament. Peshitta. 1239.
Vellum; old red leather binding; 25×16-17 cm; 267 f; 1 col; 29 l; black ink with red headings; Estrangela script; originally

29-30 q; 10 f per q; q 5 and 6 missing; accession number AM 14705; a.i.a.

Story.

377. Princeton Series No. 2. Prayer Book. Nestorian.
Accession number AM 14708.

378. Princeton Series No. 3. Unidentified.
Paper; wooden binding; c. 17×22 cm; accession number AM 17309; a.i.a.

The Scheide Library

133 Library Place 08540

Mrs. Mina R. Bryan, Librarian

379. Scheide M 75. New Testament. Peshitta. 1221.
Vellum; one-half of binding black leather and heavy old boards; 24×16 cm; 255 f; a.i.a.

SAINT BONAVENTURE, NEW YORK

St. Bonaventure University

The Friedsam Library 14760

Father Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M., Librarian

380. Marionite Breviary. Prayers for the Days of the Week (incomplete). Syriac and Karshuni. 1772.
Paper; thin black leather over cardboard binding; $4^5/_{16}$ × $3^1/_8$ in; 61 f; 1 col; 16-20 l; brown ink with red headings; Jacobite script; the first section is in Karshuni, the Syriac beginning on f 7a; a.i.a.

This item and four Arabic manuscripts in the Friedsam Library have been examined by the author and others, and brief descriptions of them are to be published in *Oriens Christianus* in 1967.

SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery 91108

Robert O. Dougan, Librarian

Herbert C. Schulz, Curator of Manuscripts

381. HM 1118. New Testament, beginning with Luke. Peshitta. 2 volumes.
Vellum; $12^7/_8$ × $8^2/_4$ in; 132 and 144 f; 2 col; 19-23 l; Nestorian script; p.i.; a.i.a.

382. HM 1732. New Testament, concluding with Hebrews. Peshitta.
Vellum; $7^3/_8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in; 350 f; 1 col; c. 24 l; brown or black and red ink; Nestorian script; p.i.; a.i.a.

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

University of Toronto
The Royal Ontario Museum
Art and Archaeology Division
100 Queen's Park

Miss WINIFRED NEEDLER, Curator
Near Eastern Department

383. OC 2. New Testament. Gospel.
Paper; black leather over boards, with siver and gilt placque, and ornately decorated; $8^5/_{16} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \times 1$ in; 87 p; a.i.a.

University of Toronto
University College
Department of Near Eastern Studies

Miss M. E. BROWN, Head
Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

384. 'Abdisho (Ebedjeso) bar Berika. The Paradise of Eden. 1895.
Paper (?); c. 180 p; Nestorian script; text in black with red headings; a.i.a.

Baumstark lists some of the known manuscripts of this work on p. 324. For an English translation of the first fourteen of the fifty poems, see F. V. Winnett's *The Paradise of Eden* (Ph. D. thesis), University of Toronto Press, 1929.

TULSA, OKLAHOMA

The Oral Roberts Building (1)
1720 South Boulder Street 74119

385. Prayer Book.
Wooden covers with burlap spine; 2×3 in; 1 col; 13 l; brown ink with red markings.

Father Mateos has examined some pictures of this manuscript and suggested it is probably a " collection of canons ". The desig-

(1) See discussion of manuscripts belonging to the Aramaic Bible Society, p. 488f above.

nation of prayer book is that given in the display case in the Oral Roberts Building.

386. Prayer Book.

$3 \times 3^7/_8$ in; 1 col; 18 l; brown ink with red headings; a.i.a.

Father Mateos has examined some pictures of this manuscript and suggested it is probably a liturgical Psalter. The designation of prayer book is that given in the display case in the Oral Roberts Building.

UTICA, NEW YORK

Utica Public Library 13501

Alice Cynthia Dodge, Librarian

387. The Williams Manuscript. New Testament, including the Antilegomena Epistles. 1471.

Paper; old leather binding; 26.2×18.7 cm; 151 f (plus 132 verses in honor of the Trinity); a.i.a.

This famous manuscript has been rather widely discussed in print. See, among others, Edgar J. Goodspeed, " New Testament Manuscripts in America ", *Biblical World*, new series, 37 (July-December, 1911) 422; Gregory, II, 518, where this manuscript is designated " 12 " among the " Apostelgeschichte und Katholische Briefe " and " 13 " among the " Paulusbriefe "; Isaac Hollister Hall, " A Syriac Manuscript with the Antilegomena Epistles ", JBL (June and December, 1884) 37-49, (in which the author refers to an earlier description of the item that appeared in *The Independent* for September, 1884); " On a Syriac Manuscript of the Acts and Epistles ", JAOS 11 (1885) ccxx-ccxxiii; " On a Syriac Table for finding Easter in years of the Seleucid Era ", JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1885, vol. 13, p. l-lvi; " The Williams Manuscript ", JBL *Papers and Proceedings* (1885) 91-92; *The Williams Manuscript: The Syrian Antilegomena Epistles... written A. D. 1471 by Suleiman of Husn Keifa...*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1886, a work which includes some facsimiles; Mitchell, 225f and 247f, who refers to still another article by Hall in JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1884, vol. 11, p. xviii-xxi.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Catholic University of America 20017

Father PATRICK SKEHAN, Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures

388. Syr. 1. Liturgies. Nestorian. 1697.

Paper; ca. 25×19 cm; 140 f; 1 col; 13 l; a.i.a.

Contains the three standard Nestorian liturgies, with canons, f 77v-82v, including Ḥûttāmē of 'Abedjesu b. Berikha of Saba.

389. Syr. 2. Evangeliarum (from Mosul). Nestorian. XVII-XVIII.
Paper; ca. 36×24 cm; 168 f; 2 col; 26 l; a.i.a.

390. Syr. 3. Ferial Office (Chaldean). 1794.
Paper; ca. 38×24 cm; 180 f; 1 col; 29 l; a.i.a.

391. Syr. 4. Ḥûdhra. Choral Office-book for the entire Year (incomplete). XV-XVII.
Paper; ca. 27×17 cm; 241 f; 1 col; 30 l.; two hands; q disposed wrongly in binding; a.i.a.
Compare British Museum Oriental 5750.

392. Syr. 5. Memre of St. Ephrem. 1830.
Paper; ca. 23×17 cm; 88 f (plus 3 guard leaves); 1 col; 20 l; a.i.a.

393. Syr. 6. Religious Poetry. 1887.
Paper; ca. 34×23 cm; 127 f; 2 cols; 23-25 l; a.i.a.

394. Syr. 7. Book of the Divine Economy. Isḥaq Esbadnaja. 1889.
Paper; ca. 24×15 cm; 132 f (plus 4 guard leaves); 1 col. 22 l; a.i.a.

395. Syr. 8. *De causis festorum.* Various authors of Edessa and Nisibis. 1889.
Paper; ca. 35×25 cm; 176 f (plus 8 guard leaves); 1 col; 27 l; a.i.a.

Father Skehan writes that this manuscript is being used in the critical edition of this work being prepared by Father Macomber for *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.*

396. Syr. 9. On the Divinity and Humanity of Christ. Babai. 1889.
Paper; ca. 35×25 cm; 155 f (plus 4 guard leaves); 1 col; 27 l; a.i.a.

397. Syr. 10. On the Church Services and their Causes. 1889.
Paper; ca. 35×25 cm; 191 f (plus 9 guard leaves); 1 col; 27 l; a.i.a.

398. Syr. 11. Life of Rabban Joseph Busnayya. John of Kaldûn. 1889.
Paper; ca. 18×15 cm; 176 f (plus 4 guard leaves); 1 col; 23 l; a.i.a.

399. Syr. 12. *Livre de la Chasteté*, by Isho'denah, and a History of the Monastery of Catholic Chaldeans (Alqosh). 1887.
Paper; ca. 17×13 cm; 58 f (plus 5 guard leaves); 1 col; 21 l; a.i.a.

400. Syr. 13. Syriac-Arabic Lexicon (mutilated). XIV-XVI.
Paper; ca. 18×13 cm; 214 f; 2 col; 15 l; a.i.a.

401. Syr. 14. Neo-Syriac Religious Poems. David of Barezan. 1869.
Paper; ca. 17×12 cm; 88 f (plus 3 guard leaves); 1 col; 14 l; a.i.a.

402. Syr. 15. Neo-Syriac Religious Poems. XVII-XVIII.
Paper; ca. 17×12 cm; 72 f; 1 col; 15 l; a.i.a.

403. Syr. 16. Fables and Poems in Neo-Syriac. 1888.
Paper; ca. 24×18,5 cm; 69 f; 1 col; 15 l; a.i.a.

It should perhaps be noted here that Gregory makes reference on p. 1310f of vol. III in his *Textkritik* to a manuscript at Catholic University which he designates "92". Father Skehan has written that the manuscript thus listed by Gregory is Sahidic Coptic, not Syriac.

Many of the details included here were supplied by Father Macomber, who has compiled copious descriptive notes on this collection.

Library of Congress 20540

Orientalia Division, Hebraic Section

MYRON M. WEINSTEIN, Senior Reference Librarian

404. Olt Testament. Psalms and Canticles (incomplete). Nestorian. c. XV.
Paper; ca. 14×9 cm; 213 f; 1 col; 15 l; red rubrics; missing 1.1-10.3 and other portions; a.i.a.

A recent letter from Mr. Weinstein states that the manuscript was presented by Mr. Kirkor Minassian, and that it is not on vellum, as described in *List*, p. 73.

Smithsonian Institution Freer Gallery of Art

12th Street and Jefferson Drive, SW 20560

BERTHA M. USILTON, Librarian

405. 37.41. New Testament. Peshitta. 1213-1214.
Vellum (and paper); no covers; $10^1/_8 \times 7^5/_8$ in; 324, plus 7 paper, f; Estrangela; 3 colophons; a.i.a.

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

Clark University Library 01610

TILTON M. BARRON, Librarian

406. Breviary. Early.

Vellum; original binding; $8^{1}/_{16} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in; 570 p; illuminated; yellow, red and black ink; a.i.a.

Publications of the Clark University Library, edited by Louis N. Wilson, 2, 1 (July, 1906) 1.

The present checklist represents all of the known Syriac manuscripts in the United States and Canada. A survey of published descriptions reveals a number of other items previously reported to be in America that are now lost, that have been returned to Europe or Asia, or that are currently unlocated. It seems worthwhile to list such manuscripts here in the hope that they will be found. It is possible that further research will show that some of the items referred to below have already been included in the checklist.

To avoid possible confusion items in each of the three categories are designated by letter rather than by number.

LOST MANUSCRIPTS

A. New Testament. Gospels. Peshitta. 1599.

Paper; $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2 \times \frac{1}{2}$ in; 148 f; 30 l; Jacobite script; illuminated; a.i.a.

Isaac H. Hall described this manuscript in an article entitled " On a manuscript of the Peshitto Four Gospels ", which appeared in JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1888, vol. 14, p. li-lix. The article states that the manuscript was presented as a gift to Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin. However, a letter from the college within the past year states that nothing is known of the whereabouts of this item.

B. Old Testament. Massora. Peshitta. 1004.

Vellum (?); 2 col; 33 l; a.i.a.

This item is listed by Professor de Boer in his *List*, p. 8, and is reported to be in the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. Correspondence from the Oriental Institute since the publication of the *List* does not indicate that this item is included in its holdings.

C. New Testament. Gospels. Harclensian. X.

This manuscript was reported to be in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. See Mitchell, 236, and Wright, 128. It was sent to America by Rev. A. L. Long. Mitchell says that the text is both Harclensian and Peshitta. A recent letter from the Me-

tropolitan Museum of Art states that except for the fragments listed above, items 265-284, no Syriac manuscripts are included in its holdings.

RETURNED MANUSCRIPT

A. The Beirut Codex. New Testament. Philoxenian (?)-Harclean and Peshitta. IX-X.

Vellum; 27.5×18.7 cm; 203 f; 2 col; a.i.a.

This manuscript was widely discussed by American scholars during the years it was in this country. It came originally from the monastery at Tûr 'Abdîn and became the property of the Protestant College in Beirut. For a number of years it was deposited at the library of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, but is reported to have been returned to Beirut. See, among others, Baumstark, 144f; F. C. Burkitt, " Dr. I. Hall's ' Philoxenian ' Codex ", *Journal of Theological Studies* 33 (1931-1932) 255-262; Gregory, II, 524; Edgar J. Goodspeed, " New Testament Manuscripts in America ", *Biblical World*, new series 37 (1911) 420-424; Isaac H. Hall, " Notes on the Beirût Codex ", JBL (June and December, 1882) 3-26, which includes three references to earlier publications by Hall on this manuscript, and which was corrected by the author in JBL (June and December, 1883) 155f; " Account of a newly-discovered Syriac Codex of the New Testament ", JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1877, cxlvi-cxlix; Mitchell, 246; Smith, 249.

UNLOCATED MANUSCRIPTS

In listing the following items I have followed no set order. They represent notes that have been compiled during the years of the present search. Several of the unlocated items were at one time in the personal library of Dr. Isaac Hollister Hall, and a few of whose possessions are reported now to be in the Andover-Harvard Theological School Library, e.g., items 177 and 178, above. Gregory, III, 1299, says that one of Hall's personal manuscripts went to Harvard. A closer examination of the manuscripts in Cambridge and Newton Center may reveal that some of them are among the ones described below.

A. New Testament.

In 1933 a manuscript was offered for sale to Duke University. Dr. Kenneth Clark sent four pictures of the codex to Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed, who estimated the date of it to be between 1200 and 1300. (A recent letter from Dr. Clark suggests the item may have been written in the fifth century). There was no binding and the first and last leaves were badly tattered. There seemed to be a single column of approximately 33 lines on each leaf. Whether or not this

manuscript was later purchased by someone in the United States is unknown. Pictures of the manuscript are available.

Dr. Hall made reference to several manuscripts in an article which appears in JAOS *Proceedings* 13 (May, 1885) vff. Because these are listed in the same place, I have designated them B-1 through B-11. The first of these came to Dr. Hall from Prof. Albert L. Long and the remainder from Rev. Dr. W. Hayes Ward. Of the items marked B-2 through B-11 Hall says that they are "rather valuable as specimens of the writing than for other reasons".

B-1. Gospel Lectionary (fragment, including portions of Matthew). Harklensian. Jacobite. Not recent.

B-2. Gospel Lectionary (fragment, including portions of Matthew, Luke, and John). Peshitta.

Vellum; 15×10½ in; 1 f; 2 col; 23 l; a.i.a.

B-3. Letter of King Abgar to Jesus, Jesus' Reply, and A Homily on the Love of Poverty. VIII (?).

Vellum; 9³/₈×6⁵/₈ in; 1 f; 2 col; 27-29 l; a.i.a.

in addition to the article by Hall mentioned above, see his "Syriac Version of Epistle of King Abgar to Jesus", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 1 (1884-1885) 232-235.

B-4. Service Book.

Vellum; 16×11¼ in; 1 f; 1 col; 12 l; Estrangela letters approximately ½ in. in height; ornamented, followed by a rubric for vespers.

B-5. Ecclesiastical Rules or Precepts. Rather Old.

Vellum; 11½×7½ in; 3 f; 2 col; 39-41 l; old Jacobite; a.i.a.

B-6. Unidentified Fragment. IX (?).

Vellum; 15 in at top; 1 f, top half only; 3 col; old Jacobite script; a.i.a.

B-7. Service Book for Saints' Days.

Vellum; written col 12×3¼ in; 1 f; 2 col; 32 l; old Jacobite script; a.i.a.

B-8, B-9. Service Books.

Paper; rubrics for priest's and people's parts.

B-10. Supplications to the Lamb. Not very ancient.

Paper; 2 f; coarse Jacobite script; a.i.a.

B-11. Prayer Book (fragment). Not very ancient.

Paper; 1 f; Jacobite script; a.i.a.

Items C-1 through C-3 are mentioned in an article by Isaac Hollister Hall entitled "Notes on Syriac Texts and Translations", JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1889, vol. 14, p. clxxxif.

C-1. History of Rabban Sauma and Mar Yawallah. 1886.

128 p; written space 6½×4½ in; 18 l; Nestorian script; a.i.a.

This late copy was displayed at a meeting of the American Oriental Society in October, 1886, by Dr. Hall. The work itself has been edited and printed in book form, which Hall criticizes, and appeared in translation in the periodical *Rays of Light* which was published at Oroomia. See JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1886, vol. 13, p. cxxvi-cxxviii.

C-2. Ecclesiastical Compositions. 1885.

Written space 7½×5½ in; 62 f; 18 l; Nestorian script; contains The Narrative of Moses, Approved in Prophecy; The Letter of Holy Sunday; The Martyrdom of George; The Narrative of Arsânîs..., King of Egypt; and Sundry Church Services, Prayers, Rules of Magic, etc.

A brief description of this manuscript and a long description of part two, plus a selection from part five appear in Hall's "The Letter of Holy Sunday", JAOS 15 (1893) 121-139; also a description, including text and translation of part four appears in Hall's "The Story of Arsânîs", *Hebraica* 6 (January, 1890) 81-88, this work also being cited by Baumstark, 71, footnote 1, who says that of four known manuscripts, two were in America — one in the private library of Isaac H. Hall and the other at Union Theological Seminary. Elizabeth Stout's catalogue of the American Oriental Society Library, p. 137, lists a manuscript of the "Letter of Holy Sunday" given to the library by Dr. Hall.

C-3. Gezza (Service Book for all the Year except Sundays, Festivals, etc.). XVII-XVIII.

Paper; nearly a foot thick; a.i.a.

See also Baumstark, 304, footnote 2.

D. New Testament. Peshitta. 1204.

Vellum; 4 tome size; written space 18×12.2 cm; 268 f; 1 col; 29 l; 5 f per q; Estrangela; a.i.a.

Mitchell, 236, records a description provided by Dr. Hall and says that the manuscript was owned by a Syrian student from Oroomia, then in The Divinity School of The University of Chicago.

E. Gospel Lectionary. 1208.

Old leather over wooden boards; 13½×10×3 in; 167 f; 2 col; c. 19 l; a.i.a.

Isaac H. Hall, "Account of a Syriac Lectionary", JAOS *Proceedings* 14 (October, 1889) clxxx-clxxxi.

F. New Testament. Gospel.

A facsimile of one leaf appears in George Mamishisho Lamsa's *Gospel Light*, A. J. Holman, Philadelphia, 1936, and is the second item pictured (on the right) in the front of the book. Mr. Lamsa told me it belonged to Mr. William M. Mortimer of New York but was sold in 1954.

In volume II, page 508, of his *Textkritik* Gregory lists four manuscripts, said to contain the Peshitta text of the Gospels, which at that time were in America. He catalogs these as 1a through 1d. One of these items, 1c, is now at Harvard University (see item 19, above). The present location of the three other manuscripts is unknown. In listing them I have retained in part the catalog numbers assigned by Gregory.

G-1a. New Testament. Luke (fragment). Peshitta (Harklean?). X.

Vellum; 36.8×25; 1 f; 2 col; 26 l; contains Luke 21.30-22.17; a.i.a.

Discussing this manuscript Gregory refers to an article by Isaac H. Hall in *The Independent* for August 20, 1885, p. 1068f, and mentions it again in his *Textkritik*, III, 1297. See also Hall's articles in *The Independent* for June 7, 1894, 734f, and JAOS *Proceedings* for May, 1885, vol. 13, p. v, and Mitchell, 236.

G-1b. New Testament. Gospels. Peshitta. VIII.

Vellum; 20.3×12.7 cm; 420 p; 1 col; 33-36 l; red headings.

G-1d. New Testament. Gospels. Peshitta. VIII-IX.

Paper; formerly belonged to Isaac H. Hall and mentioned by him in *The Independent* for June 7, 1894, p. 734.

H. New Testament. Peshitta. X.

Paper; 304 f; a.i.a.

According to Wright, 169, this manuscript was formerly in the possession of Dr. Hall, who was then of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This could possibly be the item Hall refers to as his own in *The Independent* for June 7, 1884, p. 734.

Miss Burton of the Metropolitan Museum of Art has written me recently that according to records in the museum's archives, three manuscripts among Dr. Hall's personal effects were returned to Union Theological Seminary in New York after his death. These

items were not officially loaned to the museum and were probably lent to Dr. Hall personally.

The following articles by Dr. Hall also contain references to manuscripts which have not been positively identified: " On a manuscript of the Peshitta Four Gospels ", JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1888, li-lix; " On a Manuscript of the Peshitta New Testament, with a Tradition of the Apostles ", JAOS *Proceedings*, 1888, lix-lxxxv, (see also Baumstark, 73, footnote 2).

I. New Testament.

Leather over wooden boards; 10×7×4½ in; 1 col; 29-30 l; 25 q; 10 f per q; good Estrangela script; formerly in the possession of Elliot F. Shepard of New York.

J. Gospel Lectionary. XII-XIII.

Paper; leather over wooden boards; 10×7×1½ in; 95 f; 2 col; 34 l; 13 q; 4 to 8 f per q; Estrangela and Jacobite script; a.i.a.

Isaac H. Hall, " On a Manuscript Syriac Lectionary ", JAOS 11 (1885) 287-325, xliii-xlv, and also JBL for June and December, 1885, p. 94.

K. Ritual of the Departed.

In JAOS *Proceedings* for May, 1888, vol. 13, p. cclxxxvf, Isaac H. Hall says he was working on this manuscript.

L. Liturgical Work. Nestorian.

Paper; heavy boards covered with leather; 12×9×1¾ in; 180 p; 14 l; Nestorian script, surrounded by a ruled and colored border; contents include the liturgies of the Apostles Addai and Mari, of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and of Nestorius, plus the " Canon de Chilath ".

Isaac H. Hall, " On a Nestorian liturgical manuscript from the last Nestorian Church and Convent in Jerusalem ", JAOS *Proceedings* for 1888, vol. 13, p. cclxxxvi-ccxc.

M. Ecclesiastical Calendar. Nestorian.

Isaac H. Hall describes this as a manuscript " brought back by Dr. Ward " from the Wolfe Expedition. It is said to contain 29 pages, 28 of which is a continuous table. See " On a Modern Nestorian MS. Ecclesiastical Calendar ", JAOS *Proceedings* for October, 1886, vol. 13, p. cxl-cxliv.

As a further indication of the preliminary nature of this work, several descriptions provided by libraries were reported to have

come entirely from dealers' catalogs. I am certain that the published notes of Father Macomber and other scholars will clarify many matters concerning items in the eastern part of the United States and that their supplements will make this checklist a more serviceable instrument for students of Syriac literature.

As might well be expected, many manuscripts, identified by portions of their contents in the above checklist, include works on a variety of subjects. Wherever possible, this fact has been taken into account in the index of contents listed below; for example, item 105 is primarily listed as an *Ecclesiastical Work*, but it is mentioned under *New Testaments* among the "See also" items because it is a commentary and because it is said to include a long quotation from Tatian's Diatessaron.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Since the publication of the first part of this checklist, I have re-examined copies of several printed descriptions of manuscripts in my files, hoping thereby to remove some of the questions about the extant items in America.

Through the recent efforts of Mrs. Richard C. Ashenden, Jr., Acting Librarian of the U.C.B.W.M., and staff members of Houghton Library, I have learned that item 8 is mentioned by Hatch, p. 21. Considerable tracking was necessary to make the identification, but we can now give this additional information: another call number, not now used, is MS. ZE 607-1200, the manuscript is on vellum, and it is said to be illuminated.

Items 10 and 33 in this checklist were apparently cataloged by Gregory and are listed on p. 1299, vol. III, of his *Textkritik*. Item 10 is cataloged as 146 among the Peshitta Gospels. Gregory's mention of Dr. Grant's name provided the clue to positive identification. The manuscript is on vellum and is dated in the twelfth century. Item 33 is designated among the Peshitta Gospels as 145 and is further described as being of paper leaves, 18 × 12.5 cm, and formerly in the possession of I. H. Hall.

Item 17 in the present list may be the same manuscript described by Isaac H. Hall's "Notes and news on Syriac texts and translations", JAOS *Proceedings* 14 (1889) clxxxii.

The Old Testament formerly in the Semitic Museum, item 18, above, was apparently the one used by Moore in his *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901, which was a part of *The International Critical Commentary*. For a list of the Syriac versions used, see p. xlvii of this volume. A hurried examination of Moore's work revealed no specific mention of the Harvard item as witness to a variant reading. Further information on this general subject is given in Joshua Bloch's

"The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 37 (1920-1921) 136-144.

Additional information on item 19, above, is given by Gregory in his *Textkritik*, III, 1297. He mentions that his catalog number "1c" is at Harvard and identifies it with "Semitic Museum Nr. 1077". In the same place he gives the names of the two owners of the manuscript before it became the property of G. F. Moore, (see item 18).

Item 86 above carries a reference to the published text and a dissertation by R. H. Petersen on Bar Salibi's "Treatise Against the Jews". The paragraph at the top of p. 240 in the first installment of this checklist should perhaps properly be listed under item 123.

Item 175 is described by Hatch, p. 219, and a facsimile of f 81 appears in Plate CLXVIII of that work. Its size is 25.8-26.6 × 17.8-19.8 cm and it contains 269 f written in brown and black ink.

Two additional manuscripts have recently been verified and should be listed here:

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Harvard University 02138

Fogg Art Museum

STUART CARY WELCH, Curator

407. 1939.188. Letter in Modern Syriac. XIX-XX.

Paper; $8^3/_8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in; 1 double f (4p); varying number of lines; a.i.a.

"Gift to the Fogg Art Museum from Mr. and Mrs. Thorvald Ross".

MONTREAL, QUEBEC, CANADA

McGill University

Redpath Library

J. H. ARCHER, Director

Mrs. E. SYLVESTER, Reference Librarian

408. Breviary (West Syrian Church). XVII.

Paper; 100 f; waterdamaged.

There are several Canadian seminaries, mostly Roman Catholic, that have not been surveyed at this writing. The major university libraries have been written, but further research is in order to determine whether or not Syriac materials other than the few listed here are in that country.

In my opening remarks mention was made of two matters to which noteworthy material may now be added. The first of these

concerns the fact that Gregory's catalog of Syriac manuscripts has not been continued by his successors. On this subject see also p. 15 of Jean Du Placy's " Où en est la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament? ", Paris, J. Galbalda, 1959, which is a reprint of three articles in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 45 (1957) 419-441, 46 (1958) 270-313 and 431-462.

The second matter concerns the growing awareness among scholars outside the United States and Canada that a significant number of Syriac manuscripts were extant in the public and private libraries of the two countries. I would simply add one further testimony to this fact: P. B. (Pierre Benoit?), " Bulletin ", *Revue Biblique* 47 (1938) 449f.

It should also be noted that in the second part of this checklist, some bibliographical references to specific items are sometimes listed alphabetically rather than chronologically. See p. 228.

A few errors have been noted in the first installment and the corrections to be made are listed below:

p. 227. Footnote 2 should read " ...« *Syriac Catalogue* » *de Cyril Moss*... ".

Footnote 4 should read " ...See footnote 3, above... ".

p. 228. Line 17 of the first paragraph should read " ...are not included... ".

p. 229. The Zip Code Number for the Yonan Codex Foundation, Inc., at 208 Five Points Center Building in Atlanta, Georgia, is 30303.

p. 230. The Zip Code Number for Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, is 30322.

Item 5 should read " ...part of the collection... ".

p. 233. The Zip Code Number for Houghton Library in Cambridge is 02138.

p. 234. Item 11 should read " ...*42M-1690. Old Testament... ".
Item 16 should read " ...*42M-1867F. New Testament... ".

p. 239. Item 83 should read " ...Harvard manuscripts: ".

p. 241. Item 99 should read " ...See also item 150 (4048) below ".

p. 246. In footnote 1 the word " english " should of course be capitalized.

p. 247. Item 151 should read " ...mentioned in footnote 1 on p. 233 ".

p. 249. In item 165 read " Old " for " Oil ".
Item 166 should read " ...On p. vii... ".

p. 250. The Zip Code Number for the Andover-Harvard Theological Library, 45 Francis Avenue, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is 02138.

Morningside College
Sioux City, Iowa, 51106
U.S.A.

JAMES T. CLEMONS

INDICES

(Numbers refer to those used for manuscripts in this list.)

I. CONTENTS.

II. Authors, Translators, *et al.*

III. Dates by Centuries (according to the earliest date reported).

COMMENTARII BREVIORES

A special sense of *ṣlôṯâ* as absolution or re-admission to ecclesiastical communion

In Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, the articles on the verb *ṣallî* (1) and the noum *ṣlôṯâ* (2) end with brief references to use in the context of sacramental penance and re-admission to communion, but the only examples adduced are very late, from the rite for penance under the name of Bar-Ṣalibi (3) and from Bar-Hebraeus (4). The purpose of this note is to draw attention to earlier examples where these words seem to bear this particular sense. Of course they are used in formularies for sacramental reconciliation, which in both eastern and western Syrian rites is always by means of 'prayer' (5); but in more general contexts, since 'pray' and 'prayer' can have so many uses, we shall need clear evidence that there is a particular reference to absolution; and all the more so since, in the context of ecclesiastical communion, 'sharing in prayer' may refer to liturgical prayer, especially the Eucharist. In the Greek and Latin Fathers this is regular (6), and the writer has found no instance, except

(1) Vol. II, col. 3400.

(2) *Ibid.*, col. 3401.

(3) BO II, pp. 173-4; cf. W. DE VRIES, S. J., *Sakramententheologie bei den syrischen Monophysiten* (Rome, 1940), pp. 206-8.

(4) *Chr. Eccl.* I, ed. ABBELOOS-LAMY, II, pp. 473, 573. In the former instance the editors gloss 'in signum restitutae communionis', and below (p. 473, l. 18-19) *ṣlûṯô* appears as a thing that can be written and given to someone as a certificate.

(5) Cf. W. DE VRIES, ... *Monophysiten*, loc. cit.; *Sakramententheologie bei den Nestorianern* (Rome, 1947), pp. 277-279.

(6) E. g. Dionysius of Alexandria in EUSEBIUS, *H. E.* VI, 42, 5 (*GCS Euseb.* II, p. 612.4-6), about admitting *lapsi* to communion; again, *H. E.* VII, 9, 5 (*ibid.*, p. 648) about a penitent who had been-re-admitted but dared not come to the *προσευχαί*; *Const. Ap.* II, 39, 5 (FUNK, p. 129) *μὴ κοινωνείτωσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ*; TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* 39, 4 (CC I, p. 150) 'ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur'.

in the *Didascalia*, to parallel the Syriac usage with special reference to penance.

In the Syriac version of the *Didascalia*, which Aphrahat (writing in 336-345) almost certainly knew (1), some instances of *ṣlôṯâ* have the common sense of 'sharing in prayer' (2), but two passages must be considered as possibly having our special sense. In both the text speaks of receiving sinners *ba-ṣlôṯâ*, which Connolly translated 'for prayer' and 'to prayer'; but the expression is translated more naturally 'with prayer'... The first passage quoted below has 'prayer' twice; first in the sense of sharing in common prayer and then, it is suggested, in the sense we are looking for; this phrase is not present in the *Apostolic Constitutions* in the corresponding passage (3).

'Let them by all means come in, if they desire to hear the word, that they may not wholly perish: but let them not communicate in prayer, but go forth without. For they also, when they have seen that they do not communicate with the Church, will submit themselves, and repent of their former works, and strive *to be received into the Church with prayer* (*d-neṯqabblûn b-'ēḏtâ ba-ṣlôṯâ*) ' (4).

The second instance occurs soon after, both in the Syriac and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*:

'And afterwards, as each one of them repents and shows the fruits of repentance, *receive him with*(?) *prayer* (*qabblûnayhi̱ ba-ṣlôṯâ*) after the manner of the heathen ' (5).

Here the Greek has *εἰς προσευχὴν εἰσδέξασθε αὐτόν* (6); if this preserves the original reading, the phrase here may really mean 'admit to liturgical prayer'; but the preposition in Syriac rather suggests the other sense. These examples by no means prove that the sense we are looking for is found in the Syriac *Didascalia*, but if we view them in the light of other evidence the contention seems plausible.

(1) Cf. R. H. Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, pp. 265-6, 269-70; the writer has found further evidence.

(2) Syriac text, ed. Lagarde, p. 44.25, Connolly, p. 103; Lagarde p. 67.12, 15, Connolly, p. 140; Lagarde, p. 105.18, Connolly, p. 210.

(3) Cf. n. 6 above.

(4) Lagarde, p. 44.24-28, Connolly, p. 103.26-104,1 (his version except for changed preposition).

(5) Lagarde, p. 45.10-12, Connolly p. 104.17-20.

(6) *Ap. Const.* II, 41 (Funk, p. 129).

The *Doctrine of Addai* has only one instance that can be considered, but the sense is of sharing in liturgical prayer:

> ' And let those who have received the word of Christ remain with us, and also those who wish to have communion with us in prayer (*w–āp 'ayleyn d–ṣāḇeyn d–neštawtpûn 'amman ba–ṣlôṯâ*) ' ([1]).

Aphrahat has one striking instance of what seems clearly the sense referring to penance. In his fourteenth ' Demonstration ', which is a pastoral letter written in the name of a synod, Aphrahat denounces corrupt and arrogant ecclesiastics who abuse their position; he describes how they treat excommunicated sinners who seek their favour:

> ' Someone may be in sin and offending God, but curries favour with the " masters of the prison "; and they release him from his chains and say to him: " God is merciful and forgives sinners; come in, *come to prayer* " (*tâ la–ṣlôṯâ*) ' ([2]).

While a more general sense is not impossible here, the usage which is attested soon after the time of Aphrahat suggests that the phrase could almost be translated ' come to absolution '.

I have found no instance in Ephrem, but there is a series of instances in a work which doubtless reflects fourth–century usage, the *History of the Council of Nicaea* ascribed to Marutha. (The following quotations are translated from Cod. *Vat. Syr. 501*, the source of which was a manuscript in better condition than the source of Cod. *Syr. Borg. 82*, which O. Braun used for his translation) ([3]). The context concerns what is to be done at the reception of various classes of heretics. The first class, including Arians, are received with anointing as well as ' prayer '; if they are in orders these are recognized but they are degraded one rank. For these the rite is as folows:

> ' Then let the bishop or priest take the holy oil of anointing and sign him three times *and offer prayer* (*wa–nqarrēḇ ṣlôṯâ*), and then let him communicate in the holy mysteries ' ([4]).

([1]) Ed. PHILLIPS, p. 31. 5-6, tr. p. 30.

([2]) *Dem.* XIV, PS I, 708.1-5.

([3]) *Syr. Borg. 82*, copied from *Alqoš 169* (13th or 14th c.), reflects the hopeless confusion of the first *cahier*. *Vat. Syr. 501* was copied from the later (17th c. ?) *Seert 65*. Cf. O. BRAUN, *De Sancta Nicaena Synodo* (Münster, 1897), pp. 62-63.

([4]) Cod. *Vat. Syr. 501*, fol. 48a, 2 ff.

Other heretics are received in a way implying that they have not strayed so seriously:

' But the *'Awdāye*, the Cathari and the Timotheans are not to be signed with oil nor to receive baptism nor to go down in rank, but let each man be received just as he is, *by means of prayer and absolution only* (*b-yad ṣlôṯâ w-ḥûssāyâ balḥôḏ*) ' (1).

And of any heretic who is judged to hold the essentials,

' It shall be required only that he abandon his opinion (*tar'îṯâ*) and be received *by means of prayer and absolution* (same phrase) ' (2).

These prescriptions are the forerunners of similar canons which appear repeatedly in the *Synodicon Orientale*, and there we find, in a context of this kind, a reference to ' oil of prayer ' (*mešḥâ da-ṣlôṯâ*) — doubtless what was used in the anointing in the rite of reconciliation (3). The later East Syrian rite is described by Timotheus I (780-823) in his *Letters*; ' prayer ', a formula called ' imposition of hands for absolution ' (*syāmîḏâ d-'al ḥûssāyâ*) and anointing with oil are mentioned (4).

A sixth-century West Syrian 'prayer over the penitents' (*ṣlôṯā d-'al tayyāḇe*) is given in the Monophysite treatise *Capita seu Quaesita ab Orientalibus Exarata*, dated by Raḥmani to 538 or 539 (5). It may be typical of the sort of prayer accompanying absolution which is the subject of this note:

' O God who grantest sense and understanding to these thy servants, that they may be pleasing to thee, and recognize their transgressions and repent and fall down before thee; O God who alone art good and sinless, in thy kindness and mercy accept their repentance and confession and be an Absolver for thy servants. Grant them grace, understanding and the strength to escape completely from the rebellious power

(1) *Ibid.*, fol. 48 a, 10-13.

(2) *Ibid.*, fol. 48 b, 1-4.

(3) J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, synod of 554, Canon 19 (Text p. 106.19, tr. p. 364). On this anointing cf. B. Poschmann, *Penance ad the Anointing of the Sick* (Eng. ed., 1963), pp. 238-9.

(4) Ed. O. Braun (CSCO Syr. scr. II, 67, p. 34, tr. p. 21); cf. W. de Vries, ...*Nestorianern*, pp. 277-8. The same elements are found in the sacramental treatise by Timotheus II (1318-32), quoted in BO III. 2, p. cclxxxvii.

(5) Ed. I. E. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, III, pp. 5-22, tr. pp. 30-47. Rahmani refers (p. 46) to Cod. *Vat. Syr.* 57 where, he says, the prayer is found with variants.

of the devil, so that they may exercise every virtue and be numbered in the godly company of thy saints, and become worthy of incorruptible benefits which are for ever, through the true High Priest and Chief Shepherd and Guardian of our souls (1), Jesus Christ, with whom to thee belongs praise... '.

The evidence here adduced for a special sense of *ṣlôṯâ*, referring to sacramental penance, in early Syrian literature, is not as abundant as could be wished, and there are disappointing gaps: for example, the twenty-fourth homily in the *Liber Graduum*, on Penance, though it seems to include sacramental penance, never uses the word *ṣlôṯâ*. Nevertheless if we consider the conservative character of Syriac Christianity and the comparative similarity of language and practice over long periods, we may judge that this evidence, however scanty, builds up a convincing picture of this important element in the early rite of absolution and reconciliation (2).

ROBERT MURRAY, S.J.

Heythrop College.

(1) Cf. 1 Pet 2:25; but the word for ' Guardian ' is *qāyômâ*, ' supervisor ' etc., not *sāʿôrâ* as in the Peshitta.

(2) On the exact function of this prayer, cf. POSCHMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 103: ' it is not without qualification to be equated with the " deprecative absolution " in the sense of the later doctrine of penance. Its significance is much more that of an aid to the penitent in his efforts to obtain the divine mercy and in this it resembles the blessings previously bestowed on the penitents '.

The Canonists and the Council of Constance

The new interest in the Council of Constance has sent historians of that council back to the medievalists to explain from the evolution of canon law the events of the Great Schism of the West. In particular, one book, B. TIERNEY: *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (1), has proved to be most useful. A thesis, tracing one line of canonistic thought, it suggests the answers to the queries that the conciliar historians face. It outlines the logical development of canonistic theory and practice, and shows incidentally both how completely theory was subordinated to practice and how slender at times were the foundations on which both were built.

The canonists' gospel was Gratian's *Decretum*, a compilation of supreme importance that has served the Church well, but not every part of which is of equal value. Certain phrases were taken up by the Decretists and repeated time and again, acquiring thereby an exaggerated importance. Pope Anastasius II (496-8) was supposed to have been stricken by God for compromising the faith — and personal papal inerrancy was for the canonists thereby disproved for all time (2). St Jerome's *obiter dictum, orbis major est urbe*, established pre-eminence of either cardinals or council as circumstances demanded. The legitimacy of the deposition of a pope for heresy, which was the justification of the long development that ended in Constance, had its chief support in a remark, attributed by Gratian to St Boniface the Martyr, but now known to have been written by the Cardinal Humbert who excommunicated Patriarch Cerularius in 1054: *(Papa) a nemine est iudicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius*. There ensued cen-

(1) Cambridge 1955.

(2) Cf. L. DUCHESNE, *Liber Pontificalis* I (Paris 1886) pp. xliii and 258-9. " ... que le pape Anastase voulut abandonner les décisions et l'attitude de Félix et de Gélase ... est une pure calomnie: les documents officiels lui donnent ici une démenti » (p. 259).

turies of excogitation on what was meant by heresy, what were the equivalents, who could decide, who could depose.

Tierney in his summing up of canonistic theories before the Great Schism notes: « But it would seem reasonable to expect that the canonists should apply consistent principles of ecclesiastical authority to the different problems as they arose, that their views should be, if not systematically expounded, at least capable of systematization. Instead one finds, below the layers of accumulated erudition, a real uncertainty in the face of the fundamental problems concerning the juristic structure of the Church and the interrelation of its various organs of government » (p. 218). The explanation of this uncertainty lies perhaps in the fact that the canonists were perpetually solving practical problems and meeting actual situations. The basis for their solutions was not any metaphysical or theological structure solid in itself, but for ever the practical answers to particular cases of the past, collected by Gratian, commented on by the Decretists, augmented by the codified regulations of later popes, with their glosses. The practical cases that in the Middle Ages were the most numerous and the most pressing came from relations between bishops and chapters, abbots and monks, Church and State at the local level. The result was the evolution of corporation concepts, that bishops and abbots, elected, were in most instances only proctors of a corporate body, acting usually with a delegated authority, for the good of the whole and deposable for crime or incompetence. Popes were elected and (witness Anastasius and pseudo-Boniface) deposable. So, by a process, not of analogy but of identification, it was argued that popes were answerable to their electors and deposable for as many reasons as e.g. abbots. That there was and is no identification of rights between even bishops and popes was noted, but ignored. The equivalent of the bishop's chapter was, since it elected the popes, at first the College of Cardinals, an accident of history with no scriptural warrant, which yet assumed such importance as to be the 'body' of the pope, whose 'consensus' was deemed necessary for important acts and who managed to gain a right to the half of the papal revenues. The idea of the Church as a corporation had, indeed, a basis in Scripture in St Paul's teaching on the Mystical Body. From that the canonists drew inspiration to apply their deductions for local corporations to the corporation of the Church, the "universitas fidelium", with conclusions favouring pope, cardinals or general council, according as the writer was defending the rights

of the cardinals against the bishops, of the bishops against the cardinals or of the pope against both. The claims of the " universitas fidelium ", whose organ was the general council, were enhanced also by political circumstances. They could be a useful weapon against the papacy. The King of France appealed to a future council against Pope Boniface VIII. The Fraticelli and Louis of Bavaria did the same, when they were at loggerheads with John XXII. The Great Schism created another and more pressing occasion, when the obstinacy of the rival ' popes ' made action imperative.

It is interesting to note how the phases of canonistic development repeated themselves in the course of the Schism. The cardinals declared Urban VI's election invalid in their belief that they were the chief power in the Church [1]. They were still the prime movers in the convocation and the running of the Council of Pisa. In Constance, four years later, those same cardinals were fighting to retain a semblance of their previous importance, and bishops in the four or five ' Nations ' were the chief authority as representing the " universitas fidelium ". In Basel, neither cardinals not bishops counted for much; it was the mass of doctors and masters who claimed to represent the Church universal and who dominated the conciliar scene.

Meantime to meet the emergency of the Schism, which was a very real one, Henry of Langenstein, Conrad of Gelnhausen, Francis Zabarella, Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Gerson and others had pressed that the canonistic theory should be put into practice. If the ' popes '

[1] Commenting on the Decretists' opinion (first half of 13th century) that a pope once elected by the necessary majority, even by abuse, was still pope, Tierney writes: " The Decretist teaching on this point serves only to emphasize how very flimsy was the legal basis for the claims of the cardinals in 1378 " (pp. 75-6). In 1378 a Cardinal Flandrin could write: " Quilibet fidelis christianus tenebatur credere Apostolis et aliis discipulis ad hoc missis testificantibus de Jesu, quod esset verus filius Dei. Ergo tenentur credere cardinalibus testificantibus quis sit verus vicarius eius ... (quia) cardinales sunt successores Apostolorum et discipulorum domini nostri Jesu Christi et ipsius Romani Pontificis individui comites et in executione sui officii adiutores ". And Card. Amiel: " Papa et cardinales ita sunt in Romana Ecclesia, quod eciam ipsi sunt Romana Ecclesia, que claves accepit et potestatem ligandi atque solvendi ... Romana Ecclesia, que in cardinalibus consistit, illa est que dicitur preesse omnibus capitulis et ecclesiis mundi " (Quoted by O. PŘEROVSKÝ, *L'elezione di Urbano VI e l'insorgere dello Scisma d'Occidente*, Roma, 1960, p. 81).

would not call a general council, which as the highest authority in the Church should solve the problem of the Schism, let someone else do it. It was done by the College of Cardinals.

All these writers take for granted without question the legitimacy of the application of corporation law to both the College of Cardinals and the universal Church. Gelnhausen on that basis proceeds by syllogisms, proving his majors and minors almost exclusively from canonistic sources. *Anastasius* is quoted to show that "De papa quidem non est dubitandum (quod deviare, errare et moraliter peccare potest) (1); that he can be deposed for "scandalum" (2); and that epikeia should be used to solve the impasse of the Schism (3). Jerome is quoted also (4) and the pseudo-Boniface (5). Of Zabarella, Tierney writers: "Moreover his *Tractatus de schismate* was a work of pure canonistic scholarship ... All his arguments were drawn from legal sources... The whole of Christendom was one great corporation over which the Pope presided in the same way as the rector of any other corporation; all the exposition that followed was a commentary on that fundamental premise" (6). D'Ailly follows the same general lines, but is nearly as concerned to preserve the position of the Sacred College as he is to prove the superiority of the council (7). Gerson's *Tractatus de potestate ecclesiastica et de origine iuris et legum* (8) has less direct canonistic quotations. The tractate is more a philosophical treatise — granted the canonistic presuppositions and the validity of the decree of superiority of councils over popes passed in the fifth session at Constance, what are the logical consequences?

(1) E. MARTÈNE & U. DURAND, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* ... II (Paris, 1717) 1209 B-F.

(2) Ibid. 1210 F.

(3) Ibid. 1217 B.

(4) Ibid. 1210 C.

(5) Ibid. 1210 E.

(6) Op. cit., pp. 220, 221.

(7) *De Ecclesiae, Concilii generalis, Romani Pontificis et cardinalium auctoritate* (in *Joannis Gersonii Opera Omnia* ed. E. du PIN (Antwerp, 1706), II, 925 seq. He quoted Jerome 949 C, 956 C, 957 C; pseudo-Boniface 956 C, 959 D; *Anastasius* 957 C.

(8) Ibid, II, 225 seq. Both Gerson and John Hus (and how many more of the conciliarists?) believed the legend of Pope Agnes *alias* Joan (N. SPINKA, *John Hus at the Council of Constance* (Colomba Univ. Press, 1965), p. 192, 192 n.

It was from this background of canon law that the decree of the fifth session of the Council of Constance emerged. The Fathers wanted a solemn declaration of their supreme jurisdiction as a council before proceeding to the deposition of John XXIII (1). If the juridical hypotheses that they all accepted are granted, then their declaration was sound. But if one or more of those hypotheses fails to stand up to examination, the declaration is immediately undermined. Yet it was taken also as an affirmation of doctrine.

The canonists used the Scriptures sparingly and not always very aptly. Peter sinned; he was resisted by Paul; four councils are recorded in *Acts*, in some of which Peter did not seem to have taken the initiative. The so-called Petrine texts are referred to the ' universitas fidelium ', not to St. Peter. Even Luke XXII, 32, " I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not ", regards not Peter but the Church (2). " Dic ecclesiae " i.e. a general council. But these few scriptural references do not make the decree of the fifth session of the Council of Constance anything but a canonical decree. Certainly it had theological overtones, but these do not transform it into a theological decree.

Theologians (as opposed to canonists) of the same period who wrote on the Church are rare. Still Fr De Vooght writes: " Les ' grands ' y sont incontestablement acquis ", i.e. to approval of the absolute power of the popes. St Thomas Aquinas teaches papal infallibility in all but the word. St Bonaventure agrees and so does John Olivi. So states Fr De Vooght. James of Viterbo († 1308) wrote ' the oldest treatise on the Church ' (3), which quoted Gratian's decree only twice, but the Fathers often, in a treatment that upholds the primacy of the popes. John of Ragusa, that doughty champion of the conciliarism of the Council of Basel, produced a veritable

(1) Cf. GERSON, *Opera omnia*, II, 305 B.

(2) " Quod etiam [i.e. quod Concilium Generale non potest errare in his quae sunt fidei] probatur ex illo verbo Christi " Petre, rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua " Luc. xxii, 32, quia hoc non est dictum de Fide personali Petri, cum ipse erraverit, sed de Fide Universalis Ecclesiae, quae repraesentatur in Concilio Generali ", D'Ailly, *De Ecclesiae ... auctoritate* in GERSON, II, 958 B, 949 C, repeating earlier canonists.

(3) The description given by its editor, H. X. Acquillière, and generally accepted.

tractate on the Church in answer to the Hussites (1). The next *ex professo* theological exposition was by John of Torquemada, after the Council of Florence, in four very long books — his *Summa de primatu*. His earlier work, the *Oratio synodalis de primatu*, a reply to Cesarini's exposition of conciliarist theory, was, like the cardinal's exposition, very largely canonistic in its method. His *Summa* is more theological, but in the chapter that deals with popes and councils in respect of defining faith, Torquemada is as much a canonist as Zabarella. In both his treatises he concludes that "*standum est concilio*" if a pope is opposed to a general council, and quotes the inevitable *Anastasius* and the pseudo-Boniface.

These relations between canonical writings and the Council of Constance have received much attention of late, for they are the explanation of the development of events in the Council of Constance and they were given a conciliar approval in the famous fifth session of that council by its decree *Haec sancta synodus*, which proclaimed the superiority of councils in matters of faith, schism and reform. The latest book on the subject is from the pen of Fr Paul De Vooght (2). The Introduction and the first chapter give the substance of the book, as described by its title. The former relates briefly the canonical and theological pre-history of the council. The latter recounts how *Haec sancta synodus* came to be decreed and contains the Author's arguments for regarding it as a valid conciliar decree of an oecumenical council — it was the decision of a full session, with all the usual ceremonies, after mature deliberation, the fruit of centuries of development, the expression of the mind of the Fathers. The allied doctrine "d'une part a été formulée avec une clarté croissante par beaucoup de canonistes de Gratien à Zabarella et, d'autre part, descend de Marsile de Padoue par Conrad de Gelnhausen et Henri Langenstein jusqu'à Gerson, d'Ailly et Théodore de Nieheim" (p. 40), who were its chief protagonists in Constance.

I do not agree with Fr De Vooght. The canonistic development, as traced by Tierney and accepted by the Author, is the essential

(1) Cf. G. THILS, *Le "Tractatus de Ecclesia" de Jean de Ragusa*, in *Angelicum* 17 (1940) pp. 219-44. Thils gives a synopsis that sounds most papal, but its basis must be conciliar for Ragusa was a convinced conciliarist.

(2) *Les pouvoirs du concile et l'autorité du pape au Concile de Constance* (= Unam Sanctam 56), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1965, pp. 198.

background that gives value to all the rest. Our examination, however, has shown that, however logical its development on its own premisses, its foundation and presuppositions were insecure. On the other hand, the descent from Marsilio of Padua, " un affluent moins orthodoxe " (p. 25), was via Gerson who " soutient parallèlement (to a *plenitudo potestatis* which cannot be taken away from a pope) que le concile peut être convoqué malgré ou contre le pape dans les circonstances si diverses que celui-ci en devient finalement le jouet "; d'Ailly who " n'est pas très ferme sur l'infaillibilité du concile "; and Theodore of Nieheim, a " Hussite avant la lettre et à son insu " (pp. 41, 40) — men whose ideas were bound to develop into the radical conciliarism, " qui devait s'épanouir plus tard à Bâle en une sorte de gouvernement d'assemblée, très féru de réformes mais anarchique " (p. 40). " By their fruits you shall know them ", and these fruits were later disowned by the Church. The fruits depend on the seed, which in this case was canonistic. The mistake was to try to graft theology onto a canonistic stock of that kind. The graft did not take. The fruit was still canonistic, not theological, and sound in proportion to the firmness of its roots.

In chapters 2 and 3 Fr De Vooght gives his reasons for holding that both Pope Martin V and Pope Eugenius IV accepted the decree *Haec sancta synodus* as conciliar and binding. These chapters are largely repetitions of articles he has published in various periodicals in these last few years and I have explained elsewhere why I do not agree with him (1). Neither Martin V, who in the Bulls nominating presidents for the Councils of Pavia-Siena and Basel authorised them also to dissolve the councils at their discretion (2), nor Eugenius dared repudiate Constance openly; they referred to it or not as occasion and advantage demanded.

The last three chapters are in the nature of excursuses, tracing the conciliarist ideas of certain outstanding personalities of later times. The chapter on Cesarini (repeated substantially from *Das Konzil von Konstanz*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1964) records the cardinal's sincere conciliarism that with his disappointment in the conduct of the Council of Basel became somewhat mitigated but was never

(1) *The Fifth Session of the Council of Constance*, in *The Heythrop Journal*, V (1964) pp. 131-43.

(2) MANSI 29, 8. *Monumenta Conciliorum generalium saec. XV*, I (Vienna 1857), p. 67.

lost: nonetheless it should be noted that he approved of John of Montenero's argumentation at Florence and the definition of the primacy contained in the decree *Laetentur caeli* (1). Fr. De Vooght maintains that John of Torquemada (chapter 5) was chiefly responsible for the oblivion that later overtook the decree *Haec sancta synodus*. The Dominican writer attacked it vehemently but (it is alleged) with valueless arguments, while all the time he was really a conciliarist, believing that a pope in an emergency of faith is in fact subordinate to a council. Nicholas of Cusa followed a course like that of Cesarini. Nicholas Tudeschi, the complete jurist, did not.

Fr De Vooght ends with a moving vindication of the theological validity of *Haec sancta synodus*. He makes it more palatable by insisting that it was and would be applicable only in cases of 'such degradation and disorder that only a council could save [the Church]'. That is not really what the Council of Constance enacted. The decree *Haec sancta synodus* refers to three things, heresy, this schism, and reform. Of these only 'this schism' could be said to be producing 'degradation and disorder' of that type. The Church at that time was not in a desperate emergency even from the lack of reform, though it was certainly in great need of it. In any case, "Die Kirchengeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts zeigt, dass eine Reform der Kirche ohne Mitwirkung des Papsttums unmöglich war" (2). And heresy? The popes had not endangered the Church by negligence in dealing with Wyclif or Hus, and Constance was concerned with popes who were judged heretical only because schismatical. So perhaps *Haec sancta synodus* was meant by the Fathers of Constance to have the ampler connotation that is outlined in the Author's commentary on pp. 38-40, ampler than what is suggested in these concluding pages.

J. GILL, S.J.

(1) *Andreas de Santa Croce: Acta latina Concilii Florentini*, ed. G. HOFMANN (= Concilium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptores vol. VI) (Romae 1955), pp. 231-6, 241-7, 262.

(2) H. JEDIN, *Bischöfliches Konzil oder Kirchenparlament?* (Basel 1963), p. 23.

L'édition critique des Canons d'Hippolyte (*)

Après les efforts faits récemment avec une particulière compétence pour ramener à une plus haute antiquité les premières origines des *Canons d'Hippolyte*, ou CHip., voici l'important document remis au grand jour de la publicité et honoré d'une édition critique digne de lui. Étant une édition, il est tout à fait vraisemblable que le mérite essentiel de l'ouvrage est dans la correction ecdotique de son texte, et dans la fidélité de sa traduction, deux qualités que nous ne sommes, malheureusement, guère en mesure de mettre dûment en lumière, n'ayant de la difficile langue arabe qu'une connaissance très limitée. Abandonnons donc cette tâche aux arabisants et faisons, mais combien aisément et volontiers, un acte de confiance en la valeur de ce travail d'édition, diligent autant que méthodique. Portons plutôt notre attention sur ces parties de l'introduction qui nous ont davantage intéressé, dans la persuasion que c'est leur caractère plus personnel et quelque peu subjectif, si l'on veut, qui donne aux comptes rendus leur intérêt. Par là, grâce à eux, tout ouvrage nouveau devient le centre de convergence pour un échange de vues et le générateur d'ultérieurs progrès.

Les CHip nous sont conservés dans deux sortes d'ouvrages, ou recueils, que l'auteur nomme les *Collections chronologiques* et les *Collections systématiques*. Les *Collections chronologiques* présentent dans l'ordre des temps les séries particulières de canons pseudo-apostoliques, conciliaires, patristiques ou pseudo-patristiques, civils et patriarcaux, en les reproduisant intégralement et telles quelles. Dans les *Collections systématiques*, au contraire, les séries de canons sont divisées en fragments plus ou moins considérables et ceux-ci

(*) COQUIN, RENÉ-GEORGES, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte. Édition critique de la version arabe, Introduction et traduction française* (F. Graffin, Patrologia Orientalis, Tome XXXI. - Fascicule 2., p.273-444), Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1966, pp. 176.

répartis par sujets. Distinction importante au point de vue ecdotique, puisqu'il est évident que c'est dans la transmission propre aux *Collections systématiques* que le texte des canons est davantage exposé aux altérations de toute sorte.

Au premier type de recueil appartiennent la *Collection anonyme de Berlin*, du milieu du XIVe s., semble-t-il; la *Collection de Macaire*, probablement de la première moitié du même siècle; la *Collection jacobite anonyme*, du XIVe ou XVe s. Au deuxième type, les *Nomocanons* du patriarche Gabriel Ibn Turayk (1131-1145), du métropolite Michel de Damiette (scr. 1166/1216) et d'un des trois frères Ibn al-ʿAssâl, très probablement, aṣ-Ṣafî abu 'l-Fadâ'il (scr. 1236 et 1238). Par les dates de rédaction qu'on peut leur assigner, les *Collections systématiques* prévalent donc notablement en antiquité sur les autres, y compris celle de Berlin.

De chacun de ces recueils, l'auteur énumère les manuscrits qu'il lui fut possible de repérer et, pour un bon nombre, d'examiner personnellement et de collationner. Nous ne noterons ici que ceux qui lui ont servi principalement pour l'établissement de son texte. Ce sont: Pour la *Collection anonyme de Berlin*, l'unique ms. de la Staatsbibliothek de Berlin, ar. 10181, achevé, à ce qui semble, au milieu du XIVe s., et désigné par le sigle R; pour la *Collection de Macaire*, désignée par le sigle **m**, les quatre mss., Vatican, Barb. ar. 4, de 1350, ou ms. B; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., ar. Hungt. 31, de 1681, ou ms. O; Paris, B. N. ar. 251, de 1353, ou ms. P; Vatican, ar. 149, de 1372, ou ms. V; pour la *Collection jacobite*, le ms. Paris B. N. ar. 238, du XVe s., ou ms. J; pour le *Nomocanon* de Michel de Damiette, noté du sigle **d**, les deux mss. Paris B. N. ar. 4728, du 8 juin 1886, et Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ar. 10180, du 14 juillet 1211, avec les sigles A et M.

Sans aller jusqu'à classifier ces 8 manuscrits eux-mêmes, l'auteur détermine en cette façon la généalogie des trois collections qu'ils présentent. Il les fait descendre toutes trois, par leurs textes, d'un même ancêtre, *x*; les collections de Berlin, R, et de Michel de Damiette, **d**, par un intermédiaire commun, α; la collection de Macaire, **m**, par un autre intermédiaire β, un peu plus éloigné de *x* que ne l'est α. La collection de Berlin et celle de Michel se trouvent à égale de distance de *x*, celle de Macaire à une distance notablement plus grande.

Pour notre part, nous nous sommes diverti à mettre en œuvre pour la classification des trois collections et des huit manuscrits,

un procédé utilisé fréquemment avec de bons résultats: celui de l'évaluation quantitative ou numérique des leçons, procédé complémentaire de leur évaluation qualitative. A cet effet, nous basant sur le stemma fixé par l'auteur et la définition qu'il donne de son apparat critique, nous nous sommes servi des variantes des canons 4-9, pour lesquels sont présents les huit « testes », mais ne retenant de ces variantes, que celles qui forment paire. Impossible, en ce compte rendu, d'entrer dans plus de détails. Bornons-nous à dire que notre travail aboutit à un résultat à peu près identique à celui de l'auteur, une preuve que le procédé quantitatif est efficace, nous dirions indispensable à l'égal du qualitatif. En nous attenant, comme nous l'avons dit, au stemma établi par l'auteur, nous fixons aux mss. A et M de **d** respectivement les distances de 12 et de 16 leçons. De ces 12 ou 16 leçons, 11 sont communes aux deux manuscrits; ce qui détermine aussi la distance, par rapport à x, de leur souche commune, que nous désignerons par γ. De plus, une de ces 11 leçons, mais une seule, est commune à **d** (A, M) et à R, auquel, pour son compte, nous fixons la distance de 14 variantes, diminuant, en conséquence, très considérablement la distance que fixe le stemma susdit entre x et α. Quant aux manuscrits B, J, O, P et V, leur distance moyenne est de 17 ou 18 variantes, avec un maximum de 20 pour P, et un minimum de 14 pour V, le manuscrit sur lequel se base principalement l'édition des CHipA par Haneberg. Cette base V n'était donc pas si mauvaise. Ni plus ni moins mauvaise que R, ou, pour mieux dire, aussi bonne qu'elle?

La généalogie des collections déterminée, l'auteur formule les normes de leur utilisation pour l'établissement de son texte, normes « classiques », fondées sur le bon sens, et auxquelles il n'y a rien à objecter. Mais si grands que soient ses mérites, il reste toujours que le texte d'une édition critique n'est jamais que le résultat d'un système, d'un choix; une reconstitution hypothétique, plus ou moins sûre; qu'une édition critique est constituée autant par les variantes de son apparat que par son texte.

Le texte des CHip. est communément tenu pour être la traduction d'un texte copte. Mais personne jusqu'ici n'avait pris le soin d'en faire systématiquement la preuve, peut-être parce qu'il n'en était pas besoin, la chose étant patente. En tout cas, cette preuve méthodique est faite désormais par le P. Coquin, et corroborée des meilleurs arguments que lui suggérait sa foncière connaissance des deux langues. Ajoutons que ce copte appartenait au dialecte sahidi-

que. A la question plus délicate, si ce texte sahidique fut la langue originale des CHip., ou s'il n'était lui-même que la traduction d'un original grec, l'auteur répond affirmativement à cette deuxième interprétation, en appuyant son opinion sur des arguments peu nombreux, mais clairs et suffisamment probants. Plus difficile à résoudre encore est la question concernant la mesure dans laquelle la version arabe, faite au XIe siècle, est demeurée fidèle à l'original grec, lequel d'après l'auteur remonterait au cours du IVe siècle: un intervalle de huit siècles séparant d'un texte original grec, sa version en une langue toute différente, l'arabe, et divisé en deux séries de siècles par une traduction intermédiaire en une langue plus caractéristique encore, le sahidique. Grâce, en effet, à la découverte faite par l'auteur d'un texte malheureusement incomplet du *Nomocanon* du patriarche Gabriel Ibn Turayk, mentionné plus haut, il lui fut possible de conclure avec certitude que la traduction arabe des CHip. existait déjà au début du XIIe siècle en une rédaction étroitement apparentée à celle des CHipA dans le *Nomocanon* de Michel de Damiette. Quant à la date de la première rédaction des CHip., nous y revenons plus loin. Cette question touchant la correspondance entre les CHipA et les CHipG, l'auteur la résoud pareillement en sens positif: on peut considérer, estime-t-il, la présente version arabe des CHip. comme une traduction de l'original grec, sans interpolations ni amputations importantes. Même les déficiences d'ordre et les déplacements, en partie assez notables, qui se rencontrent dans les CHipA, se trouveraient déjà dans leur texte original, voire dans l'exemplaire de la *Tradition apostolique* utilisé par le rédacteur des CHipG. Nous n'en sommes pas aussi convaincu.

L'auteur conclut en ces termes l'article concernant les sources des CHip. La dépendance des CHip. par rapport à la *Tradition apostolique* est hors de question. Plus que source des CHip., cette *Tradition* en constitue la substance même. Presque sûrement, la *Didascalie*, et probablement, l'*Ordonnance apostolique* (ou *Canons apostoliques*) ont-elles été mises à contribution. Quant aux rencontres avec les CHip. que présentent certaines autres œuvres, ces ressemblances ne sont pas suffisamment caractéristiques pour démontrer une relation directe entre ces écrits et les CHip.

Au sujet de l'auteur des CHip., tout ce qu'il est possible de faire est de préciser, en les déduisant de son œuvre même, quelques traits de sa personnalité. Il fut sûrement un prêtre, aux tendances presbytérales très marquées; un docteur fort conscient de l'importance

de ses fonctions et jaloux de ses prérogatives. Il aurait même pris part aux travaux du concile de Nicée, auquel semble se rapporter le canon 1. Certains détails de l'écrit feraient penser qu'il était un Juif converti. Ces inductions ont en tout cas ceci d'intéressant, qu'elles sont de nature à prouver que le titre de *Canons d'Hippolyte* n'est pas une fiction présentant le document comme l'œuvre de ce personnage, mais une manière de déclarer que la substance lui en appartient. C'est manifestement comme son œuvre personnelle que le rédacteur des CHip. publie ce recueil.

A l'attribution qu'il fait aux CHip., d'une origine alexandrine, et qui nous paraît pleinement justifiée, l'auteur voit une objection dans la mention que fait le c. 22, de « la semaine de la pâque juive ». Pour la résoudre, il suppose que sur ce point le rédacteur des CHip. aurait simplement suivi la *Didascalie*, sans s'apercevoir de ce que l'usage décrit par elle ne concordait pas avec la pratique de l'Eglise alexandrine. Cette explication nous semble peu plausible. A notre sentiment, l'objection est tout bonnement nulle. L'appellation de « semaine de la pâque juive » désignait traditionnellement dans les milieux alexandrins la semaine sainte, du lundi au samedi, par opposition à la quarantaine subséquente à l'Epiphanie. D'abord séparées, semaine de la pâque et quarantaine avaient fini par se souder, tout en restant nettemente distinctes l'une de l'autre, comme le montrent encore les *Annales* du patriarche Eutychios (PG, 211, p. 989B-D). Appellation, au reste, parfaitement juste, puisque par ses origines la semaine sainte se rattachait incontestablement à une institution juive, mais laquelle ne signifiait aucunement que l'Eglise alexandrine du IVe siècle s'en remît encore pour la fixation de la date pascale au procédé empirique et approximatif des Juifs. En fixant astronomiquement la date de l'équinoxe de printemps, l'Eglise alexandrine entendait être plus juive que les Juifs par sa parfaite fidélité aux normes du comput pascal.

Par une démonstration concentrique très bien menée, l'auteur en arrive à fixer pour la composition des CHip. une date située entre les années 336 et 340. Conclusion séduisante. Ne l'est-elle même pas un peu trop? S'il fallait reconnaître malgré tout, que c'était bien à Hippolyte qu'il attribuait tout ce qu'il édictait dans ses canons, nous nous trouverions devant un bel anachronisme, que ne pouvait commettre un homme instruit vivant au IVe siècle. Au surplus, la fixation au IVe siècle de la composition des CHip., n'est pas sans susciter quelque difficulté.

Il y a d'abord le titre d'« archevêque de Rome » donné à Hippolyte, en arabe, par R (en trois endroits), par **m** et par Abû 'l-Barkat; en éthiopien, dans l'index de trois manuscrits relativement récents; en sahidique, en tête des *Gnomai* du concile de Nicée, dans le ms. Paris, copte 129[14], fol. 75. Pour le P. Coquin, l'appellation d'archevêque est un indice de l'antiquité du titre de *Canons d'Hippolyte*. Nous ne sommes pas du même avis. L'appellation d'archevêque pour désigner les évêques des sièges patriarcaux est restée, pensons-nous, en usage bien longtemps après le IVe siècle, en concomitance avec celui de patriarche. Ainsi, tous les mss. du groupe **m** emploient les deux appellations. Quant au témoignage des *Gnomai*, il ne doit pas être plus ancien que le ms. Parisien qui le présente, lequel est de l'an 677 p.C.n. Si ce titre avec son appellation d'archevêque de Rome est du rédacteur des CHip., la composition de ceux-ci ne peut pas être du IVe siècle. Comment imaginer qu'au commencement du IVe siècle, dans les doctes milieux Alexandrins, Hippolyte pût être tenu pour avoir été l'évêque légitime de Rome, au temps où siégeaient à Alexandrie Démétrios, Héraclas et Denys, ou Alexandre, Athanase et Pierre II?

Non moindre est la difficulté que crée la rubrique qui, après la description du baptême avec sa triple immersion et sa triple interrogation et réponse: « Crois-tu? », « Je crois », prescrit: « Et il dit chaque fois(!): Je (انى, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) te baptise au nom du Père et du Fils et de l'Esprit Saint, la Trinité égale ». Tels n'étaient assurément pas ni le rite baptismal ni la formule en usage dans l'Eglise Alexandrine au temps de saint Athanase, ni même de saint Cyrille; beaucoup moins encore au IIIe siècle. Si les CHip. furent composés au IVe siècle, la rubrique en question ne peut être qu'une grosse interpolation. Sans doute, dans l'Ordre égyptien de la messe et du baptême publié par A. Baumstark et attribué par lui au VIe siècle, se lit déjà la formule baptismale: « Je te baptise au nom du Père et du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, trinité égale »; mais il y manque le pronom انى; elle ne semble pas devoir être répétée; elle n'est pas précedée de la triple confession *Credis? Credo*. Sans l'OrEcL et dans l'OrEcS. B.A.E., cette même formule est totalement absente, bien que dans ces dernières recensions, le rite primitif ait déjà subi une modification. Plus radicale, la modification dans les rituels coptes plus récents. La triple confession y est totalement séparée de l'acte du baptême et la formule: « Je te baptise », etc., est à émettre de façon que les mots « Je te baptise au nom » et l'« Amen » final se prononcent trois fois, une

fois dans chaque immersion; par contre, chacun des noms divins, Père, Fils, Esprit-Saint, une seule fois en tout. Le fidèle TestSy, enfin, a maintenu intact le rite primitif de l'OrEcL. Le rite complexe des CHip. est donc totalement isolé.

Un détail nous a intéressé plus personnellement. Qu'il nous soit permis de le mentionner ici. Entre l'imposition de la main épiscopale (presbytérale, dans l'OrEcE) et la consignation finale de la cérémonie du baptême et de la confirmation, toutes les recensions de l'OrEc. et le TestSy présentent un rite constitué par l'onction de la tête du néophyte au moyen de l'huile d'action de grâces ou huile mystique, et par une formule commençant, avec quelque variation, en ces termes: « Je te oins d'huile sainte ». Or de cette onction nous constations et constatons dans notre *Liturgie d'Hippolyte* (p. 141 et 471) qu'elle manque totalement dans les CHip. De sa part, le R. P. Raes en faisait autant dans le compte rendu concernant l'*Essai de reconstitution de la Tradition apostolique* par Dom Botte. Il ne nous déplait naturellement pas de voir maintenant cette constatation pleinement confirmée par l'édition critique des CHip. (p. 382/3). Mais il y a plus. Alors que dans toutes les recensions de l'OrEc. et dans les TestSy, la consignation finale se fait sans aucune huile, la recension des CHipA propre à R et à A, mais elle seule, prescrit: « Et après cela (l'évêque) trace le signe de la croix sur leurs fronts au moyen de l'huile de l'onction, et les baise en disant: Le Seigneur soit avec vous ». Par contre, la recension de Macaire, ou **m**, dans tous ses manuscrits, stipule: « Et après cela (l'évêque) trace le signe de la croix sur leurs fronts par une consignation de charité, et les baise en disant: Le Seigneur soit avec vous». De ces deux leçons, laquelle est la «bonne», celle qu'il faut préférer?

Nous n'hésitons pas à répondre: la seconde. Et voici nos raisons que pour plus de clarté, nous nous permettons d'énumérer. 1. Il ne nous est nullement démontré que des recensions R et **m**, la première soit de tous points la meilleure. Elle peut l'être sur certains points, sans qu'il s'ensuive que sur d'autres la seconde ne le soit pas. W. Riedel, p. 196, n'affirme aucunement la supériorité de R sur **m**, mais il se contente de dire que R lui semble l'emporter sur le *Nomocanon* de Michel de Damiette (von diesen). Quant à leçon de R qui nous occupe, il la déclare, très prudemment, non point: « gewiss richtig », ni: « wahrscheinlich richtig », mais: « vielleicht richtig » (p. 213, n. 1). 2. R pourrait fort bien être, en réalité, tout seul à garantir sa rubrique, le témoignage de A étant à cet égard nul. Au canon 19, nous

avons, en effet, appliqué également le procédé de l'évaluation quantitative des variantes, mais pour aboutir à une conclusion quelque peu surprenante: en contraste avec la distance de 25 pour R, d'une distance moyenne de 28 pour **m** (BJOPV; B, 31; V, 27), nous obtenons pour A, — M manque malheureusement, — une distance de 67 variantes auxquelles s'ajoutent les 18 leçons par lesquelles A s'oppose aux autres manuscrits entre soi discordants. Et après tout, cette excentricité de A est-elle si étonnante pour un manuscrit ayant vu le jour en 1886? Que d'altérations a pu subir, en tant de siècles, le texte qu'il recueillait. A cela s'ajoute que la rubrique en question appartient à un rituel inséré dans le canon 19 et intitulé *Chapitre des catéchumènes*, dont les manuscrits peuvent s'être trouvés dans des rapports particuliers. 3. La leçon double: « au moyen de l'huile de l'onction » et « par une consignation de charité », ne peut pas être la conséquence d'une bévue de copiste, mais une des deux leçons a été délibérément substituée à l'autre, et cette rubrique substituée à l'autre ne peut être que la première. Comment, en effet, imaginer qu'à la prescription de l'emploi d'une huile spécifiquement et clairement déterminée, ait été substituée la mention d'une consignation de charité, simple qualification mystique du signe de croix tracé sur le front des néophytes? L'onction épiscopale (ou presbytérale) au moyen de l'huile de l'onction étant absente primitivement des CHip., l'emploi de cette huile s'est fait admettre postérieurement dans la recension R, pour y compléter la consignation finale. Quoi de plus naturel et de conforme à l'évolution des rites liturgiques? 4. Enfin comment ne pas tenir compte de la concordance entre la manière décrite par la recension **m** et celle que décrivent toutes les ordonnances autres que les CHip.?

Nous eussions été flatté de voir mentionnée parmi les études qui conservent un intérêt réel et une certaine utilité, notre *Liturgie d'Hippolyte*, rééditée en 1965, et dans laquelle il est quelque peu question des CHip. et des ordonnances leur apparentées. L'erreur que nous reproche la note 19, a pu être corrigée dans cette seconde édition, grâce précisément à l'extrême obligeance et générosité de l'auteur, lesquelles nous ont, en outre, mis en mesure d'opérer dans notre ouvrage l'une ou l'autre rectification. Nous avons eu ailleurs le plaisir de l'en remercier.

D'entre les *Index* alphabétiques qui terminent l'ouvrage, mérite d'être particulièrement signalé celui des *Termes arabes chrétiens*, où

pour chaque terme, en plus de sa traduction, est indiquée son origine morphologique ou sémantique.

Bref, nous sommes convaincu que l'excellente édition des CHipA que vient de publier le R. P. Coquin, constitue un apport de première importance pour la connaissance et l'étude d'un ensemble de documents extrêmement intéressants, parce qu'illustrant la constitution et la vie de communauté de l'Eglise primitive, en Egypte et ailleurs.

JEAN MICHEL HANSSENS S.J.

RECENSIONES

Theologica et patristica

IRÉNÉE DE LYON, *Contre les Hérésies*. Livre IV, édition critique d'après les versions arménienne et latine, sous la direction de A. ROUSSEAU, avec la collaboration de B. HEMMERDINGER, L. DOUTRELEAU, Ch. MERCIER. Paris 1965, tom. I-II, pag. 996 (= *Sources Chrétiennes*, 100).

Gli strenui editori delle « Sources Chrétiennes » hanno voluto e potuto segnare il loro 100° volume con uno sforzo compiuto da un valido *équipe* di autori. Essi ci offrono un autentico capolavoro nell'ottima edizione del libro IV dell'opera di Ireneo. L'edizione era stata oggetto delle cure del compianto P. Sagnard O.P. Ma i suoi successori hanno adottato altri criteri, più difficili e più utili. Per stabilire meglio l'antica versione latina non si sono decisi per uno dei due gruppi di manoscritti, come aveva fatto lo stesso W. W. Harvey, ma hanno scelto come norma l'antica versione armena che risulta più attendibile e serve per scegliere fra le diverse varianti della versione latina e non rare volte anche per correggere le sviste dei copiatori. La versione armena, tradotta in latino, va apposta in speciale apparato. Oltre a questa nuova voce, il Rousseau ha voluto aggiungere una retroversione greca fatta da lui. Così, attraverso queste tre voci — latina, armena e retroversione greca — si riesce ad avvicinarsi il più possibile all'originale greco perduto quasi interamente. Evidentemente la presente edizione supera e sostituisce tutte le precedenti.

Il primo tomo è tutto dedicato ai temi introduttivi. Colpisce l'erudizione e il chiaro ordine con cui vengono studiate anzitutto la tradizione latina, quella greca, raccolta nei florilegi, o quella siriaca, piuttosto scarsa, e quell'armena, molto importante per la sua completezza e la sua antichità. A continuazione si stabiliscono i valori critici di questi elementi di fronte al testo di Ireneo. Seguono numerose « note giustificative », un po' ampie, raccolte insieme per non intralciare poi l'andamento dell'edizione. Vengono poscia 3 appendici: per un miglioramento del testo armeno, la versione latina dei frammenti armeni e la concordanza dei capitoli secondo le diverse edizioni. Un vero inconveniente è infatti che la presente edizione seguendo, quasi sempre, la divisione in capitoli del Massuet seguita dal Migne, si sia spostata da quella di Harvey. Il tomo si chiude con l'indice biblico.

Quanto sarebbe stato utile aggiungere anche quello analitico di materie!

La presentazione tipografica è ben leggibile data la sua chiarezza e l'ottima distribuzione dello spazio. Gli editori di « Sources Chrétiennes » si meritano una vivissima lode e riconoscenza sia per questo volume « centenario » sia per la meravigliosa alacrità e qualità del loro lavoro!

I. ORTIZ DE URBINA S.J.

K. SARKISSIAN, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church*, London 1965, pag. 264.

Il chiaro autore ci offre un volume interessante ed erudito. Oltre alle fonti antiche armene egli conosce e cita studi moderni sull'argomento, fuorché quelli scritti in tedesco, come quello di A. Grillmeier sulla preparazione alla formula cristologica di Calcedonia, apparso nel *Konzil von Chalkedon*, opera che pure viene registrata nell'elenco bibliografico. Lo stesso si dica sul mio studio intorno al Simbolo di Calcedonia, pubblicato nello stesso tomo. Sarebbe stato utilissimo conoscere anche i libri di P. Th. CAMELOT, *Éphèse et Chalcedoine*, Paris [1962] e J. MONTALVERNE, *Theodoreti Cyrensis doctrina antiquior de Verbo « inhumanato »*, Romae 1948.

Lo scopo del libro è quello di ricercare di bel nuovo perchè, quando e come la Chiesa armena respinse il Concilio di Calcedonia (cfr. p. 6). L'autore si trova davanti a delle teorie, che egli elenca con ordine e chiarezza, secondo le quali il ripudio ufficiale del calcedonismo da parte degli armeni sarebbe stato una misura consigliata in gran parte da motivi politici e avrebbe avuto luogo o nel 491 nel sinodo di Valaršapat che avrebbe aderito allo « Henotikon », o nella prima metà del s. VI come associazione alla politica filo-monofisitica di Giustiniano. Al Sarkissian non piacciono queste soluzioni che considerano decisivo il giuoco politico nel monofisismo della Chiesa armena. Tutto il libro punta su un'altra tesi da lui così espressa: « Il rifiuto di Calcedonia non è qualche cosa di contingente, ma il risultato di un processo di mentalità e orientamento teologico » (cfr. 19-20). Questa tesi, molto comprensibile in un vescovo monofisita, ispira tutto il libro e credo che interferisce non poco nella ricerca scientifica. Il dotto autore conosce i fatti storici, ma si lascia portare dalla sua mentalità a *omettere* qualche volta avvenimenti che non giovano alla sua tesi, e a *interpretare* i fatti secondo criteri molto discutibili.

Ecco alcuni esempi. Nel presentare il I concilio di Efeso come cirilliano, in contrasto con quello di Calcedonia, da lui apprezzato come anticirilliano, dice: « Cyrilline christology or Ephesian tradition » (p. 34), dove sarebbe opportuno ricordare che il concilio di Efeso non si pronunciò mai per la formola « *mia physis* ». Gli antiocheni vengono identificati troppo semplicemente coi nestoriani, v. gr. " The struggle between the Orthodox and the Nestorians — in other words, between the Alexan-

drians and Antiochenes » (p. 36). Non si ricorda che anche Andrea di Samosata e Teodoreto — quest'ultimo solennemente in Calcedonia — finirono per condannare Nestorio (p. 36). Chiama « nestoriana » ogni cristologia « separatistic or dualistic », mentre può essere dualistica ma non separatistica, come quella romana e quella di Calcedonia (p. 39). Interpreta che gli antiocheni, pur avendo detto l'anatema contro Nestorio, sentivano infatti come lui (ib.). Presenta il concilio di Calcedonia come una vittoria di Leone papa che voleva accrescere il suo potere sulla Chiesa a costo di Cirillo (cfr. p. 52-56). Perché allora non si ricorda che un altro Papa, Celestino, si valse di Cirillo a Efeso dove anche si manifestò il primato della sede romana? Il concilio di Calcedonia non fu anticirilliano, pur avendo preferito la cristologia diofisitica. Si poteva ricordare che due lettere di Cirillo furono inserite nel Decreto dogmatico del sinodo, per non parlare delle acclamazioni in onore del dottore alessandrino. La seconda lettera di Cirillo, contiene, come si sa, il simbolo antiocheno che lo stesso Cirillo aveva ammesso nel 341 per fare la pace con gli « Orientali ». Ora, secondo gli Atti del Concilio di Calcedonia un 600 vescovi orientali firmarono tale documento, come anche il Simbolo diofisitico del Concilio. Non è logico affermare che questa concordia si dovette a motivi politici e che invece il rifiuto susseguente fu opera di coscienza teologica. Nel numero delle interpretazioni entra anche il giudizio secondo il quale i « nestoriani » (cfr. p. 58) considerarono il concilio di Calcedonia come « opera propria ».

Quando si passa da queste pagine alle seguenti il consenso del lettore è più frequente e facile. Specialmente utili sono i capitoli 2, 5 e 7. L'Autore esamina attentamente tutti gli scritti armeni prima di Calcedonia — così scarsi! — e dopo. Nella breve corrispondenza fra Sahak e Proclo e Sahak e Acacio, immediatamente posteriore al concilio di Efeso, non vi è niente di chiaro e positivo a favore di una cristologia monofisitica degli armeni. Tanto Proclo quanto Acacio di Melitene sono contrari a Teodoro Mopsuesteno, ma Proclo non affermò la « *mia physis* ». Gli armeni vi ricevono il consiglio di diffidare del Mopsuesteno. È un orientamento antinestoriano, ma niente altro. Lo stesso Cirillo, che denunciò il Mopsuesteno, aveva prima fatto la pace con Giovanni d'Antiochia e Paolo di Emesa. Soltanto le due « Lettere » armene, recentemente scoperte, ci danno la prova storica del monofisismo della Chiesa armena. Quella prima, a mio parere, soltanto attraverso indizi, mentre la seconda, che appartiene al tempo dello Scisma Acaciano, dice espressamente che si ripudia il sinodo di Calcedonia. Quindi del monofisismo della Chiesa Armena non abbiamo prima prove certe. Si può ammettere che anche prima i vescovi armeni furono piuttosto sotto l'influsso antinestoriano, esacerbato anche dall'atteggiamento dei nestoriani nella nemica Persia. Ma se si vogliono escludere i fattori politici nell'anticalcedonismo degli armeni, come vuole il Sarkissian, molte cose restano senza spiegazione. Così il fatto, da lui anche giudicato « sorprendente » (p. 49), che furono proprio gli antiocheni a fondare la più potente Chiesa anticalcedoniana.

Il giudizio complessivo è positivo in quanto il detto autore ci presenta una serie di fatti con ordine e chiarezza, anche se non sempre con la auspicabile completezza. La tesi del Sarkissian verrà ammessa

facilmente da quelli che partecipano del suo punto di vista anticalcedoniano, e invece verrà respinta da molti altri. Ad ogni modo è un'opera degna di studio e di rispetto.

I. ORTIZ DE URBINA S.J.

G. WEISS, *Studien zum Leben, zu den Schriften und zur Theologie des Patriarchen Anastasius I. von Antiochien* (559-598), Studia Anastasiana I, München 1965 [*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 4], p. 234.

Trátase de una « Inauguraldissertation » o tesis, escrita bajo la dirección del prof. H. G. Beck, insigne bizantinista de la Universidad de Munich. El volumen contiene una monografia completa sobre el bastante ignorado patriarca antioqueno. Con orden y diligencia se expone su biografía, a continuación sus escritos publicados e inéditos, y por fin un resumen de su doctrina teológica en la que resalta naturalmente su cristología y su doctrina sobre la Trinidad en lucha contra los « triteistas ». En esta polémica tiene Anastasio puntos de contacto con los monofisitas que tambien los combatían, por más que el patriarca antioqueno aceptara el concilio de Calcedonia. Como también es interesante observar que habla de una cierta *unidad* de la operación en Cristo, dando a esta unidad y al consiguiente « monoenergismo » un matiz moral. No cabe esperar rasgos definitivos cuando aún no estaban esclarecidos los términos. Habria de pasar casi un siglo para llegar al Concilio III de Constantinopla.

Probablemente la parte más original y valiosa de la tesis que reseño es la segunda, dedicada a una investigación cuidadosa de todo cuanto lleva el nombre de Anastasio, aunque todavía no haya salido de la oscuridad de los archivos.

El estimable trabajo de Weiss era digno de una presentación tipográfica más digna y asequible. Esto ultimo lo digo porque resulta una tortura para la vista ese bosque de tipos menudos, impresos según algún método artesano. De las bien dotadas universidades alemanas es de esperar que mejoren el género de presentación tipográfica para ventaja de los doctos lectores.

I. ORTIZ DE URBINA S.J.

Erich TRAPP, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem " Perser "* (Wiener byzantinische Studien, Band II). Wien 1966, grossoktav, 95 + 318 pages with 4 plates. Price, Paper, öS 396.

This edition of Manuel II's *Dialogue with a ' Persian '* for the first time puts the full text of the Emperor's twenty-six dialogues at the disposition of scholars. It appears at a propitious moment,

for the late Vatican Council has roused a new interest in religious relations between Christianity and Islam. The student, however, will have to labour to acquire his knowledge, for the Greek text fills 302 large octavo pages, and there is no translation. He will be rewarded for his toil by receiving instruction on almost every point of religious doctrine, for the dialogues are long and detailed. The Author gives an outline of their content on pp. 62*-84*: *a*) *The Polemical Dialogues*: I The immortality of angels; II-III The character of the Mohammedan paradise; III-IV Man and Animal; IV True bliss; V Legends about Mohammed; V-VII The person of the Prophet and his doctrine; VIII The Paraclete: b) *The Truth of the Faith* = VIII-IX: c) *Apologetic Dialogues*: X-XIX The Trinity and Christology; XX Veneration of images; XXI-XXIV The Christian doctrine of salvation; XXV-XXVI The Apostles; XXVI The conclusion of the Work.

The Introduction, covering the first 95 pages of the book, begins by reviewing previous Byzantine literature dealing with Islam and tracing how later authors utilised their predecessors' labours, e.g., Cydones and Cantacuzenus reproducing long passages from St Thomas Aquinas and the Italian Ricoldo. Manuel wrote his *Dialogue* probably in 1392/3, aware of, but not servilely copying, the works of Ricoldo, Cydones and Cantacuzenus. The Introduction ends with a short list of later polemical writers on Islam and their sources. Indexes of references, of proper names, of special Greek words in the text, with an index specially for the Introduction and 4 plates of photographs of MSS, complete the book.

This beautifully printed text will be the standard edition of this work and of very great value to the specialist both of comparative religions and of Palaeologan literature.

J. Gill S.J.

Keetje Rozemond, *Archimandrite Hierotheos Abbatios 1599-1664*, Universitaire Pers, Leiden 1966, 7 illustrations, 101 pages. Fl. 14,50.

The story of the contacts of Dutch Calvinists with Cyril Lukaris is well known. Less known are their endeavours to follow up and consolidate the impression they had made in Constantinople. The subject of this study, a monk from Cephalonia, passed several years in Leyden translating Calvinist religious works into Greek for dissemination in the east. He willingly accepted Lukaris's profession of faith, but its Calvinistic tone was inevitably modified in his Greek versions by orthodox overtones. The results of the propaganda are not noted; possibly they cannot be assessed.

The life and activities of the Archimandrite occupy 43 pages of this beautifully printed book. The history thus recounted is sub-

stantiated by 44 pages of documents. The whole is rounded off very satisfactorily by indexes of personal and geographical names and by a bibliography which, even though deliberately selective, should have mentioned the writings on this period of Prof. Karmiris of the University of Athens.

J. GILL, S.J.

Augnst LEIDL, *Die Einheit der Kirchen auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien*. Von Konstanz bis Florenz (= Konfessionskundliche und kontroverstheologische Studien. Herausgegeben vom Johann-Adam-Möhler-Institut. Bd. XVII). Verlag Bonifacius-Druckerei, Paderborn 1966. Grossoktav, 233 pages. Bound DM 16.80

The purpose of this book is to illustrate the ideas about Church-unity, i.e., unity of the Eastern and Western Churches, current in the first half of the fifteenth century. The author takes his facts (and sometimes his phraseology) from others. His special contribution is the selection he has made of those facts to give a brief account sufficient for his purpose and the addition of more or less lengthy résumés of discourses or writings from some outstanding personalities of the period that expose some aspects of Church unity. The treatment falls naturally into three parts, one for each of the Councils of Constance, Basel and Florence, which are of unequal length since relations with the Greeks were scarce at Constance, somewhat more abundant at Basel, but nearly the whole of the Council of Florence. The method of writing — an historical introduction, a résumé of some discourse, a more general conclusion — leads to repetition (e.g. pp. 19s. and 33s; 35s. and 61s.). The bibliography has some surprising lacunae (besides omitting some *opera* quoted in the narrative); e.g. mention of a treatment of the historical value of the sources of the Council of Florence, Petit's edition of the documents on Purgatory and on Mark Eugenicus, the *Opera omnia* of Scholarios-Gennadios (cf. p. 105 n. 68) with their valuable introductions and appendices, my *Eugenius IV* etc. (My *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, which would have been of great use to the author, probably appeared after his book was in the press). There are a few misprints e.g. pp. 32 (n. 7 dià monì should be one word), 48, 84, 132. The discourse of Traversari synopsised on pp. 159-160 was written but never delivered. Whether the Greeks at Constance ever received permission to celebrate their Liturgy in their lodgings is doubtful: Zhishman, quoted by the A. as his authority p. 15 n. 10, perhaps mistook for Greeks Gregory Camblak and his priests portrayed in Richental's illustrated account. On p. 152 near the top and on page 212 towards the bottom, it would be better to read 'saints' for 'Fathers' because it was precisely as saints, i.e. as imbued by the Holy Spirit, that they could not, in the Greek thought of that time, contradict the Holy Spirit's activity in each other.

The minor defects mentioned above are few and of very little importance in a very interesting book. In simple style the A. gives a clear account of the chief events of the period. The first time that a new personage of importance is mentioned in the narrative a footnote gives a very useful thumb-nail *curriculum vitae*. The synopses of discourses are detailed but not too long and help to an appreciation of the attitude of that day. If the earlier pages of the book are largely dependent on others, the later ones are the fruit of the A's own assessment of the history he has recounted, especially in connection with the definition of papal powers in the decree of union with the Greeks. In this regard the A's conclusions are somewhat more negative than mine — perhaps because he takes the word 'privilegia' more literally than I do — but he gives his reasons.

Altogether this is a very satisfactory book, which can be recommended for those who wish for a straightforward account of the events of the early fifteenth century in their significance for Church unity.

J. GILL, S.J.

Edith KLUM, *Natur, Kunst und Liebe in der Philosophie Vladimir Solov'evs, Eine religionsphilosophische Untersuchung*. Vorrede von Fedor Stepun, Verlag Otto Sagner, München 1965 (= *Slavistische Beiträge*, Herausgegeben von A. SCHMAUS, München, Band 14), 333 Seiten, DM 34.

Nach einer Vorrede und einer Einführung wird der Gegenstand der Untersuchung in zwei Hauptteilen dargelegt. Der erste Teil enthält die religionsphilosophische Grundlage für Teil II und ist in 6 Kapitel (mit einem kurzen Rückblick) gegliedert: 1. Untersuchungen über die Herkunft der Sophienlehre Solov'evs. 2. Das Chalkedonische Christusbild und die Menschenlehre des Ostens. 3. Existenz und Essenz (Das wahrhaft Seiende und die Wesenheit). 4. Der trinitarische Prozeß in seiner Doppelstellung. 5. Die Anthropologie Solov'evs. 6. Die Weltseelen-Lehre Solov'evs. Im zweiten Teil werden drei Aufsätze Solov'evs interpretiert: 1. Die Schönheit in der Natur. 2. Der allgemeine Sinn der Kunst. 3. Der Sinn der Liebe. Auch hier folgt eine kurze Schlußbetrachtung. Die zum Teil sehr langen Anmerkungen mit Aufweis von Abhängigkeiten, Quellennachweisen, geistesgeschichtlichen Parallelen, hier und da auch Harmonisierungsversuchen oder kritischen Bemerkungen erstrecken sich über 100 Seiten (S. 219-320). Ein Literaturverzeichnis, Personen- und Sachregister sowie ein Nachwort (der Danksagung, besonders an F. Stepun und A. Dempf) beschließen die Untersuchung.

Die Verfasserin hat einen lohnenden, aber schwierigen Gegenstand gewählt, sich mit Erfolg um den Nachvollzug der Gedanken Solov'evs bemüht und hat diese dem Leser in Teil I und II über-

sichtlich und klar dargelegt, in den Anmerkungen aber gezeigt, wie Solov'evs Ideen in der jüdischen Kabbala, im Platonismus, Neuplatonismus, in der östlichen Patristik, im westlichen Mittelalter und im deutschen Idealismus wie in der protestantischen Mystik eines Jakob Böhme verwurzelt sind.

Die in den Anmerkungen stehende wichtige kurze Zusammenfassung (S. 319-20) hätte wohl besser im Text selber ihren Platz gefunden. (Da die Arbeit mit großer Sorgfalt angefertigt wurde, ist es nicht recht erklärlich, wie im Personen- und Sachregister nicht nur manche im Buch vorkommende Namen, sondern auch zahlreiche Seitenzahlen ausgefallen sind).

Unsere kritischen Bemerkungen zu dieser ausgezeichneten Untersuchung sind vor allem theologischer Art. E. K. hebt mit Recht hervor, daß Solov'ev « Mystiker und Metaphysiker zugleich » (S. 11) war. Doch ist mit dem Philosophen und Mystiker untrennbar der Theologe verbunden. Da Solov'ev *christlicher* Philosoph sein wollte, ließ sich in dieser « religionsphilosophischen Untersuchung » die Theologie tatsächlich nicht ausklammern. Aber sie ist doch wohl an manchen Stellen etwas zu kurz gekommen. So wird am Schluß des ersten Kapitels von Teil I (S. 32-33) nicht klar, was eigentlich die orthodoxe Kirche an der Sophienlehre Solov'evs, Berdjaevs — er war übrigens nur in sehr begrenztem Ausmaß Sopianiker — und Bulgakovs zu beanstanden hatte, warum (durch die Moskauer und Karlowitzer Hierarchie) eine Verurteilung erfolgte, die Solov'ev zwar nur indirekt, aber doch sehr wesentlich betraf.

Wenn die Verfasserin sodann im Anschluß an L. Müller meint, das religiöse Bewußtsein Solov'evs habe sich im wesentlichen aus der Verschmelzung zweier geistig-religiöser Welten gebildet: der russisch-ostkirchlichen Frömmigkeit und der abendländischen theosophischen Philosophie (S. 34), so stimmt dies zwar großenteils bezüglich der Logos-Sophia-Konzeption, die den Kern der vorliegenden Untersuchung ausmacht, nicht aber bezüglich der gesamten religiösen Synthese Solov'evs. Hier gibt es eine dritte wesentliche Komponente, nämlich die Einbeziehung der kirchlichen Überlieferung Roms, die in « La Russie et l'Eglise universelle » mit der Sophiakonzeption verbunden wird (z. B. in Teil 3, wo von der Sophia, der göttlichen wie der sozialen Trinität — von Vaterschaft (des Hohenpriesters), Sohnschaft und Prophetenamt — die Rede ist. Da Solov'ev in seine Synthese auch die orthodoxe östliche wie die katholische westliche Glaubensüberlieferung einzubeziehen bemüht war, entsteht die Frage, ob ihm dies, gerade in jenen Lehrpunkten, wo Ost und West übereinstimmen, auch tatsächlich gelungen ist.

Hierzu ein paar Beispiele: Was den kirchlich-traditionellen Personbegriff anlangt, so ist nicht — wie K. (S. 35 ff.; 57; 79-80; 254, Anm. 9) anzudeuten scheint — Person gleich Existenz und Natur gleich Essenz, sondern der volle Personbegriff schließt die Essenz oder Natur ein. Dementsprechend entfernt sich Solov'ev von der (alten vorpalamitischen und von der katholischen) Überlieferung, wenn er Gott-Person real von Gott-Natur, wie Logos von Sophia unterscheidet. Sehr richtig bemerkt dazu K.: « Der Auseinanderfall von Logos und Sophia, d.h. ihre Unterscheidung als wirkende Einheit (Logos) und gewirkte Einheit (Sophia), führte zum doppelten Selbstbewußtseinsprozeß der Gottheit » (S. 258, Anm. 32). Zur Klärung des orthodoxen und katholischen Person-Begriffes wäre es nützlich gewesen, nicht nur auf Leontius von Byzanz zu verweisen, sondern auch auf Johannes von Damaskus — er fehlt in der Untersuchung — und auf die westliche Hochscholastik. Aufschlußreich wäre die Beantwortung der Frage, wie weit Solov'ev selbst sich dessen klar bewußt geworden ist, daß diese Scholastik in der kirchlichen Überlieferung zwischen Maximus dem Bekenner und ihm selber steht (vgl. S. 53).

Mit Solov'evs Unterscheidung zwischen ewigem Logos und ewiger

Sophia hängt es sodann zusammen, wenn er wie Origenes die Präexistenz der Seelen lehrt und wenn er im Grunde die Schöpfung aus dem Nichts, vor allem der Einzelseelen, leugnet, mag er sie auch bisweilen scheinbar zugeben (vgl. S. 58; und 90-92 mit 196).

Ein anderes Beispiel: K. bedient sich wiederholt einer für orthodoxe wie katholische Hörer befremdlich klingenden «religionsphilosophischen» Redeweise. Sie spricht z.B. von der «nicäischen Logosverschiebung vom zweiten Gott zum ersten Gott» (S. 100; vgl. 53) oder von «der uns bekannten Erhöhung des Logos vom zweiten Gott zum ersten Gott durch die erste nicäische Entscheidung vom Jahre 325» (S. 258, Anm. 32); sie scheint also an eine Dogmen*entwicklung* zu denken, während Solov'ev verschiedentlich zu erweisen sucht, daß es sich in der kirchlichen Tradition nur um Dogmen*entfaltung* oder Dogmen*fortschritt* handeln könne.

Eine andere Frage: Hat Solov'ev folgerichtig die Ideenwelt vom Logos in die von ihm real unterschiedene Sophia übertragen? Ist mit seiner Auffassung, daß die höheren organischen Formen seit Ewigkeiten in der Vernunft des Weltkünstlers vorgezeichnet sind (S. 136) und daß der Weltkünstler der Logos ist (S. 278-79, Anm. 95), die Behauptung vereinbar, nach Solov'ev bleibe nur noch die Sophia mit der «Welt der Ideen» identisch, der Logos aber stehe oberhalb der «Welt der Ideen» (S. 258-59, Anm. 32 und 43)?

Gut zeigt K., wie Solov'ev die verschiedenen Ordnungen des menschlichen Seins auf Gott überträgt (S. 62 ff.). Doch könnte hier eine grundlegende Kritik ansetzen und dartun, daß unser Philosoph trotz bester Absicht einem zu anthropomorphen Denken verhaftet bleibt. Bei aller Objektivität der Darstellung und allem Wohlwollen zum Trotz gelingt es K. nicht, das Widerspruchsvolle der Solov'evschen Weltseelenlehre zu beseitigen (S. 98 ff.). Im Rückblick, am Ende von Teil I, meint K., Solov'ev sei wegen seines Glaubens an die fleischliche Auferstehung kein Gnostiker und er sei kein Pantheist, weil er scharf zwischen Existenz/Gottheit und Essenz/Menschheit unterscheide (S. 113). Doch fragt sich, ob die Absicht allein ihn rechtfertigen kann, wenn er immer wieder das Materielle, Leibliche mit negativem Akzent versieht und wenn er eine unwirkliche Unterscheidung in Gott anbringt, in dem tatsächlich Existenz und Essenz zusammenfallen.

Beim Lesen eines Zitates (auf S. 66-67; SOL. III, 88) hat man den Eindruck, als ob Solov'ev den realen Unterschied der drei göttlichen Personen leugne; was natürlich nicht stimmt. Es heißt in der deutschen Übersetzung: «Gott, welcher sich in drei ununterschiedenen und seinsgleichen Subjekten verwirklicht...». Das Mißverständnis ist entstanden durch die Übersetzung von «nerazdel'nych» mit «ununterschieden», statt «ungeteilt» oder «ungetrennt». Noch an anderer Stelle charakterisiert K. die Sophia Solov'evs als «intelligible Gesamtseele der unsterblichen Menschheit (menschliche Existenz) im Gegensatz zur Aristotelisch-Thomistischen Geistseele des menschlichen Einzelwesens (menschliche Essenz)» (S. 101). Diese Charakteristik scheint uns mißverständlich zu sein, da ja das menschliche Einzelwesen nach Aristotelisch-Thomistischer Auffassung nicht nur Essenz ist, sondern auch Existenz.

Die in Teil II analysierten Aufsätze Solov'evs (vgl. die Besprechung von Band VII der «Deutschen Gesamtausgabe» in dieser Zeitschrift XIX (1953), S. 431-34) gehören zum Tiefsten und Schönsten, was er uns hinterlassen hat. Gleichwohl finden sich besonders im Aufsatz über den Sinn der (Geschlechts-)Liebe zahlreiche Unklarheiten, Unausgeglichenheiten, unbewiesene Behauptungen, ja Trugschlüsse und, im Vergleich zur kirchlichen, orthodoxen wie katholischen Lehre, Akzentverschiebungen. Solov'ev leugnet, daß der Sinn der geschlechtlichen Liebe in der Vermehrung der Gattung liege (S. 161). Geschlechtsliebe und Vermehrung stünden in umgekehrtem Verhältnis zueinander; je stärker die eine, um so schwächer sei die andere (S. 162). Er stellt fest, daß sich beim Menschen die stärkste Geschlechtsliebe auch unter völligem

Ausschluß der Vermehrung als möglich erweist (S. 162). Doch was folgt aus diesen Sätzen? Folgt daraus nur, daß sich die Geschlechtsliebe menschlicher Personen nicht in der « Vermehrung der Gattung » erschöpft (vgl. den Sinn des « Hohenliedes Salomons »), oder etwa, daß sie gar nichts mit der Kindererzeugung zu tun hat, daß sie nicht wesentlich auf das Kind hingeordnet ist? « Vermehrung der Gattung » — wie auch « Ehe als soziale Einrichtung » — hat bei Solov'ev einen überwiegend negativen Akzent. Eine solche Ausdrucksweise läßt aber vergessen, daß die persönliche Nachkommenschaft von Menschen, die sich persönlich als leiblich-geistig-geistliche Wesen lieben, ein gegenseitiges lebendiges Geschenk und Einigungsband von Mann und Frau darstellt. Das Kind tritt nach Anordnung des Schöpfers nicht ungehörig zwischen die Liebe der Eltern, ist nicht nur « Vermehrung der Gattung », steht nicht nur, wie Solov'ev unterstellt, im Dienste der « schlechten Unendlichkeit ». Mit Recht hat K. bei Solov'ev eine « Depotenzierung des Körperlichen » angemerkt (z.B. S. 302, Anm. 144). Im höchsten leib-seelischen Wesen, dem Menschen, der Person und Individuum zugleich ist, bedeutet *das eine Kind* den Normalfall, im Gegensatz zur jeweils zahlreichen Nachkommenschaft niederer Lebewesen; *kein Kind* aber bei großer gegenseitiger Geschlechtsliebe ist nicht — wie Solov'ev zu verstehen gibt — Normal- oder Ideal-Fall, sondern Ausfall, Unfruchtbarkeit (vgl. die Hl. Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testamentes über diese). Solov'ev übertreibt selbst bezüglich der Tiere, deren « schlechte geradlinige Form unbegrenzter Vermehrung » nur « die Wiederholung eines und desselben Organismus im einförmigen Wechsel einzelner zeitlicher Existenzen » sein soll (S. 211). In Wirklichkeit aber — und das wissen die Tierfreunde sehr wohl — gleicht kein individuelles Tier vollkommen dem anderen an Veranlagung, Charakter und « Intelligenz ». Vergebens bemüht sich Solov'ev einerseits zu trennen, was der Urheber der menschlichen Personnatur verbunden hat, um dann andererseits wieder die größten Anstrengungen zu machen, das Auseinanderfallende zusammenzuraffen (vgl. abermals S. 302, Anm. 144).

Noch ein paar kleine Bemerkungen: Für die Bibliographie wichtig ist eine Studie von Erzpriester G. FLOROVSKIJ über die Verehrung der Sophia in Byzanz und Rußland: *O počitanii Sofii-Premudrosti Božiej, v Vizantii i na Rusi, Trudy V-go s''ezda russkich akademičeskich organizacij za granicej v Sofii 14-21 sentjabrja 1930*, I, S. 485-500. Vgl. auch A. M. AMMANN S.J., *Darstellung und Deutung der Sophia im vorpetrinischen Rußland, Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 4 (1938), S. 120-156. — Wie der Slavenapostel Konstantin-Cyrill eine Vision der Sophia-Weisheit hatte (S. 223, Anm. 1), so auch im mittelalterlichen Westen der selige Heinrich Seuse. — Solov'evs Anstrengungen, spekulativ die Notwendigkeit des Todes zu überwinden (S. 206 ff.; 211 mit Anm. 239), sind u.a. durch N. Fedorov verursacht (über ihn siehe: *Russische Denker*, usw., Wien 1950, S. 201 ff. — Siehe im gleichen Buch auch im Sachweiser das Stichwort « Sophialehre »). — Lohnend wäre eine Studie über Solov'evs evolutionistisches Weltbild (vgl. S. 103-4; 216) im Vergleich mit Teilhard de Chardin, dessen Name in der Untersuchung nicht vorkommt. (Eine andere aufschlußreiche Parallele zwischen beiden Denkern hat gezogen Karl Vladimir Truhlar, *Teilhard und Solowjew, Dichtung und religiöse Erfahrung*, Freiburg/München 1966).

Unsere kritischen Bemerkungen sollen nicht als negative Kritik genommen werden, sondern vielmehr zu weiterem Studium anregen; denn die Arbeit von E. Klum ist eine höchst anerkennenswerte spekulative Leistung und trägt bedeutend zu einer vertieften geistesgeschichtlichen Erkenntnis der Philosophie Solov'evs bei.

BERNHARD SCHULTZE S.J.

B. NEUNHEUSER, O.S.B., *Baptême et Confirmation*, traduit de l'allemand; *L'Eucharistie*, II. *Au Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne*, traduit de l'allemand par A. Liefooghe (= *Histoire des Dogmes*, Tome IV: *Sacrements*, Fascicule 2 et 4b), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1966, pag. 249 et 149, 18 et 12 F.

Taufe, Firmung und Eucharistie bilden seit dem christlichen Altertum eine Einheit als Initiationssakramente, als Einweihung in das Christenleben. So ist es denn zu begrüßen, daß in der neuen französischen « Histoire des Dogmes » die Dogmengeschichte dieser drei Sakramente vom gleichen Autor geschrieben wurde, der als Liturgiker und Sakramententheologe bekannt ist. Es lohnte sich der Mühe diesen, bereits in deutscher Sprache vorhandenen Anteil nunmehr in französischer Übersetzung herauszugeben.

Der erste der beiden Bände handelt — wie kurz auf S. 7, ausführlich am Schluß, S. 243-49, angegeben ist — von Taufe und Firmung in der Hl. Schrift, im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert, im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert in West und Ost, am Ende des patristischen Zeitalters; zur Karolingischen Zeit und in der Hochscholastik; von der Tauf-Theologie in der Hoch- und Spätscholastik und seit dem Konzil von Trient bis zur Gegenwart; und schließlich von der Firmung als vollkommen unabhängigem Sakrament.

(Band 4a, über die Eucharistie im christlichen Altertum steht noch aus.) Im zweiten von P. Neunheuser veröffentlichten Band (siehe S. 7 und 147-49) wird die mittelalterliche Eucharistielehre von Ost und West dargestellt; und zwar zuerst im Osten, von Johannes von Damaskus bis zum Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz, dann, weit ausführlicher, im Westen: in der Früh-, Hoch- und Spätscholastik, zur Zeit der Reformation und des Konzils von Trient und dann seit dem Konzil von Trient bis auf unsere Tage.

Wenn der Verfasser im ersten Kapitel des 2. Bandes in die Darlegung der mittelalterlichen Eucharistielehre auch die Meinungen der von Rom getrennten großen Liturgiekommentatoren mit hineinnimmt, so wäre eine solche Miteinbeziehung grundsätzlich auch in der späteren Zeit möglich gewesen. Daß die orthodoxen Kirchen — ausgenommen den päpstlichen Primat — mit der katholischen Kirche den gleichen Glauben teilen, wie N. meint (S. 11), stimmt doch nur, wenn man von den eucharistischen Kontroversen absieht, von denen einige sehr wohl auch das Dogma betreffen. Gerade die Tatsache, auf die N. mit Recht verweist, daß bereits bei Johannes von Damaskus das Wort « Antitypa » nicht mehr den ursprünglichen Sinn hat (S. 16), war ja einer der Anlässe, die Konsekration in die Epiklese zu verlegen. (Vgl. auch den Artikel von P. Bonifatius BENZING O.S.B., « *Ex hac altaris participatione* », *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, 3 (1952), S. 272-85.) — Zum Konzil von Florenz (S. 27-28): Es wäre nützlich gewesen, neben Mansi auch auf die neue Ausgabe: « Concilium Florentinum, Documenta et Scriptores », Rom 1940 ff. zu verweisen. N. unterstreicht die Identität des Eucharistieglaubens von Ost und West auf diesem Eingungskonzil. Doch wird gerade von Syropulos, dem Gegner und Geschichtsschreiber des Konzils, diesem der Vorwurf gemacht, daß es über die Epiklesekontro-

verse so leicht hinweggegangen sei. — Gegen Ende von Kapitel 6 wäre vielleicht auch ein Hinweis auf die viel diskutierte Schrift von Karl RAHNER, *Die vielen Messen und das eine Opfer*, Freiburg i.B. 1951, nützlich gewesen.

Jeder der beiden Bände enthält eine auf den gegenwärtigen Stand gebrachte Bibliographie. Die klare, übersichtliche Darstellung ermöglicht eine leichte Orientierung in der Dogmengeschichte von Taufe, Firmung und Eucharistie. Der Nutzen der Veröffentlichung liegt auf der Hand.

B. SCHULTZE S.J.

Historica

Kirche im Osten, Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde. In Verbindung mit dem Ostkircheninstitut herausgegeben von Robert Stupperich, Band 9 - 1966, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht in Göttingen, 198 Seiten, DM 16.80

Auch in diesem Jahre weist das Jahrbuch einen mannigfaltigen, reichen Inhalt auf, an Aufsätzen, Chronik, Literaturberichten und Buchbesprechungen. Zwei Bildtafeln sind beigegeben. Sie zeigen den 1965 verstorbenen Rektor des Orthodoxen Theologischen Instituts des hl. Sergius in Paris, Bischof Kassian, und Erzpriester Sergij Bugakov, der bis zur seinem Tode (1944) Dekan desselben Institutes gewesen war.

Wie der Herausgeber im Vorwort sagt, sollte auch dem Einfluß, den das II. Vatikanum in der Welt ausübt, Rechnung getragen werden. Wir heben aus dem Inhalt das hervor, was für die « Orientalia Christiana Periodica » von größerer Bedeutung ist.

Über die Kirchenkonferenz in 'Addis 'Abbäba, d.h. die Versammlung der Oberhäupter der orientalischen (monophysitischen) Kirchen vom 15.-21. Januar 1965 berichtet E. Hammerschmidt (S. 13-21). Wichtig ist hier zu wissen, in welchen Beziehungen diese Kirchen zur griechisch-slavischen Orthodoxie stehen, zu Rom (an das man die Bitte richtet: « to reconsider its theory and practice both of maintaining uniate churches and of proselytizing among members of our churches ») und zu den nichtorthodoxen Mitgliedskirchen des Weltkirchenrates, vor allem zur alt-katholischen und anglikanischen Kirche (S. 20). Vom 7.-10. Januar 1965 hatte (hinter verschlossenen Türen) eine Theologenkonferenz stattgefunden. Vertreter der griechisch-slavischen Orthodoxie, die zur Kirchenkonferenz eingeladen worden waren — Gespräche hatten ja schon vorher stattgefunden, so in Aarhus (Dänemark) vom 11.-15. August 1964 —, sagten jedoch ab. Zur Ausführung der Beschlüsse und Koordination der Arbeit hat die Kirchenkonferenz ein Komitee eingesetzt, bei dem « eigenartigerweise » (S. 20) die armenische Kirche fehlt, die sich zum großen

Teil in der Sowjet-Union befindet. Liegt der Grund vielleicht darin, daß man auf der Konferenz den Kaiser von Äthiopien zum « Defensor fidei » erklärt hat (S. 21)?

Sehr schön ist der Bericht von Sergij Bulgakov aus den « Autobiographischen Notizen » über seine Priesterweihe (1918) (S. 22-30); wo er auch auf seine persönlichen Beziehungen zu Patriarch Tichon zu sprechen kommt.

Der Aufsatz von Erzpriester Nikolaj Afanas'ev, *Die Kollegialität der Bischöfe in orthodoxer Sicht* (S. 31-42), — in französischer Sprache in *Le Messager Orthodoxe*, Num. 29-30, 1965, S. 7-15 — wird hier mit Nutzen dem deutschen Leser zugänglich gemacht. Er setzt sich vom Standpunkt der « eucharistischen Ekklesiologie » (vgl. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965), S. 21-52 und 277-294) mit der auf dem Vatikanum II herausgestellten Lehre auseinander. Es ließe sich mancherlei zu Afanas'evs Darlegung der katholischen Lehre bemerken. Dieser entspricht es z.B. sicher nicht, daß der Eintritt ins Bischofskollegium die individuelle Nachfolge des Bischofs verschwinden lasse (S. 34, Num. 3). Jeder Bischof hat seine geschichtlich-persönliche Nachfolge, wenn diese auch bei der Mehrzahl der Bischöfe nicht bis zur apostolischen Zeit geschichtlich festgelegt werden kann. Ein anderes Beispiel: A. spricht von « traditionell katholischer Lehre », derzufolge der Bischof vom römischen Papst die jurisdiktionelle Macht in seiner Kirche empfängt (S. 39, Num. 6). Es handelt sich aber nur um eine in den letzten Jahrhunderten vorherrschende Lehre, die gerade im Vatikanum II dadurch näher bestimmt worden ist, daß der Bischof schon durch seine Weihe die seinmäßige Teilnahme an den heiligen Ämtern erhält (wozu auch das Hirtenamt gehört).

Konkret und anschaulich und aufschlußreich für die Stellung der ukrainischen Hierarchie gegenüber der ukrainischen Folklore und Literatursprache ist der Beitrag von Johann Senkiv, Volkstümliche Überlieferungen und Kirche in der Ukraine (S. 43-66).

Sehr zu begrüßen ist im diesjährigen Jahrbuch der Überblick über *Die Rumänisch-orthodoxe Kirche in ihrer jüngsten Entwicklung* (1944-1964), von Flaviu Popan (S. 67-82). Es ist der Zeitraum des Neubaus der kirchlichen Organisation (u.a. mit Unterdrückung der Union), « der Unterordnung der Kirche unter die staatliche Gewalt » (S. 67, Anm. 1), des Rechtes des Patriarchen, auch gegen den Willen der Bischöfe Entscheidungen zu treffen (S. 69), des neuen Verhältnisses von Kirche und Staat (S. 69 ff.) und der letzten theologischen Entwicklung (S. 77 ff.), von der u.a. gilt: « Andererseits hat der lebensnahe Charakter der heutigen Theologie die Orthodoxe Kirche in vielen Punkten näher an das katholische Denken herangeführt, denn sie muß jetzt die von der Außenwelt gestellten Probleme behandeln, für deren Lösung die katholische theologische Literatur sich oft als unentbehrlich erweist » (S. 81). Trotzdem widersetzt sich die Rumänisch-orthodoxe Kirche dem Dialog mit Rom (wofür u.a. wieder hingewiesen wird auf « die unierten Kirchen als einem Mittel zur Union sowie auf jede Proselytenmacherei ») (S. 156, unten in der

Chronik). Ihre ablehnende Haltung dem Konzil gegenüber und der Person des Papstes Paul VI. wird — offenbar unter dem Druck der kommunistischen Regierung — anders begründet: « Man wirft ihm vor, den Dialog mit der atheistischen Ideologie gebremst und die wahren Lebensprobleme zurückgestellt zu haben. Statt den Dialog zu fördern, spreche der Papst von der Kirche des Schweigens » (S. 156).

Im Jahrbuch findet sich (als Literaturbericht) noch ein weiterer wertvoller Überblick: von Horst Röhling, *Die gegenwärtige bulgarisch-ortodoxe Theologie im Spiegel ihrer Jahrbücher* (S. 175-181).

Erwähnt seien auch drei weitere Beiträge: Paul Wrzecionek, *Humanismus und Aufklärung im Denken der polnischen Brüder* (S. 83-100); Karl Schaper †, *Jürgen Nikolaus Hahl — der Pionier des « Rauhen Hauses » in Narwa* (S. 101-116); und (als Literaturbericht): Klaus Schaller, *Die gegenwärtige Comenius-Renaissance und ihr literarischer Niederschlag* (S. 182-190).

In der Chronik (S. 117-173) haben wieder Fachleute die verschiedenen Gebiete bearbeitet: Sowjetunion, Polen, Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, Jugoslawien, Rumänien, Bulgarien und Griechenland, und viel interessantes Material gesammelt.

Zu den Buchbesprechungen nur die eine oder andere Bemerkung: Der Rezensent der ersten Werkes (S. 191-192) stellt fest: « So ist man erstaunt, wie wenig Ökumenismus also die griechische Orthodoxie in der Tat zeigt ». Dies gilt aber doch nur von einer « fast hyperkonservativen Sicht der Orthodoxie ». Daß man aber in jeder orthodoxen und auch in der römisch-katholischen Sicht « in all den Monophysiten und Nestorianern, den Arianern und anderen lediglich Verirrte, Häretiker, Ketzer zu erkennen vermag », stimmt doch nicht mit den Tatsachen. Man fragt sich, ob der Rezensent jemals mit Aufmerksamkeit das Dekret des Vatikanum II über den Ökumenismus gelesen hat. — Beachtlich ist in der letzten Buchbesprechung (von P. Hauptmann) (S. 194-195) der letzte Abschnitt, wo der Verfasser des rezensierten Buches, Michael Bourdeaux, *Opium of the people. The Christian Religion in the U.S.S.R.*, London 1965, auffordert: « kundzugeben, daß wir den Wunsch der Sowjetregierung nach einer Schattenkirche, die in der UdSSR selbst keine Glieder hätte, aber über einflußreiche internationale Verbindungen verfügte, durchschauen und davon nicht beeindruckt sind ».

B. SCHULTZE S.J.

Nikolaus v. ARSENIEW, *Die geistigen Schicksale des russischen Volkes*, Verlag Styria, Graz-Wien-Köln 1966, 303 pages.

We are indebted to Professor Nikolai Arsenev for several books on Russian theological thought. In this book, the author turns his attention to history to analyse the " Russian problem ". This work reveals the rich harvest that he has gathered from his historical

research, from his extensive reading in Russian literature, and from his own personal experiences and reflections.

The author divides the collected material into two parts.

In the first he examines the spiritual forces which determined in the past the Russian way of life, — and which have still not been stifled despite the Marxist ideology which has been forcibly superimposed on the people for the last fifty years. At the very core of these forces — which the author calls *dynamic tradition* — is the Christian faith in its particular Russian interpretation. In connection with this central issue other points are raised concerning: the relation between East and West; the role of the Church in the life of the nation; the contradictory elements in the Russian character, etc. Although a good deal of the material has already become common knowledge, the author synthesizes it in a new and pleasing way.

The second part interprets some important events and problems of Russian history: the peasant question; the Russian state ideology; the role of Russian autocracy; and the origins and transformation of the revolutionary movement. It is understandable that the author views with sympathy the " Holy Russia " of old and that he condemns revolutionaries " who loved more revolution than the people ". On the whole, the author has striven for a balanced and objective presentation. In fact this attempt is one of the real merits of the book.

The author is correct in stating that the October Revolution with its horrors was in no way a necessary outcome of the previous development. Likewise one can generally accept author's belief that the great reforms beginning with Alexander II cast the seeds of a sound and promising future, and would have flourished except that they were crushed in 1917. One would have, however, appreciated if Professor Arsenev had treated in more detail how he evaluates the last fifty years of Russian history and how he considers that the dynamic tradition of the past has survived to our own day.

J. KRAJCAR S.J.

A. ARVANITIS, Ἡ Κοπτικὴ Ἐκκλησία, Athens 1965, 124 pages.

This book is divided into 3 chapters. The first relates the history of the Coptic Church up to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs (49 pages); the second brings the history up to date and then deals separately with the relations of the Copts with Rome, the Protestants and the Orthodox (17,-10 pages); the third outlines the present situation of the Coptic Church and describes the main points of its administration, doctrine, canon law, art, monasteries and culture (31 pages). The first chapter is the most detailed, rather too detailed in parts with its lists of rapidly succeeding names of writers and hierarchs, and perhaps it over-stresses the political factors in the division between Constantinople and Egypt. The history from 634

to 1946 in 17 pages is obviously more than sketchy, but the account of the relations of the Copts with other Christians and the descriptions in chapter 3 are very informative. The bibliography (pp. 117-21) is rich, but surprisingly omits several useful articles by O.H.E. Burmester and G. Hofmann in earlier numbers of *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, though the author is acquainted with the periodical.

Altogether this is a worth-while book.

J. GILL, S.J.

Pierre MAHFOUD, *Joseph Simon Assemani et la célébration du Concile libanais maronite de 1736. Traduction française des mémoires d'un témoin avec Introduction et Notes*, Rome, ed. Pont. University of Lateran, 1965, in-8°, pp. 116 (= *Corona Lateranensis* 5).

The book gives a French translation of an Arabic diary of the mission of the Apostolic Legate Assemani to the Lebanon from June 1736 to February 1737. The Arabic text has been published twice in 1927 (abbreviated) and 1957. The MS. of it is kept in the Maronite Patriarchal Archives in Békerké. The translator, however, has used only the published text of 1957. Assemani, then Prefect of the Vatican Library, composed a whole code of laws for the Maronite Church and was successful in having it accepted at the short Synod of Mt. Lebanon of 1736 (Sept. 27-Oct. 2). The remaining time of Assemani's mission was spent mostly in carrying out the abolition of mixed monasteries imposed by the Holy See. The MS. describes in rather tedious detail the sumptuous receptions given to the Apostolic Legate in each place and the strong measures he took to break the resistance to his mission on the part of the Patriarch, some bishops, and a few monasteries.

The reading of the diary, though jejune from a canonical point of view, may still be of service to canonists for a better understanding of the decrees of the Maronite Synod of 1736. P. Mahfoud, however, has rendered a great service to historians by his translation and still more by his excellent and copious footnotes that explain almost every proper name found in the manuscript.

IVAN ŽUŽEK S.J.

Giovan Luca BARBERI, *Beneficia Ecclesiastica*, a cura di Illuminato PERI (Università degli Studi di Palermo, Istituto di Storia, Testi e Documenti, I), U. Manfredi Editore – Palermo, I (1962), II (1963), in-8°, pp. 241-315.

Giovan Luca Barberi († non molto dopo il 1521) è figura assai nota ai cultori di storia del diritto italiano e a quelli di storia della

Sicilia tra la fine del '400 e l'inizio del '500 (vedi Filippo LIOTTA in *Dizion. Biogr. degli Italiani*, VI, 1964, pp. 158-161). Poco o nulla si sa della sua vita privata, come pure dei suoi studi giuridici che gli procurarono una competenza speciale nella *ragione feudale*, per cui potè raggiungere l'alta carica da lui stesso definita col titolo di « Magister notarium regie Cancillarie ». In altri termini, il Barberi fu un procuratore fiscale al servizio dei viceré spagnoli di Sicilia, specialmente all'epoca di Ferdinando il Cattolico.

Occupando tale carica, ebbe affidato l'incarico regio di *inquirere* sullo stato giuridico dei feudi e dei benefici ecclesiastici di Sicilia. Lo scopo era: riguardo ai feudi, mettere in luce le eventuali irregolarità nel loro possesso da parte dei nobili feudatari e, quindi, favorirne la devoluzione al fisco; riguardo ai benefici ecclesiastici, stabilire gli eventuali diritti della corona sopra vescovadi, abbazie, priorati, chiese, canonicati, ecc.

Le *inquisitiones* del Barberi richiesero la collaborazione di altri esperti e vari anni di lettura, trascrizione e studio di diplomi, testamenti, « provisiones regiae » ed altri documenti d'archivi pubblici e privati. Frutto di tali fatiche in servizio degli interessi del sovrano furono varie opere, scritte dal Barberi con notevole diligenza di ricercatore e di giurista. Fino a qualche decennio fa, di tali scritti era stato pubblicato soltanto il più famoso, il *Capibrevio* (edito, ma solo in parte, negli anni 1879-1907 tra i *Documenti per servire alla Storia di Sicilia*), benchè i mss. fossero usati fin dal sec. XVII.

Questa edizione dei *Beneficia Ecclesiastica* a cura di I. Peri si inserisce nel quadro di iniziative « ecdotiche » sorte in vari circoli storici siciliani di questi ultimi decenni. Servendosi del ms. originale, conservato nell'Archivio di Stato di Palermo (Fondo manoscritti – n. 47) e dell'« unica copia reperibile » (ms. Qq H 68; 71; 73: della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo) il Peri offre un'edizione dei *Beneficia* che soddisfa in buona parte le esigenze scientifiche odierne. Trascrizione e correzione sistematica del testo, relativo apparato critico, introduzione storica e indici rendono i due volumi d'utile e facile uso. La loro utilità sarebbe stata accresciuta, a nostro parere, da un sia pur sobrio commentario storico e linguistico: i rimandi bibliografici fatti ogni tanto dal Peri non ci sembrano davvero sufficienti.

Ma anche in tale veste, il testo rivela subito al lettore i grandi servizi che esso può rendere ai cultori di storia siciliana, ecclesiastica e dei rapporti tra Stato e Chiesa. Le continue citazioni dirette o indirette di documenti spesso non più reperibili, rendono i due volumi particolarmente preziosi e, quindi, particolarmente meritoria la fatica di chi li ha pubblicati per la prima volta.

CARMELO CAPIZZI S. J.

Matteo SCIAMBRA, *Bogdanica. – Studi su Pietro Bogdani e l'opera sua*, vol. II: *Saggio sul lessico scientifico e culturale del Bogdani*, (Centro Internazionale di Studi Albanesi – Palermo), Casa Editrice Prof. Riccardo Pàtron, Bologna 1965, in folio, pp. LI-68, s.p.

La figura di Pietro Bogdani (1630-1689) è molto nota ai cultori di studi albanesi. Recentemente Gaetano Petrotta (*Svolgimento storico della cultura e della letteratura albanese*, Palermo 1950, pp. 136-138) e Giuseppe Schirò (*Storia della letteratura albanese*, Milano 1959, pp. 83-88) hanno tracciato un profilo incisivo tanto della sua personalità quanto della sua opera.

Nato a Guri i Hasit, compì gli studi medi nel Collegio Illirico di Loreto e quelli filosofici e teologici nel Collegio Urbaniano di Propaganda Fide; ordinato sacerdote, ripartì per l'Albania avendo « chiesto ed ottenuto di andare missionario nella regione di Pulati » (Schirò, *op. cit.*, p. 84), già da anni in rivolta aperta contro i Turchi oppressori. Nel 1656, ancora ventiseienne, il Bogdani fu nominato vescovo di Scutari e, di lì a poco, amministratore dell'archidiocesi di Antivari; nel 1677 fu eletto arcivescovo di Scopia, per succedere allo zio Andrea troppo avanzato in età, alla quale carica si aggiunse pure quella di « administrator totius regni Serviae ». Alcuni anni dopo, costretto dalle autorità turche, dovette abbandonare la patria e rifugiarsi in Italia. Fu ospitato dal Cardinale Barbarigo a Padova, dove attese alla pubblicazione dell'opera « che doveva assicurare ai posteri il suo nome » (Schirò, *op. cit.*, p. 85).

L'opera in questione consta di due volumi in folio: I – *Cuneus prophetarum de Christo Salvatore mundi et eius evangelica veritate, italice et epirotice contexta, et in duas partes divisas a Petro Bogdano Macedone*..., II – *De vita Jesu Christi Salvatoris mundi*..., Padova 1685. Essa ebbe fortuna, a giudicare dalla diffusione di cui fu oggetto e dalle ristampe che se ne fecero dopo la morte dell'autore: 1691 (?), 1702, 1940.

Tale successo si dovette non solo all'utilità pastorale dei due volumi, che contenevano una specie di somma catechetica, molto ben articolata ed adattata alle popolazioni cui si rivolgeva, ma anche al fatto che essi rappresentavano la prima opera letteraria scritta direttamente in lingua albanese. Il Bogdani, a differenza di alcuni suoi connazionali predecessori in tale genere di lavori (ad es. Gjon Buzuku, Luca Matranga, Pietro Budi, Francesco Blanco), non tradusse dal latino o dall'italiano in albanese, ma fece esattamente il contrario: dovendo, per ragioni pratiche, presentare un'opera catechetica bilingue, prima scrisse in albanese e poi tradusse in italiano. Le difficoltà linguistico-letterarie dovute affrontare, e in gran parte sapute superare, impongono il Bogdani alla considerazione dei moderni come « il fondatore della prosa letteraria albanese » (così il Tagliavini, citato da G. Petrotta, *op. cit.*, p. 136). In altri termini, quest'opera ripete il fenomeno molto frequente nella storia missionaria del Cristianesimo: lo zelo apostolico e l'amore alla personalità linguistica del

popolo da evangelizzare determinano la comparsa di un'opera scritta, che darà il via allo sviluppo letterario e culturale di quel popolo.

Che questa caratteristica basti a rendere l'opera del Bogdani degna di indagini d'ogni indirizzo e finalità linguistico-culturali, è il meno che si possa dire. Perciò non è necessario insistere sull'utilità — e, forse, la necessità — del faticoso lavoro a cui s'è dedicato lo Sciambra con lo scopo preciso di illustrare la vita e l'opera di Pietro Bogdani. In questo II volume, la cui pubblicazione ha dovuto precedere non solo quella del III ma anche quella del I, egli affronta forse il tema più arduo di tutte le sue ricerche: mostrare come il Bogdani abbia saputo piegare la rude parlata dei suoi connazionali (ghego e tosco) ad esprimere con efficacia e chiarezza le sfumature astratte del pensiero teologico e filosofico.

Lo Sciambra pensa che il Bogdani raggiunse in buona parte la mèta prefissasi « con un triplice accorgimento: precisione e vaghezza di lingua, ricchezza di linguaggio e considerevole evoluzione linguistica » (p. XLVII).

Non ci sembra il caso di analizzare i termini di questa tesi, la cui dimostrazione, del resto, verrà continuata nei due volumi seguenti. Qui ci basterà accennare che questo I volume presenta in riproduzione anastatica il frontespizio, gli avvertimenti ortografici, il primo e secondo « discorso » della « scala » prima, il terzo « discorso » della « scala » seconda del *Cuneus prophetarum*, e l'ultimo « discorso » del *De vita Jesu Christi* (ediz. di Padova, 1685, vol I, pp. 1-11. 69-77; vol. II, 155-162). Tale riproduzione è seguita da una bibliografia essenziale (pp. XXXIX-XL), da un'introduzione storico-letteraria che usufruisce di fonti ancora inedite (pp. XLI-LI), da due minuziose analisi, riccamente documentate, sulle « deficienze » (pp. 1-20) e su i «pregi» del linguaggio del Bogdani (pp. 21-31), infine da un glossario raccolto nei quattro « discorsi » riprodotti ed analizzati in questo volume.

Ci pare superfluo rilevare la sicurezza di metodo dello Sciambra, ormai non più novizio nella linguistica albanese e nello studio di testi antichi della lingua di Scanderbeg (qui ricorderemo soltanto la sua edizione e il commento di *Mbi Malin e Truntafilevet* di F. Crispi Glaviano, Palermo 1963 e della *Dottrina cristiana* di L. Matranga, Città del Vaticano 1964). Sarà invece opportuno rilevare il grande interesse che il suo lavoro potrà presentare agli studiosi di cose albanesi, ai balcanologi ed ai glottologi in genere.

CARMELO CAPIZZI S.J.

Otto MARKL, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in « fränkischer » Zeit* (= Byzantina Vindobonensia, hrsg. vom Kunsthistorischen Institut und dem Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität Wien, (Band I), Verlag Böhlau, Graz-Wien 1966, in-8°, pp. 66.

Lo smembramento dell'impero bizantino operato nel 1204 dai partecipanti alla IV Crociata implicò, fra l'altro, una vasta e profonda

trasformazione dei toponimi greci di territori, città, monti, fiumi, ecc., di quell'area geografica nota storicamente col nome vago di Levante. Era inevitabile che il tentativo di ripetere un toponimo greco in latino, francese, veneziano, genovese, toscano, ecc., portasse a traslitterazioni, traduzioni e deformazioni d'ogni genere. Era poi non meno inevitabile che tale fenomeno passasse dall'uso parlato a quello scritto, e che pertanto improntasse diplomi, atti notarili, diari di viaggiatori, cronache ufficiali e private, portolani, opere geografiche, opere storiche, narrativa e poesia. Questo già basta a far intuire le difficoltà che spesso incontrano bizantinisti o storici del tardo Medioevo in genere nella lettura di certe fonti; ma bisogna ricordare anche quelle derivanti dal fatto non infrequente che il toponimo greco fu soppiantato da una denominazione « franca », priva di qualsiasi rapporto lessicale o concettuale col vecchio predecessore, che, d'altra parte, non venne bandito sempre del tutto. Perciò a volte la stessa città o lo stesso golfo presentano vari nomi presso scritti della stessa epoca e lingua.

O. Markl ha sentito la gravità del problema posto da questo settore della toponomastica bizantina e levantina. Ha cercato di aiutarsi raccogliendo del materiale e ordinandolo in modo adatto. Ora ha avuto l'idea di pubblicare le sue circa due mila schede in forma di dizionario.

I due mila toponimi riguardano la penisola greca e le isole disseminate lungo le sue coste, Creta e Cipro comprese; sono stati ricavati da un repertorio di fonti, opere generali di geografia e storia, e di studi, che conta ben 196 numeri (pp. 11-18). Ogni toponimo costituisce un lemma disposto secondo l'alfabeto tedesco. Se ha un ascendente greco, questo è riprodotto accanto in caratteri greci; in ogni caso è seguito dall'indicazione in cifre arabiche della fonte da cui è stato desunto e, se non è più usato nella Grecia odierna, è seguito da una *freccia* che rimanda al toponimo ivi ancora in uso. I toponimi generalmente ancora usati nella Grecia d'oggi sono i lemmi scritti in grassetto, seguiti molto spesso dall'originale greco, e accompagnati sempre da una breve spiegazione geografica e da tutte le varianti greche, latine, francesi, italiane.

Riferiamo un esempio. P. 28: Cufalonia ⟶ Kephallenia **86**, 655; p. 39: KEPHALLENIA = Κεφαλληνία; in der Gruppe der Jonischen Inseln ~ Califerne ~ Ciffalunia ~ Cufalonia ~ Zafalonia ~ Zinfalonia ~ Zufala.

Il Markl è conscio del carattere sperimentale di questo suo abbozzo di dizionario toponomastico. Egli si aspetta che gli studiosi interessati contribuiscano allo sviluppo dell'opera con le loro osservazioni.

Noi ci limitiamo a rilevare l'utilità del quaderno già pubblicato e ad auspicare che il Markl ed altri proseguano in quest'opera tanto ingrata quanto scientificamente meritoria, utilizzando anche quelle collezioni di documenti non recensiti in questo saggio, ad es. R.I. PREDELLI, *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica Veneta*, Venezia

1876-1878 (6 voll.); K. N. SATHAS, *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Grèce au. Moyen-Age*, Paris 1880-1890. (9 tomi in 5. voll.); IDEM, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (*Bibl. graeca medii aevi*), Venezia-Parigi 1872-1894 (7 voll.).

CARMELO CAPIZZI S.J.

Niceforo BASILACE, *Encomio di Adriano Comneno*. Testo edito per la prima volta, con apparato critico, introduzione, commentario a cura di Antonio GARZYA, G. Scalabrini Editore, Napoli 1965, in-8°, pp. 111.

Del retore Niceforo Basilace († verso il 1180) si hanno scarse notizie; il fatto poi che egli nel 1157 fu condannato da un sinodo costantinopolitano come eresiarca insieme a Soterico Panteugene, metropolita suffraganeo di Teopoli di Antiochia, e Michele di Tessalonica (cfr. PG, 140, 177 ss.) contribuì non poco alla dispersione dei suoi scritti e alla loro tradizione anonima. Perciò è impresa molto ardua ricostruire la fisionomia di questa notevole personalità del mondo culturale bizantino del sec. XII.

Il prof. Garzya s'è sobbarcato a tale impresa. Dopo aver pubblicato alcune lettere inedite del Basilace (cfr. *Bollett. Comit. Ediz. Naz. Class. Greci e Lat.* 7 [1959] pp. 59-64; *Byz. Zeitschr.* 56 [1963], pp. 228-233), ora ci presenta la prima edizione di un suo encomio che celebra Adriano Comneno, cugino di sangue dell'imperatore Giovanni Comneno (1118-1143) e metropolita di Bulgaria sotto il nome monacale di Giovanni († dopo il 1166).

Il valore storico-letterario e storico-politico di questo discorso, composto secondo i canoni del λόγος βασιλικός è più che notevole. Lo studio di esso ha condotto il prof. Garzya a tali risultati storici, letterari, linguistici, da rendergli possibile di raggiungere con queste pubblicazione finalità suggestive e piuttosto infrequenti in questa genere di pubblicazioni: « Ma questo volume vuole anche, attraverso lo studio di un autore, contribuire alla conoscenza dei modi espressivi, delle strutture retoriche e umane dell'età sua. Nel commentario sono pertanto attentamente rilevati, oltre ai luoghi paralleli e ai dati storici, antiquarî, ecc., i fatti linguistici e ' kulturgeschichtlich '. Si addita la continuità di antichi sintagmi accanto alla creazione di nuovi, e delle variazioni e innovazioni si cerca l'origine, ora letteraria ora scolastico-grammaticale ora popolare (non rari sono anche i richiami al greco moderno). Sul terreno linguistico si mostra insomma che l'accettazione dell'antico a Bisanzio non è un fiacco e banale fardello, ma attiva riviviscenza. Si mostra poi anche come questo encomio, nel mentre segue i canoni del λόγος βασιλικός, si inserisce in un'antica tradizione d'idee e cerchi insieme di saldarla alla realtà presente » (p. 5).

Bisogna riconoscere che tali obiettivi, propri di un « preciso orientamento metodico » patrocinato da bizantinisti quali Franz Dölger,

Marcello Gigante e N. B. Tomadakis, come sottolinea il prof. Garzya (pp. 5-6), sono stati raggiunti.

L'introduzione, infatti, contiene tanti dati importanti e ben documentati sulla personalità e l'opera letteraria del Basilace (pp. 11-16), sulla paternità basiliciana dell'encomio in questione (pp. 18-21), sul suo valore storico e letterario (p. 22), sulla tradizione del suo testo giuntoci soltanto nel codice Scor. gr. *Y* II 10 (pp. 22-23). Dati analoghi si trovano pure nell'apparato critico, soprattutto importante per l'indicazione delle fonti prossime e remote del Basilace, e nel vasto commentario (pp. 57-91).

La somma di tali dati, il sunto-parafrasi dell'encomio (pp. 92-98), la minuziosità degli indici (pp. 101-109) dimostrano l'estrema serietà scientifica con cui il prof. Garzya ha lavorato mettendo a profitto una eccellente preparazione filologica, una fine sensibilità linguistico-letteraria e una vasta informazione storica.

Questo volume, nonostante le sue modeste apparenze, costituisce uno dei contributi più solidi alla ricostruzione storica della Bisanzio dei Comneni alla metà del sec. XII.

CARMELO CAPIZZI S.J.

Angelo TAMBORRA, *Imbro I. Tkalac e l'Italia* (Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano — Biblioteca Scientifica — Serie II: Memorie, Vol. XXIV), Roma 1966, in 8° gr., pp. 357.

Chi è Imbro I. Tkalac? Un Croato, nato a Karlovac sul fiume Kupa nel 1824, che studiò a Graz, Berlino, Heidelberg e al Collège de France di Parigi potè seguire anche le lezioni di Adam Mickiewicz. Nel 1846, ancora studente, visitò Firenze e Roma; due anni dopo presentò all'Università di Heidelberg la tesi: *De religione christiana in Slavis introducta-propagata-reformata. Commentatio historico-philosofica.* Così ottenne il dottorato con un lavoro che può considerarsi il « punto d'arrivo e punto di partenza verso altri traguardi e più mature esperienze di studio e di vita pratica » (p. 28). Le letture vastissime e lo studio costante, protratto per tutta la durata della sua vita, fecero dello Tkalac « l'uomo di maggiore cultura fra gli Slavi meridionali del secolo scorso » (p. 18).

Dal 1848 in poi, egli pretese sempre di essere un cristiano anti-dogmatico, un anti-absburgico risoluto, un fautore accanito dell'unificazione degli jugoslavi; per meritare quest'ultima qualifica, il Tkalac non ebbe difficoltà a superare l'innato croatismo e a simpatizzare col serbismo. Mediante un foglio di sua fondazione, *Ost und West*, si lanciò a Vienna alla difesa degli interessi delle popolazioni slave; ne ebbe in ricompensa il carcere e l'esilio. Nel 1863 riparò in Italia e vi trovò possibilità di vita e di azione politica e culturale aderendo a « quell'impegno risorgimentale e cavourriano e poi garibaldino che aveva visto, viva e attiva, la collaborazione di Italiani e Croati e

Serbi e Polacchi e Magiari e Romeni e Bulgari e Greci nel comune sforzo di ascesa nazionale » (p. 7).

A tutto ciò il Tkalac seppe aggiungere un'attività accanita di giornalista e scrittore contro il Papato e il Potere temporale dei Papi. Attività favorita anche dal suo ufficio: per ben 36 anni (1872-1908) egli ebbe un posto stabile nel Ministero degli Esteri d'Italia, dove godette grande stima non solo per le sue funzioni strettamente burocratiche di traduttore ed interprete, ma anche per la sua competenza in questioni riguardanti la Monarchia absburgica, l'Oriente slavo e il Vaticano.

Nel 1894, nei suoi *Ricordi*, Tkalac caratterizzò sé stesso dicendo: « Sono cittadino italiano da una generazione e sotto il profilo politico patriota italiano altrettanto completo come poterono esserlo Cavour e Garibaldi, ma il mio sentimento nazionale slavo è in me ancora così vivo come all'epoca in cui si era in me ridestato » (p. 7).

A questa figura singolare di « patriota ed agitatore, di uomo politico e di cultura e finissimo intenditore d'arte » il Prof. Tamborra dedica il saggio presente. Frutto di ampie ricerche in archivi italiani e stranieri (cfr. « Nota archivistica », p. 339), esso tende ad offrire un profilo completo del Tkalac facendo ampi accenni alla sua attività politica a Zagabria e a Vienna, descrivendo la temperie culturale e politica dell'ambiente romantico in cui si operò la sua formazione e cominciò a dare i primi suoi frutti, ma, soprattutto, mettendo in risalto i suoi rapporti con l'Italia e la sua lunga e molteplice attività sul suolo italiano.

Dei vari temi toccati o sviluppati, ci soffermiamo a rilevare il valore eccezionale di quello che occupa il capitolo intitolato: « Il Concilio Vaticano » (pp. 125-143). Tale capitolo è dominato, per così dire, da un documento di grande importanza storica: *Rapporti sul Concilio Vaticano. Lettere particolari di Emerico Tkalac al Ministro degli Esteri E. Visconti Venosta* (Roma, 20 gennaio-25 luglio 1870). Questi « Rapporti », scritti in francese, vengono pubblicati per la prima volta in questo volume (Appendice, pp. 225-338). Il Prof. Tamborra, analizzandoli, ne ha ricavato conclusioni molto interessanti.

Il Tkalac, come incaricato d'affari del Ministro Visconti Venosta, venne a Roma il 19 gennaio 1870 e subito si mise in contatto con Mons. Strossmayer, suo « illustre compatriota ed amico ». Grazie alle precise informazioni di questo prelato e di quelle che veniva raccogliendo presso altri vescovi e diplomatici stranieri, non esclusi i circoli della Curia Romana, l'abile incaricato fu in grado di tenere il governo di Firenze costantemente e minutamente informato: gli spedì, fino al 21 luglio 1870, ben 84 rapporti. Si pensi che il Tkalac seppe cattivarsi anche il patriarca dei Melkiti uniti di Antiochia, Gregorio III Youssouf; e i colloqui confidenziali dei due sono di grande interesse: essi permettono di fare un confronto fra l'atteggiamento dei Melkiti al Vaticano I e quello al Vaticano II.

Nei « Rapporti » si parla anche dei dissensi armeni, passati da Costantinopoli a Roma.

Il Prof. Tamborra osserva: « Da tutto l'insieme (di tali « Rapporti ») ... esce un quadro del Concilio e dei suoi problemi più polemico che sostanziale, più di atmosfera generale, esterna, che ovviamente di questioni teologiche o disciplinari » (p. 139). « ... Tkalac — per la sua adesione alle idee di Mons. Strossmayer — ... è interamente schierato dalla parte della minoranza antiinfallibilista » (p. 141). I suoi « Rapporti », « anche se essi indulgono talvolta al pettegolezzo..., tuttavia [mostrano che] il livello della prestazione è altissimo, degno di un diplomatico di razza e di grande preparazione, non solo politica ma filosofica, teologica e religiosa » (p. 143). Le informazioni e valutazioni inviate a Firenze dal Tkalac, specialmente l'ultima del 21 luglio (chiusura del Concilio), stanno senza dubbio all'origine della decisione « piemontese » di occupare Roma quanto prima — ciò che si verificò il 20 settembre del '70 stesso.

Della sua fede religiosa il Tkalac scrisse nel 1894: « ... i miei studi mi avevano reso un ribelle ... non soltanto contro la Chiesa cattolica ma contro tutte le credenze positive... » (p. 16). Due anni dopo scriveva al suo benefattore Visconti Venosta: « ... Credo in Dio, ma non credo nel Diavolo, e perciò la morte non ha per me nulla che mi spaventi » (p. 188). Ma, come osserva il Prof. Tamborra, gli ultimi anni del Tkalac, « oppressi dalla quasi cecità e dalla solitudine », furono « particolarmente tristi » (p. 223).

L'Autore di questo volume non è nuovo a questo genere di studi storici sui rapporti dell'Italia con la S. Sede e coi popoli dell'Europa Orientale. Ciò spiega in gran parte la larga competenza e l'ampiezza di vedute rilevabili nelle sue pagine. Fa piacere notare come ormai la storiografia italiana — almeno nelle sue espressioni più serie — si sia liberata di quella carica di passionalità, che fino a pochi decenni fa la pervadeva quasi interamente tutte le volte che si dedicava a certi aspetti del Risorgimento.

In conclusione, gli studiosi del Risorgimento italiano e gli storici « jugoslavi » dovranno esser grati al Prof. Tamborra per questa sua eccellente fatica sul Tkalac e al Prof. Ghisalberti per aver accolto il volume tra le pubblicazioni del benemerito Istituto da lui diretto. Ciò va detto malgrado le poche sviste che ci permettiamo di segnalare: per es.: p. 16, *Gornji* (invece di Gorcem) Karlovci; pp. 57, 192: *Strig* sarà: Štriga A. (1821-1897); p. 349: *Karadžić* non era *poeta* ma raccoglitore di poesie popolari, non *croato* ma *serbo*.

STEFANO SAKAČ S.J.

Venezia e l'Oriente tra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento, a cura di Agostino PERTUSI (= Civiltà Europea e Civiltà Veneziana. Aspetti e problemi. 4. Fondazione Giorgio Cini). Venezia 1966, pag. XV-594, ed. Sansoni.

Era nella natura delle cose che la Fondazione Giorgio Cini, stabilita come è in piena Laguna, si aprisse alle attrattive spirituali dello

Oriente. È così che a breve distanza dal convegno di studio per il Millenario del Monte Athos (3-6 sett. 1963), si apriva il 9 sett., nella sede della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, il Quinto Corso internazionale d'alta cultura sul tema « Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento », di cui la presente pubblicazione raccoglie, quasi tutte le lezioni.

L'ampiezza del tema atto ad interessare un pubblico colto, ancorchè non strettamente specializzato, ha permesso agli illustri Oratori di presentare tanto sintesi vaste ed approfondite quanto dettagliate ed interessanti monografie. Le une e le altre hanno conservato in questo volume il loro carattere di lezione e sono disposte secondo la materia piuttosto che nell'ordine in cui furono tenute. La prima parte raccoglie gli argomenti che si riferiscono a « Venezia e le correnti di cultura greca *a*) del tardo Medioevo, *b*) del Rinascimento » (pag. 1-371), mentre la seconda è dedicata a « Venezia e gli scambi culturali con il Medio ed Estremo Oriente e con l'Europa Orientale » (pag. 375-594). Si tratta di 34 lezioni, delle quali sarebbe troppo lungo elencare anche solo il titolo. Ne segnaliamo tuttavia alcune che servano ad indicare la varietà degli argomenti trattati: Paul LEMERLE, *Byzance et les origines de notre civilisation* (pag. 1-19); Marie Thérèse D'ALVERNY, *Survivance et renaissace d'Avicenne à Venise et à Padoue* (pag. 75-102); Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *Platonismo bizantino e fiorentino e la controversia su Platone e Aristotele* (pag. 103-116); Otto DEMUS, *Bisanzio e la pittura a mosaico del Duecento a Venezia* (pag. 125-139); Lotte LABOWSKY, *Il Cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Biblioteca Marciana* (pag. 159-182); Agostino PERTUSI, *Il ritorno alle fonti del teatro greco classico: Euripide nell'Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento* (pag. 205-224); Linos POLITIS, *Il teatro a Creta nei suoi rapporti con il teatro italiano del Rinascimento ed in particolare con la commedia veneziana* (pag. 225-240); Giuseppe SCHIRÒ, *Missione umanistica di Massimo Margunio a Venezia* (pag. 241-266); Manusso MANUSSACAS, *Un poeta cretese ambasciatore di Venezia a Tunisi e presso i turchi: Leonardo Dellaporta e i suoi componimenti poetici* (pag. 283-308); Roberto WEISS, *Le origini franco-bizantine della medaglia italiana del Rinascimento* (pag. 339-350); Franz BABINGER, *Maometto il Conquistatore e gli Umanisti d'Italia* (pag. 433-450); Kurt ERDMANN, *Venezia e il tappeto orientale* (pag. 529-546); Sergio BETTINI, *L'architetto Alevis Novi in Russia* (pag. 573-594).

Per il valore riconosciuto degli Oratori e per la varietà degli argomenti, questa pubblicazione interesserà senza dubbio lo studioso di cose bizantine non meno che il pubblico colto desideroso di approfondire quella corrente di cultura e di vita, che tanto largamente ha contribuito a creare una città non mai abbastanza ammirata qual'è Venezia.

PELOPIDAS STEPHANOU S.J.

Hélène AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la Mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII-XVe siècles* (= Bibliothèque byzantine publiée sous la direction de Paul Lemerle, Études 5). Paris 1966, 504 pages.

Voici un livre qui fera date dans l'histoire byzantine, car il correspond à un réel besoin. Il n'y avait auparavant que des articles ou des études sporadiques sur les problèmes maritimes de Byzance. Nous avons maintenant grâce à Madame Hélène Ahrweiler un ouvrage d'ensemble, qui les analyse avec patience et minutie.

Après une trop courte introduction sur le monopole naval de Byzance et son déclin: de « Justinien aux Isauriens » (pp. 6-14) l'ouvrage se divise en trois parties: I) « Des Isauriens aux Comnènes. Byzance face aux Arabes » (pp. 17-171); II) « Des Comnènes à la chute de Constantinople en 1204. Byzance entre les Turcs et les Latins » (pp. 173-298); III) « Les Lascarides et les Paléologues. L'Orient et l'Occident contre Byzance » (pp. 300-388).

Suivent une conclusion « Byzance et la Mer » (pp. 389-395), des appendices, plus techniques, sur « les équipages » (pp. 397-407), « catégories et types de navires » (pp. 408-418), « la construction navale », « chantiers et arsenaux » (pp. 419-439), enfin des textes bien choisis, sous le titre de « Testimonia » (pp. 440-455).

Un index général (pp. 457-485), un index des termes grecs (pp. 487-495), permettent d'inventorier toutes ces richesses. Regrettons toutefois que ce livre érudit et cependant clair et bien composé, ne comporte ni cartes ni illustrations.

Si l'on doit louer la science étonnante avec laquelle l'Auteur se joue à travers l'organisation de la flotte byzantine, apportant des détails exacts et souvent inédits (par exemple sur la création du thème des Cibyrrhéotes, p. 64-65), certains lecteurs, et c'est toujours facile, pourraient reprocher à l'auteur, trop pris par son sujet, quelques erreurs de perspective.

« Il faut des années d'analyse pour parvenir à un jour de synthèse ». C'est l'impression que donne la conclusion magistrale de cet important volume. En quelques pages (384-395) l'Auteur essaie de tirer les leçons de sa patiente enquête sur la flotte byzantine.

La fresque est magnifique. Est-elle complètement exacte? Louis Bréhier avait vu justement que l'Empire « chercha à Constantinople la mer » et Nicolas Jorga avait souligné les intentions de Constantin: « Ce qu'on voulait à Constantinople, c'était le groupe des mers, qui en dépendait. Ainsi le nouvel Empire n'a pas été une autre forme de l'Empire continental romain, il a été une nouvelle thalassocratie, une domination de la mer » (Études byzantines, Bucarest 1959, p. 58).

L'Auteur remarque que « la mer devait être le centre même de l'État byzantin, et non pas une frontière, une limite de son vaste domaine » (p. 389).

Jusqu'au VIIe siècle, « la flotte de guerre, alors peu importante, se met au service du trafic commercial et se contente du rôle de police navale, assurant le contrôle de la navigation et protégeant les transports officiels » (p. 390).

L'invasion arabe oblige Byzance à créer une flotte de guerre, qui, à l'origine sera purement défensive. Ce sera le mérite des empereurs Isauriens d'organiser des thèmes maritimes.

« Ceci explique pourquoi le présent ouvrage, consacré uniquement à l'armée de mer et à la flotte de guerre, prend pour point de départ le VIIe siècle, qui est, somme toute, le premier siècle de l'histoire de la marine de guerre byzantine. C'est au cours du VIIe siècle, en effet, que l'armée de mer est créée, en vue de faire face au danger arabe, et que prennent forme les diverses institutions sur lesquelles se fonderont désormais l'organisation et le développement de la flotte de guerre de Byzance » (p. 390).

Peut-être l'Auteur minimise trop l'œuvre de Justinien. C'est en créant une puissante flotte, qu'il put facilement conquérir l'Afrique du Nord sur les Vandales. Est-il exact que « l'œuvre accomplie par Justinien I ... ne pouvait qu'affaiblir militairement Byzance et diminuer les chances de défence des régions et des populations lointaines, qui, bien que prospères sous l'autorité de l'Empire, conservaient peu de liens avec Constantinople »?

« La suite des événements, et notamment les succès perses suivis aussitôt par les succès foudroyants des Arabes, qui, en l'espace d'un demi siècle, établirent leur pouvoir sur toute la Méditerranée méridionale de la Syrie à l'Espagne, la réussite des Lombards en Italie et l'installation des Slaves dans les Balkans sont dans une large mesure la conséquence de la politique chimérique de la reconquista de l'ancien monde romain » (p. 9).

La prétendue erreur d'optique de Justinien a causé moins de désastres, que la folie de Justin II, qui, lui, délaissa l'Occident, pour ne s'occuper que de l'Orient, et surtout que la politique aberrante de Phocas, qui ralluma la guerre contre les Perses apaisée par les victoires et la sage politique de Maurice.

La syntèse de l'Auteur: rejeter tous les torts sur la politique occidentale de Justinien est puissante, mais on pourrait se demander si elle s'adapte exactement avec la réalité historique.

De même, lorsqu'il s'agit des Paléologues, l'Auteur développe peut-être avec trop de complaisance son idée directrire: « L'échec de l'effort d'Andronic II en Asie Mineure constitue à notre avis, la véritable défaite de l'Empire. C'est à la suite de la perte de l'Asie Mineure que Byzance réduite à sa partie grecque et maritime eut besoin d'une flotte pour se défendre; mais elle n'avait plus la possibilité matérielle d'entretenir un appareil militaire important, notamment une armée de mer et une flotte. Privé de sa ressource agricole qui alimentait le trésor de l'Etat, et qui avait surtout ses racines dans la population micrasiatique (sic !), l'Empire perdit en réalité sa base économique. L'armée de mer nécessitait une trésorerie

impériale largement munie, et cela ne se produisit jamais plus à Byzance ».

« Ainsi placée dans le contexte historique de l'époque, la disparition de la flotte byzantine semble plus une conséquence qu'une cause de la chute de l'Empire » (p. 379).

Peut-être l'Auteur aurait dû souligner davantage l'importance néfaste des traités de commerce de Byzance avec Gênes et Venise.

Byzance accorde des privilèges exorbitants aux deux Républiques italiennes. L'argent des douanes byzantines s'en va vers l'Adriatique et la Méditerranée occidentale. Pas d'argent ... donc pas d'armée, pas de flotte...

Comme l'Auteur le note justement: « Constantinople devient dorénavant un poste gênois; le territoire impérial se transforme en théâtre de l'antagonisme vénéto-gênois » (p. 381). « La fin du règne d'Andronic II inaugure la période des luttes intestines, qui finiront par achever la ruine de l'Empire » (p. 384). « État mineur disloqué et appauvri, tributaire des Turcs et soumis économiquement aux Latins, l'Empire byzantin mènera cette piteuse existence pendant plus d'un siècle » (p. 387).

On le voit, l'ouvrage de Madame Hélène Ahrweiler, qui décrit, savamment et cependant d'une façon agréable et vivante, l'épopée de la marine byzantine, est une contribution importante à l'histoire de Byzance et de la Civilisation méditerranéenne.

PAUL GOUBERT S.J.

Simon DE SAINT QUENTIN, *Histoire des Tartares* publiée par Jean RICHARD. Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, publiés par l'Académie desInscriptions et Belles Lettres. Paris 1965, 132 pages, 1 carte.

Les travaux d'érudition de J. Richard sont suffisamment connus, pour qu'il soit nécessaire de faire l'éloge de leur auteur, certainement un des meilleurs éditeurs de textes médiévaux.

Cette édition est basée sur le « Speculum historiale » de Vincent de Beauvais, d'après le texte publié en 1473 à Strasbourg par Jean Mentelin. L'Auteur l'a collationné avec trois manuscrits du XIII[e] siècle, conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin 4900, 4898, 17550) et l'a rapproché de l'édition du « Speculum », publiée à Douai en 1624.

Au terme de son consciencieux et intelligent labeur, l'Auteur avoue humblement: « Entre le texte que nous avons reconstitué et celui de Simon de Saint Quentin, s'interposent toujours la copie de Vincent de Beauvais et les remaniements, qu'il a jugés nécessaires; nous ne pouvons pas espérer retrouver avec certitude les leçons de l'Historia Tartarorum » (p. 12).

Simon de Saint Quentin, Dominicain, appartenait sans doute à

un couvent de Terre Sainte, lorsqu'Ascelin, sous prieur des Dominicains d'Avignon et chef de la mission envoyée aux Tartares, le choisit comme compagnon en juillet 1246, à cause probablement de sa connaissance des langues orientales. Son ouvrage fut écrit « peu après le retour en Occident de la mission d'Ascelin » des 1248 (p. 15).

La mission passa probablement par Acre, Antioche, la Cilicie, ou elle entra peut-être en contact avec des mercenaires latins au service des barons arméniens, par exemple ce Provençal (Provincialis) qui donna à Simon des indications sur les rapports entre Turcs et Tartares (XXXII, 28). Puis elle traversa la Turquie seljoukide, avec un arrêt important à Qoniya, enfin la Grande Arménie et la Georgie.

« C'est Simon de Saint Quentin, qui nous apporte les données les plus complètes, que nous possédions sur le traité d'union entre l'église de Rome et celle d'Arménie, en 1198 » (p. 18).

« Si ce qu'ils rapporte sur l'origine des Mongols est encombré de légendes, et très inférieur aux données recueillies par Plancarpin, lequel avait séjourné en Mongolie, sa description de leurs mœurs ne manque pas d'intérêt, en dépit du parti pris et l'hostilité qui l'anime » (p. 17).

L'Historia Tartarorum fut largement utilisée par Vincent de Beauvais, qui intégra dans son « Speculum » des chapitres entiers de Simon.

Il faut savoir gré à J. Richard d'avoir essayé de retrouver le texte original de cette relation, moins célèbre que celle de Plancarpin, mais qui apporte sur les mœurs des Tartares, vus dans l'optique médiévale, d'utiles précisions.

PAUL GOUBERT, S.J.

Canonica

Viktor POSPISCHIL, *Der Patriarch in der Serbisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*, ed. Herder, Wien, 1966, in-8°, pp. 217.

This fine book is V. Pospischil's doctoral dissertation that was, somewhat amplified, submitted to the Canon Law Faculy of the Gregorian University in Rome in June 1949. A short preface, the table of contents of the whole dissertation, the bibliography, and three extracts from the text were published in Brixen in 1950 under the title: *Die Rechtsstellung des Patriarchen der Serbischen Kirche in der Kirchenverfassung von 1931-1949*. The table of contents remains substantially unchanged in the new book. In the bibliography, however, there are 18 new items published since 1949. The new preface rightly emphasizes the special significance of this work in the present ecumenical era. The three extracts published in 1950 are now found on pp. 65-69, 127-136, and 151-156.

The glorious history of three Serbian patriarchates is summarized on pp. 23-59. The second part of the book (pp. 61-201) is a detailed explanation of every right and duty of the Serbian Patriarch in his relation with the Holy Synod, other patriarchal bodies, bishops, monks, other Churches, and the State. The basis for this part is furnished by the Constitutions of the Serbian Church of 1931 and 1947. The text of the last is given in a German translation in an appendix to the book on pp. 203-264. An index of authors and a short general index (pp. 265-271) complete the book.

The only considerable difference between this book and the dissertation of 1949 is the introduction, in many places, of short notes comparing the canons on Eastern Catholic Patriarchs (*Motu proprio* "*Cleri sanctitati*" of 1957) to the articles of the Constitution of the Serbian Church. The comparison is valuable and in the main it serves its purpose. However, at times it can be very misleading. It is easy to assert that Catholic Eastern Patriarchs enjoy more rights than the Serbian Patriarch in relation to the Holy Synod, but one should never forget that the whole legislative power resides within the Serbian Church, whereas the Catholic Eastern Patriarchates have received the whole Code from the Supreme Authority in the Church. Article nine of the *Decree on the Catholic Eastern Churches* of the Second Vatican Council, however, concedes a much wider autonomy to the Patriarchs *cum suis synodis*. This *Decree* is nowhere quoted in the book, though Pospischil's commentary on it is included in the bibliography.

Some consideration is given in the book to the holy canons of the Eastern Churches (pp. 71, 78, 91, 104, 124 etc.). However, one could have hoped for greater efforts on the part of the author to establish the "canonical" sources of the articles of Serbian Constitution that regard the Patriarch. It is true that the canonical *Syntagma of Matthew Blastares* had a profound impact on the concept of the position of the Patriarch in Serbia, as is asserted by the author (pp. 36, 144), but one may suspect that a far greater influence was exercized by the Code (*Krmčija*) that St. Sava, the Founder of the Serbian Church, compiled and translated from Greek texts. The *Krmčija* is barely mentioned in Pospischil's book (pp. 49, 59). One assertion of the author may be noted in passing, that St. Sava was friendly towards Catholics (p. 27). Although, as a Saint, he must have been friendly towards all men, yet in his *Krmčija* one finds translations of Nicetas Stethatos's treatise against the Latins and an account of "27 barbaric customs" of the Latins written by an anonymous Greek (cf. chapters 49 and 51 of the Serbian *Krmčija*).

It is a pleasure to point out the genuinely ecumenical attitude with which the author has written this book. The Constitution of the Serbian Church is viewed as the best modern example for the establishment of a particular Church. "Patriarchates", similar to the Serbian, are proposed (p. 200) even for the Latin Church. A just resentment, however, on the part of some Eastern Catholics,

may be caused by authors's assertion that they are numerically "too insignificant" (p. 201) to be called particular Churches.

Transliteration of Slavic letters in the bibliography seems rather arbitrary. Thus the letter j stands for three different sounds. The appendix could be brought up to date, with the inclusion of such important documents as te new Penal Code of the Serbian Church (cf. *Glasnik... Srpske Prav. Crkve* 42 (1961) 148-157), which supplants artt. 214-224 of the Constitution of 1947.

These observations, however, do not detract from the importance of the book, which is one of the very best among the many studies that have been recently written for a better understanding of Eastern Patriarchates.

IVAN ŽUŽEK S.J.

Archaeologica

Pierre DU BOURGET, « Musée National du Louvre », *Catalogue des étoffes coptes*, Bd. I, Paris 1964, 44 Seiten Text, 627 Seiten Photographien.

Es ist sehr zu begrüssen, dass der Louvre seine koptischen Stoffsammlungen allgemein zugänglich macht. In diesem ersten Band breitet der bekannte Ägyptologe und Koptologe, P. du Bourget, fast die ganze Sammlung der Einzelstücke des Louvre, die aus verschiedenen Fundstellen stammen, vor den Augen des Lesers aus. In einem zweiten Band will der verdiente Verfasser dann nur die sicher aus Antinoe stammenden Stoffe vereinen. Du Bourget folgt damit A. Wulf und W. F. Volbach, die in ihrem Buch « Spätantike und koptische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Grabfunden in staatlichen Museen », Berlin 1926, die Berliner Fundstücke veröffentlichten; er folgt A. F. Kendrick, der mit seinem Katalog: « Catalogue of Textiles from burying grounds in Egypt » I-III, London 1920/22, die Stücke des Viktoria und Albert Museums aufzeigte. Er geht weit über R. Pfister und seine « Tissus coptes du Musée du Louvre » Paris 1931 hinaus, nnd man kann ihm dafür nur dankbar sein.

Es wäre hier zu bemerken, dass in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek neben den bei Volbach, « Catalogo del Museo sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana » III, 1, 3, "Tessuti" genannten koptischen Stücken eine nicht geringe Anzahl anderer bisher nicht bearbeiteter Stücke aus dem Nachlass von Pfister aufbewahrt werden.

Das umfangreiche Buch zerfällt in zwei Teile. Zuerst eine Einleitung und dann ein bedeutsamer, gross angelegten Bildteil. In einem ersten Abschnitt des ersten Teils, der einfach « Einleitung » genannt ist, legt du Bourget erst die Herkunft der einzelnen grösseren Teile der Sammlung des Louvre dar. Dann spricht er kurz über das Material, aus dem die Stoffe hergestellt sind. Sehr ausführlich und an-

regend für Kenner bechreibt er die Technik der Herstellung der verschieden gearbeiteten Stoffstücke. Seine Ausführungen über diese Eigentümlichkeiten erläutern vergrösserte Wiedergaben von Stoffstücken aus den Sammlungen. Im kurzen vierten Abschnitt zeigt du Bourget in grossen Zügen den vorliegenden Bestand dieses Teils der Sammlung des Louvre auf. Der fünfte Teil der Einleitung ist der wohl am meisten umstrittene: Er handelt über die Datierung der einzelnen Stoffe. Nur ein einziges Stoffstück sei — so sagt der Verfasser — mit Hilfe einer Münze eindeutig zu datieren. Dem fügte die Essener Austellung: " Koptische Kunst, Christentum am Nil " (Essen 1963) noch ein zweites Stück bei, das mit Hilfe von beigelegten Schriftstücken datierbar sei; aber zwei Stücke sind unter der übergrossen Zahl der vorhandenen Stoffreste doch kaum von entscheidender Bedeutung. Über diese Datierung und die zugrunde liegenden Überlegungen kam es auf einem Treffen des " Centre international d'études des textiles anciens ", Lyon 1965 zu einer fast grundsätzlichen Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Verfasser des vorliegenden Bandes und Professor Géza von Frankovich, Rom [1]. Der Rezensent möchte auf diese beiden Aufsätze verweisen, ohne selbst hier zu disesen Fragen Stellung zu nehmen. Es scheint ihm richtiger, den zweiten abschliessenden Band über die Bestände des Louvre abzuwarten.

Der zweite Abschnitt dessen, was man gewöhnlich « Einleitung » nennen würde, handelt über: " Thèmes et motifs ", also über die Inhalte der Stoffbilder und die bezeichnenden Eigentümlichkeiten der Ausführung. Zuerst spricht der Verfasser von Stoffen mit eingewebten Inschriften, dann von nachlebenden Zügen der Pharaonenzeit; er behandelt ausführlich die christlichen Bildgegenstände. In zwei, leider nur sehr kurzen Abschnitten spricht er von der Herkunft der verschiedenen Bildinhalte und von der im Laufe der Jahrhunderte eingetretenen Fortbildung dieser Bildinhalte.

Da gerade diese Fortbildung für die Datierung der Stoffe und auch für die Geschichte der kulturellen Entwicklung der Koptischen Bevölkerung von Bedeutung ist, hätte man gern etwas mehr über die Eigentümlichkeiten des vorliegenden Bestandes der Stücke des Louvre gehört. Vielleicht wird uns der zweite Teil des gross angelegten Werkes darüber Auskunft geben.

Der zweite Abschnitt des gewichtigen Werkes — der eigentliche « Katalog » — übertrifft an Ausdehnung den ersten einleitenden Abschnitt um ein Bedeutendes. Er liefert jedem, der sich mit koptischen Stoffen beschäftigt, vermöge, der ausgezeichneten, oft mit Verweisen in andere Kunstgebiete versehenen Behandlung der einzelnen fast vollständig neu durchfotografierten Stücke der Sammlung des Louvre reiches Arbeitsmaterial. Diese Stücke sind nach den oben

[1] « Bulletin de liaison du Centre international d'étude des textiles anciens » Nr. 23, Lyon 1966, pag. 17-24. P. DU BOURGET, *La technique des étoffes coptes en rapport avec leur datation*; Géza VON FRANKOVICH, *Du classement chronologique des tissus coptes.*

als nicht allgemein angenommen bezeichneten Grundsätzen des Verfassers zeitlich nach Jahrunderten eingeteilt und vermöge gewisser buchtechnischer Hinweise leicht aufzufinden. Mit vorbildlicher Bescheidenheit schreibt hierzu der Verfasser auf Seite 18 seines Werkes: « Il est donc essentiel de souligner, à propos de tout catalogue existant, et non moins à propos du nôtre, que la datation des tissus coptes, tant que des fouilles sérieuses n'en auront pas établi les bases, n'est jamais qu'une ' hypothèse de travail ' ».

Die Fotos sind manchmal etwas dunkel geraten und auch die nicht wenigen Vergrösserungen von Ausschnitten aus Stoffstücken ändern nur wenig an dieser dunklen Einfarbigkeit, die nur durch wenige farbige Wiedergaben aufgelockert wird. Die eben genannte Anordnung der Bilder lässt eine besondere Eigentümlichkeit im historischen Entwicklungsgang der koptischen Stoffe fast verschwinden. Es ist dies die in der islamischen Weltanschauung der arabischen Herrenschicht begründete Umwandlung des Bildausdruckes. Wo nämlich anfangs Personen oder Tiere zu sehen waren, sind später, unter dem Druck des Islam, der bildliche Darstellungen verwirft, nur mehr meist etwas hart gezeichnete Ornamente zu erblicken, hinter denen man nur mit Mühe die ursprünglich dargestellten Gegenstände erahnen kann. Solch eine stilistische Umwandlung ist aber auch eine Datierungshilfe.

Diese in dem vorliegenden Katalog des Louvre kaum aufscheinende Entwicklung mag ja auch auf eine Ausfallerscheinung der bisher veröffentlichten Bestände der Pariser Sammlung hinweisen. Sie kam sehr deutlich in einer Austellung zum Ausdruck, die das Pontif. Istituto Orientale im Jahre 1960 in Rom zeigte, einer Austellung, die ihrerseits auf mehreren hundert, zur Sammlung Charles L. Burckhardt gehörigen Stücken des Basler Ethnographischen Museums beruhte.

Schon der vorliegende erste Band des « Catalogue des étoffes coptes » des Louvre stellt eine wesentliche Bereicherung unseres Wissens um die Vergangenheit des alten christlichen Ägypten dar. Mit Spannung sieht man dem angekündigten zweiten Band entgegen.

A. M. AMMANN S.J.

V. LAURENT, *Le Corpus des Sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, tome V, 2, *L'Église*, pp. XXII-538; tome V, *Planches*, pp. X-197. Publications de l'Institut français d'Études byzantines, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1965.

Dans un bref avant-propos, l'Auteur reconnait « l'accueil très favorable, que la presse scientifique a fait à la première partie de ce tome », et il annonce un « tome additionnel où prendront place les sceaux ecclésiastiques absents du présent inventaire » et il re-

connaît que « cet enrichissement substantiel sera dû, en premier lieu, à la libéralité du ' Center for Byzantine Studies ' de ' Dumbarton Oaks ' (p. VII), et en particulier au professeur E. Kitzinger ». Il exprime sa reconnaissance également à Madame Hélène Ahrweiler « qui a contribué à rendre plus exactes des notices consacrées « aux monastères d'Asie Mineure » (p. VIII) et au R. P. Janin, qui a veillé minutieusement à la publication de ce volume.

Dans l'Introduction qui suit (pp. IX-XV), l'Auteur fournit d'intéressantes précisions sur les sceaux étudiés. Leur diamètre oscille « entre 8-9 et quelque 4-5 millimètres » (p. IX). « Les Byzantins n'attachaient aucune importance particulière à la dimension de leurs sceaux. L'augmentation, à partir des Comnènes, de la masse du plomb et de son diamètre est due à des causes extérieures: 1) au désir de loger au revers, quand ce n'était pas sur les deux faces, des textes de plus en plus longs; 2) à la préoccupation, visible chez certains clercs, de faire représenter, à l'avers, des scènes évangéliques traditionnelles (surtout l'Annonciation, la Résurrection et la Dormition) suivant une formule développée » (p. X). La dimension du sceau n'est en aucun cas un reflet de l'importance de son propriétaire.

Du reste, le personnel ecclésiastique pouvait se servir de plusieurs sceaux, entièrement différents. Souvent c'est « une effigie de saint, qui permettra d'identifier, entre plusieurs homonymes, le couvent ou l'église nommée sur la pièce décrite » (p. XII).

Les sceaux portant l'image de la Vierge sont particulièrement nombreux, mais « on ne saurait, à partir d'un vocable marial déterminé (Blachernitissa, Bassiotissa, Everghitis, Hagiosoritissa, Kyriotissa, etc.) attribuer avec certitude le sceau, qui le porte, à l'église ou couvent de Constantinople, qui lui a donné naissance. Seules les épithètes proprement topographiques (types Athéniotissa, Trajanopolitissa et autres) indiquent de soi le lieu d'appartenance » (pp. XII-XIII).

De même pour le type des saints, qui indique plus souvent la dévotion personnelle du propriétaire que son patron ou le patron de son monastère. Rarement le clerc ou le moine fait état de son nom de famille.

A part quelques exceptions, surtout sous les Comnènes, « on ne peut que constater la parfaite homogénéité des formules, qui composent les inscriptions des sceaux ecclésiastiques » (p. XIV).

La table des références (pp. XVII-XXI) est « complémentaire de celle qui se trouve en tête de la première partie de ce tome (p. XL-41). L'Auteur étudie successivement:

I. – *L'Église de Constantinople* (suite) (pp. 3-303). *B*) Le clergé: titres et fonctions ecclésiastiques. *C*) Les monastères et les églises: 1) de la capitale, 2) de la province, 3) titres et fonctions monastiques.

II. – *Les archêvechés autonomes* (pp. 305-341). *A*) L'Église autonome de Chypre. *B*) L'Église autonome de Bulgarie.

Une deuxième partie, beaucoup plus brève, englobe:

I. – *Les patriarches orientaux* (pp. 346-414) (Alexandrie, Antioche, Jérusalem).

Un supplément rassemble ce qui concerne: *A*) la hiérarchie (pp. 416-442), *B*) les dignités et fonctions patriarcales (pp. 443-453) et des « Corrigenda et addenda » (pp. 454-458). Suit un index onomastique rangé par 1) noms de famille et surnom, 2) prénoms, 3) noms géographiques.

Si on veut se rendre compte de la popularité de certains prénoms, cet index, qui « comprend tous les prénoms rencontrés dans les légendes des sceaux décrits dans les deux parties de ce tome V, sans exception » (p. 463) permet de dresser la statistique suivante:

Voici quel serait à peu près le « palmarès ». Jean serait et de beaucoup le prénom le plus répandu (137 fois). Puis viendraient Constantin (86), Michel (72), Théodore (71), Léon (63), Basile (57), Nicétas (46), Georges (39), Nicolas (36), Etienne (35), Nicéphore (29), Siméon et Grégoire (20), Pierre et Théodose (19), Euthyme (17), Paul et Antoine (15), Théophylacte (14), Eustathe (11), Thomas, Ignace, Cosmas et Christophe (10), André et Athanase (9), Anastase et Serge (8), Léontios, Théophane et Sabas (7), Elie, Philothée, Théophile, Christodoulos, Théopemptos, Gabriel (6), Jacques, Luc, Procope, Démétrius (5), Romanos, Platon, Joseph, Photius, Sophrone, Manuel, Néophyte, Philippe (4), Arsène, Marc, Méthode (3), Nicodème et Philoxène (2).

Comme toutes les statistiques, celle-ci présente bien des lacunes, mais peut cependant nous fournir quelques indications sur les prénoms les plus usuels dans le clergé byzantin.

Ce qu'il faut surtout souligner, et cela est important pour l'histoire de la spiritualité byzantine, c'est l'extrême fréquence de la représentation de la Vierge sur les sceaux byzantins. Tandis que le Christ n'est représenté que 16 fois seul et 18 fois avec un saint ou dans une scène évangelique, tandis que le Croix figure 119 fois, la Vierge 578 fois.

Pour l'histoire de l'art, il n'est pas sans intérêt de remarquer que le type préféré est la « Vierge de face, en buste ou à mi corps, orante, portant le médaillon de l'Enfant sur la poitrine » (21 fois), sans le médaillon (22 fois). La Vierge « de face, en buste ou à mi corps tenant des deux mains le médaillon de l'Enfant » (88 fois). La « Vierge de face, assise au trône » (59 fois). Rarement la Vierge est représentée en pied, entre deux anges ou deux saints: une seule fois avec St Théodore et St Georges, avec St Pierre et St Paul, avec St Nicolas, avec St Pierre, avec St André, avec St Démétrius.

Les Saints les plus souvent représentés sont Saint Nicolas (79 fois), S. Michel (70), S. Jean Baptiste (45), S. Théodore le stratélate (34), S. Démétrius (30), S. Georges (22), S. Jean l'Évangéliste (20), S. Pierre et S. Paul « affrontés ou se donnant l'accolade, en buste, 7 fois, en pied 9 fois, auprès de la Vierge 1 fois ».

Parmi les scènes évangéliques, l'Annonciation est représentée 12 fois, l'Anastasis 7 fois, la Dormition et la Transfiguration une fois, la Déésis ne figure que 4 fois.

On devine la richesse, que pourra apporter à l'histoire de la spiritualité byzantine une étude plus approfondie de ces sceaux, que le R.P. V. Laurent avec tant de science et de patience a réussi à grouper et à expliquer. Dans un de ses prochains volumes, lui-même mieux que personne, saura en tirer les conclusions. Mais déjà dans ce volume abondent les excursus, savants et précis, qui à propos des sceaux racontent l'histoire d'une institution, par exemple, les diaconies et les bains annexes (pp. 125-127).

Nous y voyons que les diaconies sont d'origine orientale, probablement égyptienne. Elles se répandirent en Palestine vers 550 et servirent en Syrie à la propagande monophysite de Paul II le Noir, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (564-577).

En Italie à Pesaro, Ravenne, Naples, il y avait déjà des diaconies à la fin du VI[e] siècle. A Rome (p. 126) « la première réalisation connue » serait de 684-685. Elle se trouve dans la notice sur Benoît II dans le Liber Pontificalis.

A propos du couvent de Kokkinobaphos (pp. 178-179) l'Auteur hésite à le situer, mais il n'ignore rien de la littérature concernant le moine Jacques dont les homélies mariales accompagnées de miniatures sont justement célèbres. Peut-être y vénérait-on le mystère de l'Assomption.

Trois sceaux, provenant sans doute du couvent de Saint Luc en Phocide, fournissant à l'Auteur l'occasion de résumer l'histoire de ce monastère, et de citer une courte bibliographie (pp. 182-183).

De même 2 sceaux de la Nea Mone (Νέα Μονή) de l'île de Chio permettent de résumer l'origine de cette magnifique basilique (pp. 187-188).

Ailleurs l'Auteur fournit des précisions sur l'origine du charisticariat « monastères possédés et gérés par des personnes privées, qui, le plus souvent les recevaient soit de l'empereur soit de l'autorité écclésiastique par manière de bénéfice » (p. 236).

Un certain nombre de sceaux concerne des religieuses. Notons celui d'Anne Dalassène (N[o] 1460), que l'Auteur date entre 1067 et 1081 puisque son mari Jean Comnène mourut en 1067 et son fils Alexis I n'accéda au trône qu'en 1081. Les sceaux du couvent de Saint Syméon sur le Mont Admirable (N[o] 1559 bis, 1560) sont replacés dans leur cadre, grâce aux travaux du R.P. J. Mécérian, et de P. Van den Ven.

C'est surtout au sujet de la titulature écclésiastique, que ce Corpus apportera de précieux documents. Par exemple le chartulaire (N[o] 1016), le ciméliarque (N[o] 1017), l'écclésiarque (N[o] 1054), l'ecdicos (N[o] 1055), le primicier (N[o] 1107), le skévophylax (N[os] 1108-1109).

La titulature monastique n'est pas négligée: par exemple l'archimandrite (N[os] 1304-1307), le prote (N[os] 1308-1313), l'higoumène

ou cathigoumène (Nos 1314-1333), le charisticariat (Nos 1336-1337), le hiéromoine (Nos 1338-1343).

Soit au point de vue des institutions écclésiastiques ou monastiques, soit au point de vue de la géographie religieuse de l'Empire byzantin, ou de l'Histoire de la Spiritualité, ce Corpus est une mine précieuse, qui fournit des matériaux de choix. On est confondu devant la multitude des connaissances, et l'ampleur des recherches, qui ont permis à l'Auteur d'expliquer ou de dater certains sceaux.

L'Album de planches, qui accompagne le Corpus et présente 1623 sceaux, plus une table des monogrammes marials, rendra les plus grands services aux numismates et sigillographes. Dans l'ensemble, les photographies, difficiles à réaliser, sont excellentes. Elles sont complétées par un certain nombre de dessins, fort bien venus, dus à la plume experte de Madame Nicole Thierry.

On comprendra mieux la valeur exceptionnelle de ce recueil, lorsqu'on aura évoqué « le sort précaire qui est et sera à plus ou moins longue échéance celui de tout le Médaillier byzantin. Le plomb, dont est composée la quasi totalité des sceaux conservés, est en effet à ce point friable, que rares sont les pièces susceptibles de résister au contact de l'air malgré les procédés les mieux étudiés pour en assurer la conservation » (p. VIII).

La reconnaissance de tout le monde savant ira donc au R.P. V. Laurent, et à ceux qui, comme P. Lemerle, E. Kitzinger, J. Coolidge, T. Bertelè, H. Seyrig, G. Zacos etc. ont permis la publication de ce « Corpus des sceaux byzantins ». Byzantinistes et orientalistes tireront profit de cet admirable travail. Seul le R.P. V. Laurent pouvait présenter et expliquer ce véritable trésor de famille de l'art chrétien.

PAUL GOUBERT, S.J.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XIX, *Harvard University*, Washington 1965, 266 pages, 169 illustrations.

Toujours aussi bien présenté que les précédents, et aussi riche, ce numéro rend compte du Symposium sur « The Byzantine Mission to the Slaves: St Cyril and St Methodius » tenu à Dumbarton Oaks du 7 au 9 Mai 1964.

Il s'ouvre sur un remarquable article de George OSTROGORSKY sur « The byzantine Background of the Moravian Mission » (pp. 3-18), qui n'avait pu être lu au Symposium. L'Auteur replace la mission de Cyrille et Méthode dans son contexte historique, à savoir l'offensive culturelle et politique de Michel III et de Basile I sur les pays slaves, après l'attaque infructueuse des Russes sur Constantinople en 860. Le travail des « Apôtres des Slaves » doit être inséré dans les événements, qui se passent à cette époque en Bulgarie, en Ma-

cédoine, en Serbie et en Russie (p. 8). Salonique avec sa population bilingue était un pont tout naturel entre Byzance et le monde slave.

George C. SOULIS étudie « The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slaves » (pp. 19-43). Ce manuscrit avait été lu au Symposium de « Dumbarton Oaks » par le professeur Roman Jakobson. L'Auteur insiste sur la diffusion de l'alphabet cyrillique en Macédoine et en Bulgarie, et enfin en Russie après la conversion du prince Vladimir vers 988.

Dimitri OBOLENSKY examine « The Heritage of Cyril and Methodius in Russia » (pp. 46-65). Il reproduit en l'enrichissant de qualques notes précieuses la conférence faite par l'Auteur au Symposium.

Antonin DOSTÁL traite « The Origins of the slavonic Liturgy » (pp. 69-87). Parmi les conclusions qu'il expose, notons qu'il « semble évident que Constantin et Méthode ont été les premiers à introduire la langue slave dans la liturgie byzantine, et plus probablement dans celle de St Jean Chrysostome ». « Une liturgie occidentale peut bien avoir existé en Moravie avant l'arrivée des deux frères. Il est difficile de dire quelle espèce de sacramentaire était utilisée par les Germains et les autres missionnaires. Il n'est pas sûr qu'une liturgie byzantine était aussi en usage, même si on accepte l'affirmation de la ' Vita Methodii ' d'après laquelle des prêtres de Grèce travaillaient en Moravie. Nous ne pouvons pas déterminer quelle liturgie byzantine a été apportée par eux, celle de St Basile ou celle de St Jean Chrysostome ».

« Il est possible, mais non certain, que la langue slave a été introduite dans la Messe, graduellement. Dans l'administration des sacrements et dans les autres fonctions liturgiques, le slave était utilisé ».

Nul ne contredira la conclusion de l'Auteur: « La liturgie slave est une contribution majeure à la culture slave. Son langage poétique et clair continua à inspirer poésie et littérature slaves pendant plusieurs siècles » (p. 87), et l'Auteur reconnaît que le Professeur Jakobson a été le premier spécialiste a attirer l'attention du monde scientifique sur les chants religieux en paléo-slave (pp. 86-87).

Outre quelques-unes des remarquables conférences prononcées au « Dumbarton Oaks Symposium » de 1964, ce volume contient plusieurs articles d'archéologie byzantine, d'importance non négligeable.

Cyril MANGO et Ernest J. W. HAWKINS décrivent minutieusement « The Apse Mosaïcs of St. Sophia at Istanbul. Report on Work carried out in 1964 » (pp. 113-148). Les Auteurs adoptent et précisent les dates attribuées par Th. Whittemore et A. Grabar, concernant les mosaïques de l'abside de Ste Sophie.

En quoi consistait la décoration pendant la période iconoclaste? Probablement en une grande croix sur fond d'or, comme à Ste Irène (p. 147). Mais les auteurs admettent qu'à la fin du VIe (ou du VIIe) siècle, il pouvait déjà y avoir l'image de la Vierge, telle qu'on la restaurera en 867. 54 excellentes photographies illustrent cette recherche.

Avec une compétence universellement appréciée Miss Sirarpie DER NERSESSIAN présente « A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks » (pp. 154-183), avec 64 photographies, dont deux en couleur).

« En Septembre 1962, la collection ' Dumbarton Oaks ' avait acheté à un marchand, en Europe occidentale, un manuscrit du Psautier et du Nouveau Testament, anciennement N° 49 au Monastère du Pantocrator au Mont Athos. Le gouvernement grec fut pleinement informé ». On ne sait pas quand le manuscrit, qui était encore au monastère en 1941, avait quitté la Sainte Montagne, « mais avant 1936, une feuille (fol. 78) avait déjà été détachée du Psautier, et acquise par le Musée Benaki à Athènes; en 1950, une autre feuille (fol. 254) était acquise par le Musée Cleveland d'Art par la Collection Vladimir G. Simkhovitch à New York. Le manuscrit, acquis par Dumbarton Oaks a été incorporé dans la collection comme MS. 3 » (p. 155).

Rappelons que les deux autres manuscrits de la Collection « Dumbarton Oaks » sont MS. 1, un Lectionnaire grec, et MS. 2, un Ménée géorgien, étudié par Gérard Garitte (le Muséon LXXVII 1 2 (1964) pp. 29-64).

Dans la dernière décade du XIXe siècle, le manuscrit 49 du Pantokrator avait été décrit et étudié pour la première fois par Brockhaus, Millet, et Tikkanen. On l'a daté généralement du XIe siècle.

Ce manuscrit consiste en 364 feuilles, mesurant 16,2 × 10,3 ou 10,9 cms. numérotées de 1 a 362 (p. 156). Le psautier comprend les folios 1-87, le Nouveau Testament, l'Évangile de St Matthieu (folios 95-127), de St Marc (folios 129-149), de St Luc (folios 151-186), de St Jean (folios 188-213), les Actes des Apôtres (folios 215-249), l'Épître de St Jaques (folios 250-253), les Épîtres de St Pierre (folios 253-260), les Épîtres de St Jean (folios 260-285), l'Épître de St Jude (folios 266-267); suivent les Épîtres de St Paul (folios 269-341), puis des tables des évangiles et des épîtres, des discours spirituels, et des prières liturgiques.

Nous ne pouvons suivre l'Auteur dans la description de toutes les miniatures. Signalons simplement les folios 86 et 87 (qui ont été ajoutées par un propriétaire plus tardif du manuscrit), où le moine Jean est introduit auprès de la Vierge par le protomartyr Etienne (p. 182). Derrière lui on voit le « hieromonachos » Grégoire « qui, comme père spirituel de Jean, tient le livre pendant que Jean lui même lève les deux mains dans l'attitude de la prière ou de la supplication » (p. 182).

La miniature a été exécutée au milieu du XV siècle.

Alison FRANTZ publie « From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens » (pp. 187-205, avec 22 photographies) qui fut l'objet d'une conférence à Dumbarton Oaks en Novembre 1964.

Le décret du Code Théodosien (XVI 10, 25) que l'Auteur place en exergue de son article, soulève des problèmes. Tous les temples devaient être détruits à partir de l'an 435. Mais surtout en Grèce,

ce décret ne fut pas appliqué. L'Auteur expose rapidement l'histoire du Christianisme à Athène. Malgré les rares conversions opérées par St Paul (Denis et une femme appelée Damaris, Actes 17, 34), le Christianisme mit du temps à s'établir à Athènes.

Au Concile de Nicée ne signent que trois évêques de Grèce, dont l'évêque d'Athènes. Du IVe siècle ne subsiste que la basilique chrétienne d'Epidaure (p. 188). L'invasion des Hérules en 267 avait ruiné de nombreux bâtiments païens d'Athènes. L'agora resta inhabitable jusqu'à la fin du IVe siècle.

Des lampes chrétiennes, des inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes témoignent de la diffusion du Christianisme à Athènes au IVe siècle. Les écoles philosophiques d'Athènes continuaient à attirer les étudiants. On se rappelle le philosophe païen Libanius et ses élèves, le futur empereur Julien et les deux Pères de l'Eglise de Cappadoce, Basile le Grand et Grégoire de Nazienze. Ruinée par l'invasion d'Alaric en 396, l'Académie était complètement rebâtie au début du Ve siècle.

L'Auteur souligne avec raison l'influence de l'Académie Néo-Platonicienne, qui continuait à « être le facteur dominant dans la vie athénienne » jusqu'à sa fermeture officielle, par ordre de Justinien en 529. Son chef Damascius préféra l'exil en Perse à la renonciation à ses convictions païennes (p. 19).

Entre 580 et 585, Athènes fut encore ruinée par l'invasion slave. De nombreuses monnaies de Phocas, Héraclius, Constant II et Constantin IV, trouvées dans l'agora (1127 pour la période 602-685) montrent qu'Athènes était occupée encore et assez solidement par l'armée byzantine (p. 198).

« De toutes les églises bâties à Athènes, avant l'invasion (de 582) » on ne connaît que la basilique près d'Ilissos. A quel moment du début du VIIe siècle placer la transformation de l'Héphaisteion? Il est impossible de le dire (p. 204).

Le Parthénon a pu être transformé en église avant l'invasion slave. L'Erechtheion a dû suivre, mais pas avant le début du VIIe siècle. C'était l'époque où à Rome le Panthéon devenait l'église de Ste Marie ad Martyres (609).

Parmi les 22 illustrations, deux lampes chrétiennes trouvées dans l'agora, une inscription chrétienne, un plan de l'agora au Ve siècle avec l'Hephaisteion devenu l'église St Georges, retiendront l'attention.

Avec l'autorité, qu'on lui connaît, Philip GRIERSON examine « Two byzantine Coin Hoards of the seventh and eighth Centuries at Dumbarton Oaks » (pp. 207-228). Il s'agit surtout de monnaies de Phocas, d'Héraclius, de Constantin IV, Justinien II, Leontius, Tibère III, Philippicus (pp. 218-219).

Parmi les Notes, R. Martin HARRISON et Nezih FIRATLI publient les « excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: First Preliminary Report » (pp. 231-236, avec 13 illustrations). Carl D. SHEPPARDS, « A radio-carbon Date for the Wooden Tie Beams in the West Gallery of St Sophia, Istanbul » (pp. 237-240) avec 7 illustrations. Romilly J. H.

JENKINS, « A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the Vita Ignatii » (pp. 241-247). Sa conclusion est que Nicolas David, de Paphlagonie, moine, rhéteur, philosophe, évêque de Dadybra, écrivit une « Vita Ignatii » mort en 877. « Personae non sunt multiplicandae sine necessitate » (p. 247).

Donald M. NICOL étudie « Constantine Akropolites, a Prosopographical Note » (pp. 249-256). Constantin Akropolites était le fils ainé du Grand Logothète et historien, Georges Akropolites, qui vécut entre 1217 et 1282. L'empereur Michel VIII Paléologue s'intéressa à son éducation. Mais à l'encontre de son père, Constantin s'opposa violemment à la politique de Michel, qui tendait à l'union avec l'église romaine.

Ayant épousé Marie Comnène Tornikina, il en eut trois enfants, un fils qui mourut en bas âge en 1295, une fille qui épousa Alexis Philantrophenos en 1295, et une autre fille qui épousa Michel, fils de l'empereur Jean II, Comnène de Trébizonde. Il était encore Grand Logothète en 1321, mais il mourut avant 1324. Suit une liste complète (pp. 254-256) de ses ouvrages édités ou non.

Enfin, le professeur Roman JAKOBSON résume avec clarté le Symposium tenu en 1964 à « Dumbarton Oaks », sous le titre « The Byzantine Mission to the Slaves » (pp. 257-265). On peut regretter que plusieurs de ces conférences n'aient pas encore été publiées.

Nulle autre étude ne pouvait mieux conclure ce beau volume, dont une partie importante consacrée à l'œuvre civilisatrice et culturelle de St Cyrille et Méthode, intéressera vivement byzantinistes et slavisants.

PAUL GOUBERT S.J.

Islamica

Régis BLACHÈRE, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J.-C.* pp. 187-454 (1964) und pp. 455-866 (1966). 25 × 16,5. Paris 1964, 1966. Librairie d'Amérique et de Orient. Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Durch die beiden « Lieferungen » von 1964 und 1966 — mit Rücksicht auf die durchgehende Zählung benutzen wir vorläufig diese Bezeichnung — ist R. Blachère's Histoire de la littérature arabe nach Angabe des Verlags zum Abschluss gekommen, jedenfalls zu einem Haltepunkt. Sie ist bis zum Jahre 107/725 durchgeführt, nicht, wie es dreimal auf dem Titel steht, bis zu unserem 15. Jhdt. Was einmal als drei Faszikel des ersten Bandes eines auf drei Bände berechneten Werkes gedacht war, — so möchte man aus der zu Anfang der dritten Lieferung als Irrtum bezeichneten Vorbemerkung am Beginn der zweiten Lieferung und aus dem Inhaltsverzeichnis schlies-

sen — ist nun zu diesen drei Bänden selbst geworden. Dies nur zur Orientierung des Lesers.

Bekanntlich ist vieles, was sich Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur nennt, biobibliographische Information, wenn auch äusserst notwendige und hervorragend erarbeitete. Dem gegenüber hat der Vf. sein Werk unverkennbar unter das doppelte Motto gestellt: Wer den Dichter will verstehn, muss in Dichters Lande gehn; wer die Dichtung will verstehn, muss ins Land der Dichtung gehn. Im ersten Teil (von 1952) befasste er sich daher zuerst mit dem arabischen Raum. Der vorliegende zweite und dritte Teil ist durch zwei abschliessende Daten markiert, die die eigentliche Arbeit gliedern, die Jahre 50/670 und 107/715. Das erste Datum bezeichnet dem Vf. den Ab-gang der Generation, die im Bereich des Geistes und namentlich der Dichtung das Abendrot der ǧāhilīya und den Triumph des Islams erlebt hatte. Im gleichen Zeitpunkt erreichte die Generation ihre Vollkraft, die im Zeichen der Expansion der arabischen Welt, der beginnenden Völkerverschmelzung, der ungemessenen Reichtümer, der ungeahnten Kulturbegegnungen herangewachsen war. Das zweite Datum bezeichnet das Ende der eben genannten Epoche. In dieser treten neuere oder betontere litterarische Tendenzen ins Spiel, die eine Neuentfaltung der Dichtung und die Geburt der litterarischen Prosa heraufführten. Der Vf. sucht die Gestalten und Werke seiner Litteraturgeschichte nach ihrer jeweils persönlichen, kultur- und lebensraumbedingten Eigenart sichtbar zu machen. Reiche und charakteristische Textproben stellt er in den Dienst dieser Aufgabe.

R. Köbert S.J.

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

Antemurale, vol. IX, Romae 1965, pages 230. Distributed by International Book Distributors, 117-120 piazza Montecitorio, Roma.

For the past few years a group of devoted Polish scholars have been frequently publishing works (in two series: *Elementa ad fontium editiones* and *Antemurale*), relating to Polish history, that make use of records preserved in archives outside of Poland.

The present volume of *Antemurale* consists of two sections: the first section mainly contains source material; whereas the second has three studies.

Msgr. V. Meystowicz has published with a commentary a diploma (written in Cyrillic letters and in the West Russian language), that had been issued by Sigismund I in 1507. The same scholar lists 162 letters from the year 1694 that the Secretary of State sent to Msgr. Santa Croce, the Nunzio in Poland. W. Wyhowska de Andreis describes the letters, concerning Polish history that date from the end of the 17th century and from the beginning of the 18th century; these were formerly deposited in the family archives of Santa Croce but today are found in the Vatican archives. Sophie Olszamowska Skowrońska examines some consequences of the Polish Insurrection of 1863, namely the suppression of the dioceses of Kameniec, Podlasie and Minsk. She also edits the relevant documents.

The first article of the second section takes us eastward across the border of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. With originality and acute erudition Professor Henry Paszkewicz inquires into the Russian term that was used for the Blasck Sea during the Middle Ages. Witold Kamieniecki traces the origin of the office of the standard bearer with the changes and administrative function both in the territories of the Crown and in Lithuania. Leon Koczy gives some useful hints on the material found in the archives of Copenhagen that concerns Polish and Baltic history.

The great quantity of documents related to Polish affairs that are found in West European archives witness to the importance that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth — *Antimurale Christianitatis* — played in European history.

J.K.

Antonio GARZYA, *Versi e un opuscolo inediti di Michele Psello*. Nota introduttiva, testo critico, traduzione e commentario, « Le Parole e le Idee » Editrice, Napoli 1966, in-8° gr., pp. 28.

Come dice lo stesso A., si tratta di *frustula* dell'opera immensa ed enciclopedica del noto poligrafo bizantino del sec. XI: un opuscolo polemico contro coloro che criticavano Psello d'asser passato « a occuparsi di politica invece di limitare la sua attività alla filosofia » (testo e versione italiana nelle pp. 15-22), e tre composizioni in versi giambici, intitolate dall'editore: *In sacerdotem indignum* (p. 24), *De sua ipsius atque aliorum concordia* (p. 25), *In morbum comitialem* (p. 26).

L'opuscolo è stato edito dal cod. Vat. gr. 672; le tre composizioni giambiche del codice Barberiniano gr. 74.

L'edizione dei singoli testi è preceduta da brevi introduzioni particolari ed accompagnata da un'abbondante indicazione di fonti o ascendenze linguistiche e da un'accurata traduzione italiana. Molto sostanziosa la « Nota introduttiva su Michele Psello », che ha lo scopo di inquadrare i testi pubblicati offrendo un ritratto incisivo del loro autore, una penetrante analisi della sua « espressione linguistica », definita una « *koiné* dotta », e una breve sintesi del suo pensiero filosofico, che segnò la rinascita del platonismo a Bisanzio (pp. 10 s.).

C. C.

L. I. VRANOUSSIS, Τὸ χρονικὸν τῶν Ἰωαννίνων κατ' ἀνέκδοτον δημώδη ἐπιτομήν (offprint) Athens 1965, 49 pages.

The A., after the necessary introductory explanation, prints the hitherto unedited demotic version of the Chronicle of Yannina alongside the best edition of the ancient text, with notes. He concludes that the demotic version is founded on the other and less trustworthy.

J. G.

CH. PATRINELIS, Πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα ... ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος τοῦ Ἱέρακος (offprint) Athens 1965, 50 pages.

This article contains various items of the so-called Codex of Hierax, an invaluable historical source for late 16th century history of the Eastern Church. Dr Patrinelis supplements the publications of others on this codex and adds copious notes on the many personages mentioned.

J. G.

ROMANOS LE MELODE, *Hymnes*, Tome III, Nouveau Testament (XXI-XXXI), ed. J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, Paris 1965, pag. 365.

Continuatur in hoc secundo volumine editio hymnorum Romani Melodi. Thema primum est peccatrix, ultimum vero parabola de decem virginibus. Singulis hymnis praemittitur introductio praesertim de eius peculiaritate metrica.

I.O.U.

AMBURGER, Erik, *Geschichte der Behördenorganisation Russlands von Peter dem Grossen bis 1917*. (Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, X). E. J. Brill, Leiden 1966. in 8°, XXXII+622 p., 2 carte geogr.

BEA, Agostino, card., *La Chesa e il popolo ebraico*. 2ª edizione. Morcelliana, Brescia 1966, in 8°, 166 p.

BERTOLINI, Ottorino. *I Germani. Migrazioni e Regni nell'Occidente già Romano.* Milano 1965, Francesco Vallardi. in 4°, XV + 505 p., 22 tav.

Europa Anno Mille. Edindustria Editoriale Roma 1965, in 4°, 268 p. (incluso tavole).

GYÖRFFY, György, *Az Arpád kori Magyarorszag történeti földrajza*. (Geographia historica Hungariae tempore Stirpis Arpadianae). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1963, in 8°, 910 p., 11 carte geogr.

KOMARNICKI, Titus, *Rebirth of the Polish Republic. A Study in the diplomatic history* 1914-1920. William Heimann Ltd., Melbourne-London-Toronto, in 8°, XIII+776 p.

LAMBERT, Bernard, O.P., *De Rome a Jérusalem. Itinéraire spirituel de Vatican II*. Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1964, in 16°, 322 p.

LAMPART, Albert, *Joseph I. 1681-1696. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Unionsbestrebungen der Nestorianer von Sulaqa bis 1700*. Benziger Verlag, Einsiedeln 1966, in 8°, 396 p.

Mendićev Zbornik (Collectanea Mandić) *u čast O. Dominika Mandića prigodom njegove 75-godišnjice života*. (Radovi Hrvatskogo povijesnog instituta u Rimu, Svezak I-II). Rim 1965, in 8°, VIII+319 p. IX tav.

MARITAIN, Jacques, *Tre riformatori, Lutero – Cartesio – Rousseau*. Morcelliana, Brescia 1964, in 8°, 260 p., 6 tav.

MAUDE, Angus, *South India*. Background Books published by the Bodley Head, London 1966, in 16°, 176 p.

MILIK, Józef Tadeusz, *Święty- Świerad. Saint Andrew Zoeradus*. Roma 1966, Edizioni Hosianum. in 8°, 191 p.

OLEŚ, Marian, *The Armenian Law in the Polish Kingdom (1365-1519). A juridical and historical study*. Edizioni Hosianum, Roma 1966, in 8°, 125 p.

OLŠR, Josef, *Služebík Boží Antonín Cyril Stojan, olomoucký arcibiskup*. Řim 1966, Accademia Cristiana, in 16°, 57 p.

The Order of the Holy Qurbana (the Anaphora of St. Xystus). With an Introduction and a short Commentary. Trivandrum 1964, St. Joseph's Press, in 8°, 91 p.

GIOACCHINO PATTI, Direttore responsabile

Autorizz. Tribunale di Roma n. 6228 del 24.3.1958 del Reg. della Stampa

Imprimi potest: Romae, 20-XII-1966 – J. GILL S. I., *Praes. Pont. Inst. Or.*

IMPRIMATUR: *E Vic. Urbis* – 22-XII-1966 - ALOYSIUS Card. Vicarius

TIPOGRAFIA S. PIO X — VIA ETRUSCHI, 7-9 — ROMA — 1966

INDEX VOLUMINIS XXXII - 1966

- LUCUBRATIONES

2. - COMMENTARII BREVIORES

3. - RECENSIONES